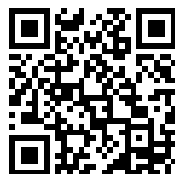

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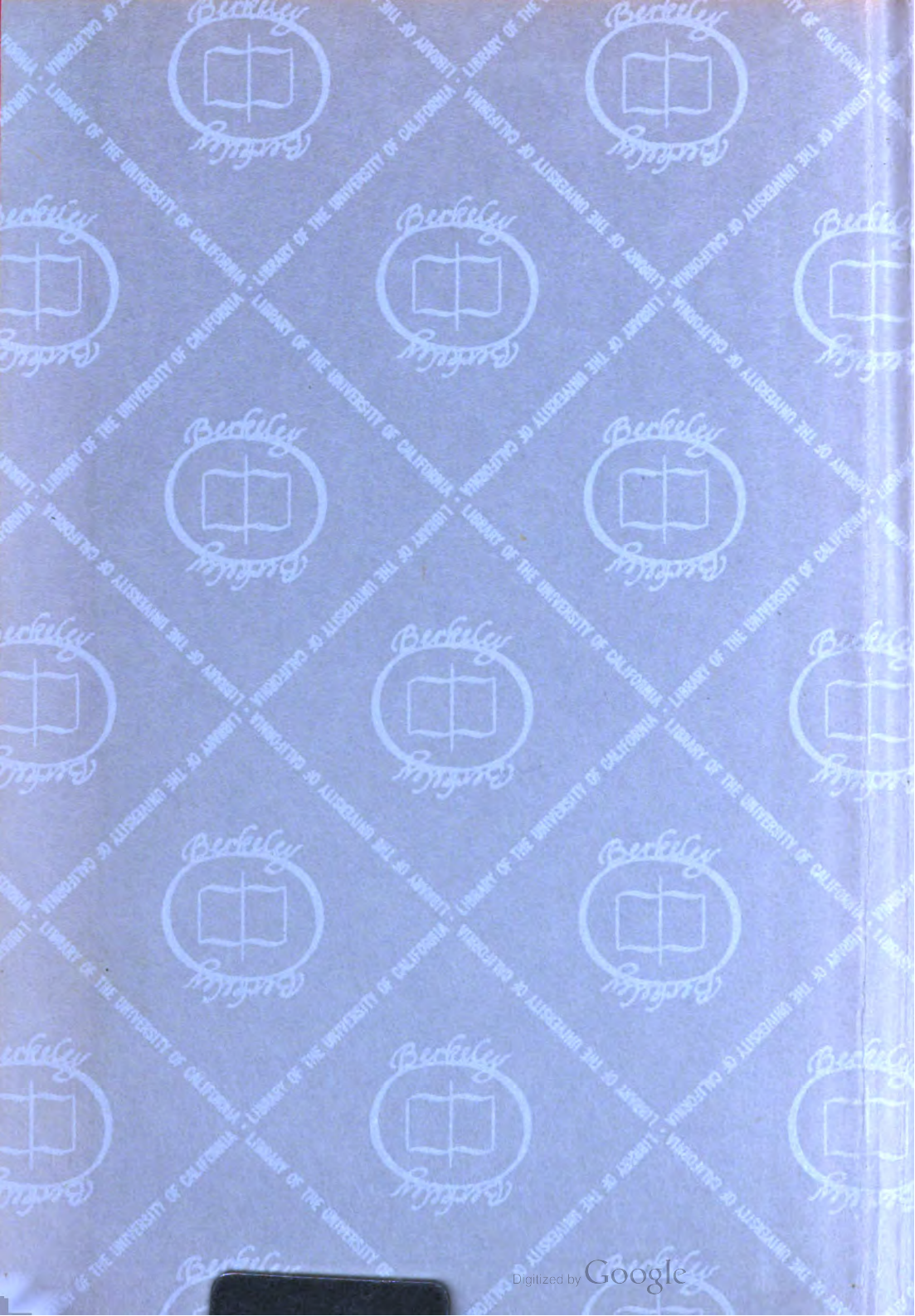


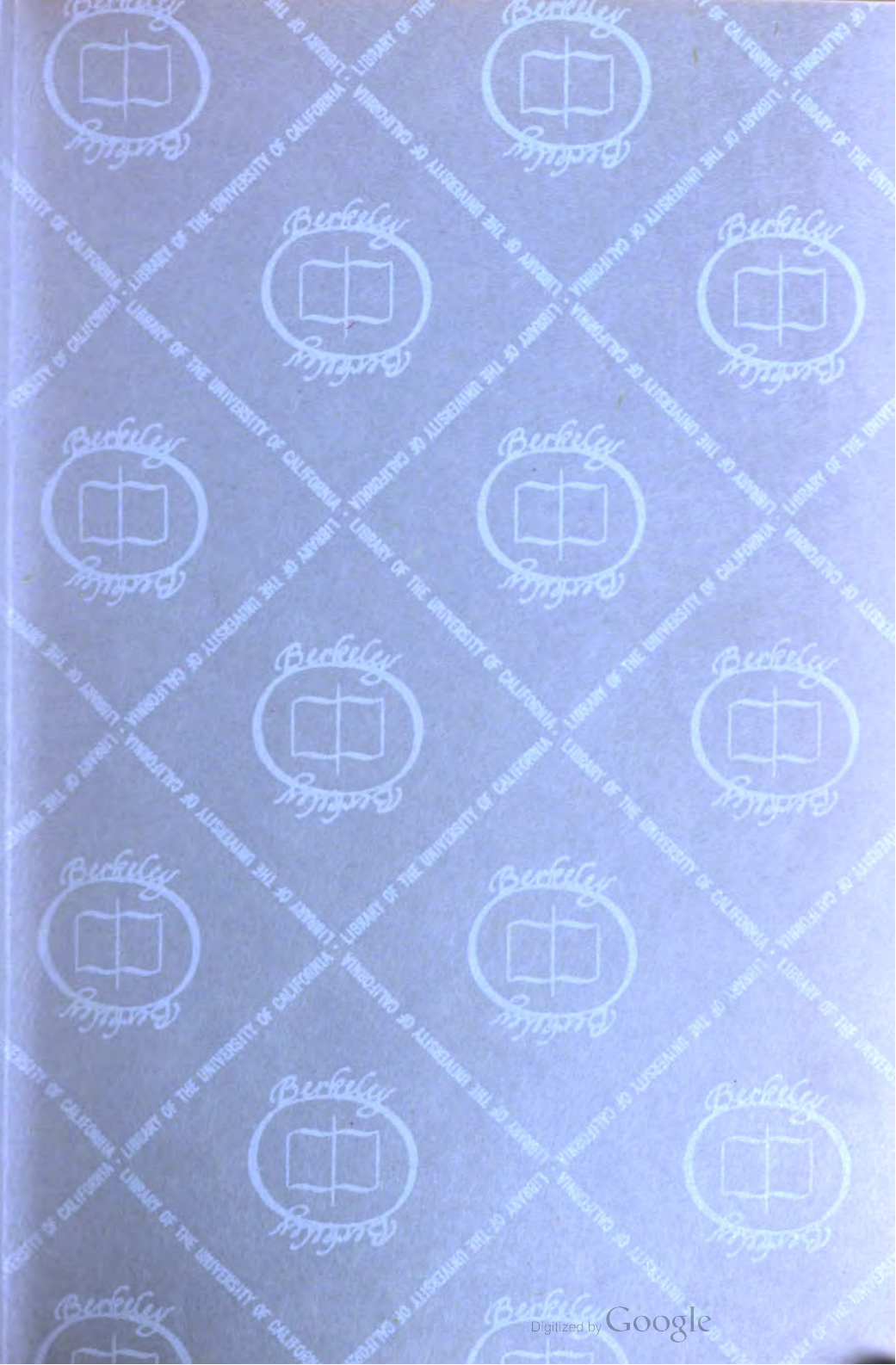
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CARLETON BROWN
SECRETARY OF THE ASSOCIATION

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The annual volume of the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* is issued in quarterly instalments. It contains articles which have been approved for publication by the Editorial Committee. To a considerable extent these are selected from papers presented at meetings of the Association, though other appropriate contributions are also accepted. The first number of each volume includes, in an Appendix, the *Proceedings* of the last Annual Meeting of the Association and its Divisions; the fourth number of each volume contains a list of the members of the Association. *A limited number of reprints of the List of Members for the current year have been bound up separately and will be sent postpaid at the rate of one dollar a copy.*

Volumes I to VII of the *Publications*, constituting the Old Series, are out of print, but Volumes I to IV, inclusive, have been reproduced, and can be supplied at \$3.00 each. All of the New Series, beginning with Volume VIII, may be obtained of the Secretary at the rate of \$3.00 a volume, or \$1.00 each for single numbers.

From January, 1921, the annual subscription to the "Publications" is \$4.00; the price of single numbers is \$1.30.

All communications should be addressed to

CARLETON BROWN,
Secretary of the Association,
Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.

The next meeting of the Association will be held under the auspices of the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, Mich., December 27, 28, 29, 1923.

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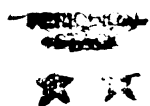
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ASSOCIATION



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MARCH, 1923

AMERICAN BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR 1922*

Members of the Association are requested to see that copies of monographs, studies or dissertations in the field of the Modern Languages which may appear in University series during the current year be sent to the editor of the appropriate section of the American Bibliography.

I. ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

Philological studies during 1922 include what is apparently the first of a series of "Studies in English Phonology" by K. Malone (*MP*, xx. 189-200). J. L. Barker shows by diagram and discussion the differences in "Syllable and Word Division in French and English" (*MP*, xix. 321-336) and in "The Formation of Voiceless Consonants in French and English" (*MP*, xx. 173-180). H. D. Learned shows

*Italics indicate book titles; quotation marks indicate articles. Periodicals are referred to by the following abbreviations: *PMLA*, Publications of the Modern Language Association of America; *MP*, Modern Philology; *MLN*, Modern Language Notes; *MLR*, Modern Language Review; *JEGP*, Journal of English and Germanic Philology; *SP*, Studies in Philology; *PQ*, Philological Quarterly [articles in this journal have been inadvertently omitted for 1922]; *Archiv*, Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen; *ES*, Englische Studien; *AnglB*, Anglia Beiblatt; *RR*, Romanic Review; *ZRP*, Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie; *Hisp*, Hispania; *RFE*, Revista de Filología Española; *SS*, Scandinavian Studies and Notes; *ASR*, American Scandinavian Review. Titles appearing as theses or in the publications of universities are followed where possible by the name of the university.

that "The Accentuation of Old French Loanwords in English" (*PMLA*, xxxvii. 707-721) was largely determined by the French accentuation, and C. B. Bradley considers "The Accentuation of the Research-Group of Words" (*Gayley Anniversary Papers*, 3-19). M. Callaway in an excellent paper studies "The Dative of Time How Long in Old English" (*MLN*, xxxvii. 129-141) instead of the normal accusative. J. F. Royster treats the "Old English Causative Verbs" (*SP*, xix. 328-356). O. B. Schlutter offers "Weitere Beiträge zur altenglischen Wortforschung" (*Anglia*, xlv. 143-171; 206-231; 327-343) and "Zur Rechtfertigung meiner Stellung zu Holthausen" (*Ibid.*, 202-205). Of more limited scope are: S. Kroesch, "Semantic Notes" (*JEGP*, xxi. 612-620) which includes a discussion of English *baffle* and *gum*; R. Withington, "A Portmanteau Word of 1761: 'Tomax'" (*MLN*, xxxvii. 377-379); R. H. Thornton's 1606 quotation for "Bird of Paradise" (*N&Q*, 12 S. xi. 27); and E. W. Burlingame, "Etymology of Burlingame (Burlingham)" (*MLN*, xxxvii. 123-124).

Published work on versification has chiefly taken the form of handbooks. P. F. Baum's *The Principles of English Versification* is the most extensive; Wm. Strunk's *English Metres* is very brief; and J. B. Hubbell and J. O. Beaty's *An Introduction to Poetry* is at once broader in scope and more popular in aim. C. M. Lotspeich has written a stimulating article, "Poetry, Prose, and Rhythm" (*PMLA*, xxxvii. 293-310), maintaining among other things that the fundamental difference between 'poetry and prose' is a difference of mental process: poetry is apprehended directly, prose is comprehended indirectly and involves judgment and reflective thought. Miss H. L. Cohen has combined history and example in her *Lyric Forms from France*.

The most important publication in Old English literature is Fr. Klaeber's edition of *Beowulf*, an invaluable work. G. F. Lussky has examined "The Verb Forms Circumscribed with the Perfect Participle in the *Beowulf*" (*JEGP*, xxi. 32-69) in the light of their parallel development in Old

Saxon; and A. S. Cook hazards a guess as to "The Possible Begetter of the Old English *Beowulf* and *Widsith*" (*Trans. Conn. Acad.*, xxv. 281-346). Finally Fr. Klaeber, "Die Ing-Verse im angelsächsischen Runengedicht" (*Archiv*, cxlii. 250-253) offers textual comment and interpretation of vv. 67-70.

In the Middle English period Miss H. E. Allen records "Another Latin MS. of the *Ancren Riwe*" (*MLR*, xvii. 403) which makes the fourth of which the existence is known. H. R. Patch has published a monograph on *The Tradition of the Goddess Fortuna: I. In Roman Literature and in the Transition Period; II. In Medieval Philosophy and Literature* (Smith). R. M. Garrett in a note on "An Illustration of the Bestiary" (*N&Q*, 12 S. xi. 316-317) interprets an illustration in Cutts, which really represents a scene from the life of St. Brandon (cf. *ibid.*, p. 413). R. E. Parker, "Laurence Minot's Tribute to John Badding" (*PMLA*, xxxvii. 360-365), identifies the latter as a well-known English seaman of the fourteenth century. O. F. Emerson offers valuable textual commentary in "Some Notes on the *Pearl*" (*PMLA*, xxxvii. 52-93) and "Notes on *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*" (*JEGP*, xxi. 363-410); and R. J. Menner, "*Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* and the West Midland" (*PMLA*, xxxvii. 503-526) replies to Hulbert (*MP*, xix. 1-16) defending the dialectal ascription. K. Campbell, "A Note on *The Seven Sages of Rome*" (*MLR*, xvii. 289), defends a reading in his text. R. S. Loomis, "Tristram and the House of Anjou" (*MLR*, xvii. 24-30), maintains his position 'that Thomas, the author of *Tristan*, attributed to his hero the device of a golden lion on a red field, and . . . wrote under the patronage of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine or of Richard I.' The same author discusses a number of "Vestiges of Tristram in London" (*Burlington Mag.*, xli. 54-64) as they are found in medieval art. J. J. Parry gathers "Modern Welsh Versions of the Arthurian Stories" (*JEGP*, xxi. 572-600).

Chaucer has not received his usual devotion this year. W. M. Hart, "Some Old French Miracles of Our Lady and Chaucer's Prioresses Tale" (*Gayley Anniv. Papers*, 31-53), studies the narrative art of the French Miracles of Our Lady, especially the work of Gautier de Coincy. E. F. Amy, "The Manuscripts of the Legend of Good Women" (*JEGP*, xxi. 107-118), considers certain differences in the conclusions reached by Koch and himself in independent studies of the MSS. F. Tupper, "Chaucer's Lady of the Daisies" (*JEGP*, xxi. 293-317), identifies Alceste with Alice Cestre (or Chester), one of the 'souzdamoiselles' in Edward III's household. W. C. Curry attempts a diagnosis of "The Malady of Chaucer's Summoner" (*MP*, xix. 395-404) based on medieval medical treatises, and the same author in "More about Chaucer's Wife of Bath" (*PMLA*, xxxvii. 30-51) applies to the Wife of Bath his belief that Chaucer was guided in his portrayal of character by medieval rules of astrology and physiognomy. O. F. Emerson writes of "Chaucer and Medieval Hunting" (*RR*, xiii. 115-150). R. A. Law discusses the meaning of Chaucer's "In Pricipio" (*PMLA*, xxxvii. 208-215), and H. Cummings points out a second parallel in Boethius to "Chaucer's Prologue, 1-7" (*MLN*, xxxvii. 86-90). C. A. Smith comments on "Under the sonne he loketh" (*MLN*, xxxvii. 120-121) in the *Knight's Tale*, 839, to which Fr. Klaeber (*Ibid.*, 376-7) and J. S. P. Tatlock (*Ibid.*, 377) reply.

Touching on the early drama, K. Young has published a study of the "Ordo Prophetarum" (*Trans. Wisconsin Acad.*, xx. 1-82). W. Farnham, "Scogan's *Quem Quaeritis*" (*MLN*, xxxvii. 289-292), cites a jest from the 1613 edition of *Scogan's Jests* that is interesting, if the evidence is to be trusted, as showing the degree to which liturgical plays became secularized and as furnishing additional evidence that the form the Easter play in which Christ himself appears was also known in England. N. C. Brooks has published a most valuable study of *The Sepulchre of Christ in Art and Liturgy; with special reference to the liturgical drama*

(Illinois); and of collateral interest is A. M. Smith's "The Iconography of the Sacrifice of Isaac in Early Christian Art" (*Amer. Jour. of Archeology*, xxvi. 159-173). W. R. Mackenzie seeks to determine the nature of "The Debate over the Soul in *The Pride of Life*" (*Heller Volume, Washington Univ. Studies*, 263-274). W. W. Lyman, "An Essay on Gaelic Ballads" (*Gayley Anniv. Papers*, 239-266), tries to fix the extent to which ballad qualities are found in the Gaelic material.¹ H. J. Savage, "The First Visit of Erasmus to England" (*PMLA*, xxxvii. 94-112), portrays the fall and winter of 1499, which Erasmus spent in England, as the turning point in his life. H. B. Lathrop studies "The First English Printers and Their Patrons" (*Library*, 4 Ser., III. 69-96) with a view to determining how far Caxton was guided in printing books by his own judgment and how much by the suggestions of patrons.

T. S. Graves has compiled a valuable bibliography of "Recent Literature of the English Renaissance" (*SP*, xix. 249-291). D. L. Clark has published a dissertation on *Rhetoric and Poetry in the Renaissance: A Study of Rhetorical Terms in English Renaissance Literary Criticism* (Columbia). Miss E. P. Hammond, "Poems 'Signed' by Sir Thomas Wyatt" (*MLN*, xxxvii. 505-506), collects instances of Wyatt's trick of beginning the lines of a stanza so that the initial letters will form an acrostic of his (or some one else's) name; and D. T. Starnes instances "An Erroneous Ascription to Wyatt" (*Ibid.*, 188). Miss J. G. Dodge discusses "The Litany in English" (*Gayley Anniv. Papers*, 215-225), especially in the form given it by Cranmer in 1544.

F. I. Carpenter discusses a number of troublesome questions connected with "Spenser in Ireland" (*MP*, xix. 405-419) and incidentally adds a new document. J. W. Draper in "Spenserian Biography: A Note on the Vagaries of Scholarship" (*Colonnade*, xiv. 35-46) epitomizes some recent

¹ The monograph mentioned last year on *Minstrelsy, Music, and the Dance in the English and Scottish Popular Ballads* should have the 'Miss' deleted before the author's name, L. C. Wimberly.

Spenserian work. E. B. Fowler's 1921 dissertation, *Spenser and the Courts of Love* (Chicago), appeared too late for mention last year. J. W. Draper, "Dr. Grosart's Rosalind" (*JEGP*, xxi. 675-679), attacks Grosart's Lancashire theory on the basis of Spenser's phonology. F. F. Covington, "Another View of Spenser's Linguistics" (*SP*, xix. 244-248), attacks certain points in a previous article of Draper's. Tucker Brooke in "Stanza-Connection in the Fairy Queen" (*MLN*, xxxvii. 223-227) examines the devices by which Spenser overcame the break between stanzas and gave greater smoothness to the metre. Finally F. I. Carpenter points out certain "Desiderata in the Study of Spenser" (*SP*, xix. 238-243).

E. S. Quimby reviews "The Indebtedness of Lyly's *Euphues* to Certain of its Predecessors" (*Colonnade*, xiv. 231-254). C. T. Goode, "Sir Thomas Elyot's *Titus and Gysippus*" (*MLN*, xxxvii. 1-11), traces the source to Peter Alphonsus and thinks Lyly adopted his larger idea in *Euphues* from Elyot's version rather than from the one in Boccaccio. L. R. Merrill, "Nicholas Grimald, the Judas of the Reformation" (*PMLA*, xxxvii. 216-227), quotes letters showing that Grimald secretly recanted and betrayed his friends Ridley, Cranmer, and Latimer. This probably accounts for the omission of his name and thirty-one of his forty poems from the second edition of *Tottel's Miscellany*. G. S. Parks explains "Hakluyt's Mission in France, 1583-1588" (*Heller Vol.*, 165-184) as for the purpose of acquiring information valuable to the program of English expansion. R. R. Cawley, "Warner and the Voyages" (*MP*, xx. 113-147), shows by parallel passages that Warner in the last two editions of *Albion's England* added accounts of some of the great voyages of English seamen based upon certain chapters in Hakluyt. E. L. Pennington contributes a paper on "Raleigh's Narrative of Guiana" (*So. Atlantic Qu.*, xxi. 352-359).

In the pre-Shakespearean drama Tucker Brooke, "The Marlowe Canon" (*PMLA*, xxxvii. 367-417), discusses

individually the works attributed to Marlowe, and in a second article offers a study of "Marlowe's Versification and Style" (*SP*, xix. 186-205). The same author traces "The Reputation of Christopher Marlowe" (*Trans. Conn. Acad.*, xxv. 347-408) and elsewhere suggests as "The Prototype of Marlowe's Jew of Malta" (*London Times Lit. Suppl.*, June 8, 1922, p. 380) a David Passi of Constantinople, whose career reached its climax in March 1591, as a more likely person than the Portuguese Jew Michesius. B. Maxwell in his dissertation (Chicago) on "Wily Beguiled" (*SP*, xix. 206-237) argues that it is a revision of the earlier play of similar title and dates as we now have it from 1601 or 1602.

Shakespeare has proved unusually attractive to American scholars this year. R. M. Alden's *Shakespeare* is a biography and a study of Shakespeare's works. Miss H. C. Bartlett's *Mr. William Shakespeare* is a valuable bibliographical account of 'original and early editions of his quartos and folios, his source books and those containing contemporary notices.' F. Haynes's "Shakespeare and the Troy Story" (Howard) traces the Troy story from Homer to Shakespeare. Miss L. Whitney suggests an affirmative answer to the question "Did Shakespeare Know *Leo Africanus*?" (*PMLA*, xxxvii. 470-483). A. H. Tolman comments on "Shakespeare's Manipulation of his Sources in *As You Like It*" (*MLN*, xxxvii. 65-76) and considers "The Structure of Shakespeare's Tragedies, with Special Reference to *Coriolanus*" (*Ibid.*, 449-458). J. W. Spargo offers "An Interpretation of Falstaff" (*Heller Vol.*, 119-133) suggesting that he belongs to the tradition of the Vice in the moralities, and his final repudiation by Henry is in accordance with morality play tradition. J. R. Moore similarly finds the "Ancestors of Autolycus in the English Moralities and Interludes" (*Ibid.*, 157-164). J. H. Roberts has a note on the sources of "The Nine Worthies" (*MP*, xix. 297-305). W. W. Lawrence in "The Meaning of *All's Well That Ends Well*" (*PMLA*, xxxvii. 418-469) defends the play: a comparison of various versions of the folk tales

underlying the plot shows that Shakespeare meant Helena to be wholly noble and heroic and that to an Elizabethan audience her actions were justified. Miss M. M. Beck, "The Dance of Death in Shakespeare" (*MLN*, xxxvii. 372-4), notes that stock characters of the Dance of Death occur in Hamlet's conversation with the grave diggers. J. D. Rea offers an interpretation of "*Julius Caesar*, II. I. 10-34" (*MLN*, xxxvii. 374-6) and M. Baudin prints a note on "The Rôle of the Ghost in *Hamlet*" (*Ibid.*, 185-186). J. W. Thompson, "Hamlet and the Mystery of Amy Robsart" (*No. Amer. Rev.*, ccxv. 657-672), suggests that Shakespeare wrote Hamlet to expose a court scandal and to criticise contemporary conditions in England; to which H. H. Furness, Jr. replies (*Ibid.*, ccxvi. 357-363). G. L. van Roosbroeck, "Hamlet in France in 1663" (*PMLA*, xxxvii. 228-242), finds what he considers an early adaptation in French. The same author in "Een nieuwe Oplossing van het Hamlet-probleem" (*Vlaamsche Arbeid*, iii. 459-465) discusses the theories of C. M. Lewis, E. E. Stoll, and Miss Winstanley. J. W. Abernethy in "Honest Iago" (*Sewanee Rev.*, xxx. 336-344) points out limitations which in his judgment bar *Othello* from being considered in the same class with *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, and *Lear*. W. F. Tamblyn discusses "Tragedy in *King Lear*" (*Ibid.*, 63-77) and offers "Notes on *King Lear*" (*MLN*, xxxvii. 346-9). The latter are confirmed by T. W. Baldwin, "On *King Lear*" (*Ibid.*, 504). Miss M. H. Nicholson, "The Authorship of *Henry the Eighth*" (*PMLA*, xxxvii. 484-502), rejects the notion that Massinger wrote the non-Fletcherian scenes. She believes they are by Shakespeare and that Fletcher completed his unfinished work, changing the original plan greatly and sentimentalizing it in accordance with the fashion then in vogue on the English stage. H. E. Rollins notes a number of new "Shakespeare Allusions" (*N&Q*, 12 S. xi. 224-5) and F. B. Kaye adds a "Seventeenth Century Reference to Shakespeare" (*MLN*, xxxvii. 248). E. P. Kuhl interprets "A Song and a Pun in Shakespere" (*Ibid.*, 437-438). Miss N. R. Clark

finds Bacon's *Dial in Shakespeare: A Compass-Clock Cipher*, while W. J. Raddatz affirms that *Shakespeare Wrote Shakespeare* and received at the Stratford grammar school enough education to do it. W. H. Chapman's *The Shakespeare Mortuary Malediction and the Seventeen-foot Grave* is a privately printed pamphlet, Los Angeles, 1921. H. H. Furness, Jr. writes on "Shakespeare's Conception of the Patriot" (*U. of Pennsylvania Alumni Register*, xxv. 2-10), and Karl Young replies to certain recent critics of Shakespeare in "The Shakespeare Skeptics" (*No. Amer. Rev.*, ccxv. 382-93). J. J. Chapman's *A Glance toward Shakespeare* contains observations of a thoughtful reader, and the charming *Letters of Horace Howard Furness* are full of interest to any Shakespearean.

Shakspeare to Sheridan is the title of a book by Alwin Thaler treating a number of interesting theatrical matters. The same author in "Minor Actors and Employees in the Elizabethan Theater" (*MP*, xx. 49-60) collects information about the *hirelings*, prompters, tiremen, gatherers, musicians, etc., and in "Strolling Players and Provincial Drama after Shakspeare" (*PMLA*, xxxvii. 243-280) discusses the nature of the performance, means of travelling, organization, difficulties, and the like. T. S. Graves collects "Some References to Elizabethan Theatres" (*SP*, xix. 317-327) that have not been noted before, discusses "Some Aspects of Extemporal Acting" (*Ibid.*, 429-456), and writes pleasantly of the paradoxical topic "The Comedy of Stage Death" (*So. Atl. Qu.*, xxi. 109-126). H. N. Hillebrand reviews the history of "The Children of the King's Revels at Whitefriars" (*JEGP*, xxi. 318-334) and adds a number of new facts. J. F. Bradley and J. Q. Adams have compiled *The Jonson Allusion Book: A Collection of Allusions to Ben Jonson from 1597 to 1700* (Cornell). G. C. Vogt briefly considers "*The Wife of Bath's Tale*, *Women Pleased*, and *La Fée Urgde: A Study of the Transformation of Folk-Lore Themes in Drama*" (*MLN*, xxxvii. 339-342). H. E. Rollins offers a communication on "Robert Cox and Thomas

Heywood—"The Date of Their Death" (*London Times Lit. Suppl.*, Aug. 3, 1922, p. 507) and A. C. Baugh prints "Some New Facts about Shirley" (*MLR*, xvii. 228-235).

In the seventeenth century H. E. Rollins has edited *A Pepysian Garland: Black-letter Broadside Ballads of the Years 1595-1639*, chiefly from the collection of Samuel Pepys. He has also recorded many early allusions to the legend of "The Three Hundred and Sixty-five Children" (*N&Q*, 12 S. xi. 351-353), which forms the subject of one of the ballads. P. Shorey, "A Postliminear Corollarium for Coryate" (*MLN*, xxxvii. 53-55), comes to the defense of the poet. A. H. Nethercot considers "The Reputation of John Donne as Metrist" (*Sewanee Rev.*, xxx. 463-474). B. Confrey in "A Note on Richard Crashaw" (*MLN*, xxxvii. 250-251) cites references to Crashaw chiefly from the Hist. MSS. Comm. reports. A. C. Judson calls attention to "A Forgotten Lovelace Manuscript" (*Ibid.*, 407-411) containing *To Althea*, and suggests an emendation, and elsewhere conjectures that "Robert Herrick's Grave" (*N&Q*, 12 S. xi. 426-427) may have been in the church at Dean Prior.

Of Milton studies the most extensive is R. D. Havens, *The Influence of Milton on English Poetry [1660-1837]*, an exhaustive work. Miss M. S. Kennedy's *Milton and his Minor Poems: Their Influence on the xvii, xviii and xix Centuries in England*, Brattleboro, Vt., is a slight booklet. E. K. Rand, "Milton in Rustication" (*SP*, xix. 109-135), discusses Milton's Latin poetry and his imitation of Ovid and Virgil as preliminary to his later career. He also determines Milton's usage with respect to "*J* and *I* in Milton's Latin Script" (*MP*, xix. 315-319). J. F. Mack, "The Evolution of Milton's Political Thinking" (*Sewanee Rev.*, xxx. 193-205), shows that Milton began as a moderate monarchy man, became a republican, an Oliverian, and ended in advocating what we might call the rule of the natural aristocracy. A. H. Gilbert finds in "Milton and Galileo" (*SP*, xix. 152-185) that Milton championed neither the Ptolemaic nor the Copernican system. D. Saurat connects

"Milton and the *Zohar*" (*SP*, xix. 136-151). O. F. Emerson offers a note on "Milton's *Comus*, 93-94" (*MLN*, xxxvii. 118-120) in reply to J. A. Himes' notes (*MLN*, xxxv. 441 and xxxvi. 414) on Milton's 'star that bids the shepherd fold,' to which J. H. Hanford adds a supplementary note, "The Evening Star in Milton" (*Ibid.*, 444-5). L. Wann's note on "Milton's *Lycidas* and the Play of Barnavelt" (*MLN*, xxxvii. 470-473) is based upon an error in Bullen's text. H. Glicksman offers "A Comment on Milton's History of Britain" (*Ibid.*, 474-476). M. W. Bundy, "Milton's View of Education in *Paradise Lost*" (*JEGP*, xxi. 127-152), believes *Paradise Lost* is in part an artistic embodiment of Milton's views of education. E. C. Knowlton agrees with Tupper against Baum that *Samson Agonistes* lacks a middle: "Causality in *Samson Agonistes*" (*MLN*, xxxvii. 333-339). J. A. Himes has privately printed a pamphlet entitled *Miltonic Enigmas* (n. p. n. d.)

In the restoration drama V. L. Jones considers "Methods of Satire in the Political Drama of the Restoration" (*JEGP*, xxi. 662-669). Miss D. Foster has published two papers on "Sir George Etherege" (*London Times Lit. Suppl.*, Feb. 16 and 23, 1922) to which she adds a lengthy contribution "Concerning the Grandfather and Father of Sir George Etherege" (*N&Q*, 12 S. xi. 341-344; 362-365; 414). G. P. Winship has published *The First Harvard Playwright: A Bibliography of the Restoration Dramatist John Crowne*. Other seventeenth century studies include: Miss M. H. Nicholson, "More's *Psychozoia*" (*MLN*, xxxvii. 141-148), to which R. Shafer offers a correction, "Henry More's *Psychozoia*" (*Ibid.*, 379); H. Glicksman, "The Figurative Quality in Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Dying*" (*Sewanee Rev.*, xxx. 488-494); and R. P. McCutcheon, "The Beginnings of Book-reviewing in English Periodicals" (*PMLA*, xxxvii. 691-706).

The eighteenth century has many followers. R. H. Griffith has begun the publication of *Alexander Pope: A Bibliography*, of which Vol. I, part I covers Pope's own writ-

ings, 1709-1734. (Austin, Texas, 1922.) G. R. Potter shows the popularity of Milton's "'Sweet, reluctant, amorous delay' among Some Eighteenth Century Poets" (*MLN*, xxxvii. 443-444). A. D. McKillop rules out "A Poem in the Collins Canon" (*Ibid.*, 181). F. B. Kaye traces "The Influence of Bernard Mandeville" (*SP*, xix. 83-108). R. S. Crane points out "An Early Eighteenth Century Enthusiast for Primitive Poetry: John Husbands" (*MLN*, xxxvii. 27-36) and R. P. McCutcheon calls attention to "Two Eighteenth-Century Emendations to *Chevy Chase*" (*Ibid.*, 436-437). In the drama W. P. Harbeson studies *The Elizabethan Influence on the Tragedy of the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries* (Pennsylvania). R. H. Griffith shows the date of publication of "Tony Aston's *Fool's Opera*" (*JEGP*, xxi. 188-189) was April 1, 1731. Miss E. P. Stein describes with sample entries what purports to be "The Manuscript Diary of David Garrick's Trip to Paris in 1751" (*Colonnade*, xiv. 149-174), the genuineness of which is not proved but is probable. E. Colby has compiled "A Bibliography of Thomas Holcroft" (*Bull. N. Y. Pub. Library*, xxvi, 455-492; 664-686; 765-787). L. L. Hubbard publishes *The Narrative of the El-Ho, Sjouke Gabbes: An Episode from the Mighty Kingdom of Krinke Kesmes, by Hendrik Smeeks. Translated from the Dutch and compared with the Story of Robinson Crusoe* (Ann Arbor, Mich.). The same author also makes *Contributions toward a Bibliography of Gulliver's Travels*. W. A. Eddy, "A Source for Gulliver's First Voyage" (*MLN*, xxxvii. 353-355), offers additional similarities between D'Ablancourt's Lucian and *Gulliver*, and in "Rabelais,—A Source for *Gulliver's Travels*" (*Ibid.*, 416-418) confirms an opinion long current by showing Swift's familiarity with Rabelais. G. F. Whicher surveys "The Present Status of the Bibliography of English Prose Fiction between 1660 and 1800" (*PMLA*, xxxvii. pp. c-cvi). R. S. Crane, "Richardson, Warburton and French Fiction" (*MLR*, xvii. 17-23), adds further proof (cf. *MP*, xvi. 495-499) that the preface to the fourth volume of the first edition

of *Clarissa* was written by Warburton and considers the reason for its omission from the second edition. Miss H. S. Hughes prints "A Letter to Richardson from Edward Young" (*MLN*, xxxvii. 314-316), now in the Wellesley library, the first half of which by some strange slip is joined in Mrs. Barbould's edition with the last half of another letter seven years later. The same author shows "Fielding's Indebtedness to James Ralph" (*MP*, xx. 19-34). Miss E. Church explodes "A Bibliographical Myth" (*MP*, xix. 307-314) concerning 'Monk' Lewis. A valuable Johnson item is the *Catalogue of the Johnsonian Collection of R. B. Adam*, privately printed (Buffalo, N. Y. 1921) with an introduction by C. G. Osgood. J. M. Beatty, Jr. writes of "Dr. Johnson and the Occult" (*So. Atl. Qu.* xxi. 144-151) and A. H. Nethercot cites over a dozen instances of "The Term 'Metaphysical Poets' before Johnson" (*MLN*, xxxvii. 11-17). C. B. Tinker's *Young Boswell* contains considerable new material. Tinker also writes of "Boswell's Letters to Rousseau." (*Literary Rev.*, ii. 703-4.) H. A. Wichelns, "Burke's Essay on the Sublime and Its Reviewers" (*JEGP*, xxi, 645-661), considers the reception accorded the essay upon its first appearance and the additions and changes occasioned by the remarks of its reviewers.

F. B. Snyder, "Notes on Burns and England" (*MLN*, xxxvii. 76-82), shows by various evidences, including quotations from Burns' own writings, that Burns was much closer to the English literary tradition than has been generally recognized. J. R. Moore, writes on "The Mood of Pessimism in Nature Poetry: Bowles, Coleridge, and Arnold" (*Sewanee Rev.*, xxx. 454-461). R. H. Thornton prints a "Letter of Cowper to [Joseph] Johnson," his publisher (*N&Q*, 12 S. xi. 403) and T. O. Mabbott, "Blake in America" (*Ibid.*, 128), records an early American publication of some of Blake's poems not in Keynes's recent bibliography. H. L. Bruce considers "Blake, Carlyle, and the French Revolution" (*Gayley Anniv. Papers*, 165-176). W. Haller, "Southey's Later Radicalism" (*PMLA*, xxxvii. 281-292),

shows that Southey believed firmly in the need of the people and concluded that 'progress depended on the state of men's hearts and minds, and that it could and should be brought about by the leaders and rulers of England.' B. S. Allen identifies "William Godwin's Influence upon John Thelwall" (*PMLA*, xxxvii. 662-682). W. J. Graham has published a dissertation on *Tory Criticism in the Quarterly Review* (Columbia). R. F. Jones offers "Some Reflections on the English Romantic Revival" (*Heller Vol.*, 293-314) and J. W. Draper has a paper on "The Summa of Romanticism" (*Colonnade*, xiv. 257-268). B. H. Lehman traces "The Doctrine of Leadership in the Greater Romantic Poets" (*PMLA*, xxxvii. 639-661) and N. I. White considers "The English Romantic Writers as Dramatists" (*Sewanee Rev.*, xxx. 206-215). L. R. Merrill notes instances of "Vaughan's Influence upon Wordsworth's Poetry" (*MLN*, xxxvii. 91-96), Wordsworth having owned a copy of Vaughan. H. S. Pancoast in "Did Wordsworth Jest with Matthew" (*MLN*, xxxvii. 279-283) replies to Campbell (*MLN*, xxxvi, 408), defending Wordsworth's seriousness in *Expostulation and Reply* and *The Tables Turned*. B. Cerf utters heresy in "Wordsworth's Gospel of Nature" (*PMLA*, xxxvii. 615-638). G. M. Harper thinks "Wordsworth's Lines to Hartley Coleridge" (*London Times Lit. Suppl.*, Aug. 31, 1922, p. 557) were probably originally a part of the *Ode on Immortality*, although this is rendered somewhat doubtful by the fact that these lines were in existence a year before the *Ode* was begun (cf. *ibid.*, 569). W. Graham reprints "An Important Coleridge Letter" (*JEGP*, xxi. 530-535) containing religious and political sentiments together with Coleridge's 'Remonstrance to the French Legislators' which appeared in the *Watchman*. F. T. Blanchard in "Coleridge's Estimate of Fielding" (*Gayley Anniv. Papers*, 153-163) shows that Coleridge began as a Richardsonian and only reached his high opinion of Fielding in the last period of his life. A. R. Crawford offers an analysis and interpretation of "Keats's *Ode to the Nightingale*" (*MLN*, xxxvii. 476-481).

The Shelley centenary has been responsible for numerous articles on the poet. Miss G. Slaughter's "Percy Bysshe Shelley, 1822-1922" (*No. Amer. Rev.*, ccxvi. 67-82), R. M. Lovett's "Ethical Paradox in Shelley" (*New Republic*, xxxi. 204-206), and G. R. Elliott's "How Poetic is Shelley's Poetry?" (*PMLA*, xxxvii. 311-323) are of varying value. J. W. Beach, "Latter-day Critics of Shelley" (*Yale Rev.*, xi. 718-731), defends Shelley against the criticism of men like Paul Elmer More and Irving Babbitt. N. I. White records "Shelley's Debt to Alma Murray" (*MLN*, xxxvii. 411-415), especially for her performance of the part of Beatrice in *The Cenci*. He also analyses "Shelley's *Charles the First*" (*JEGP*, xxi. 431-441) and conjectures on the reason it remains unfinished, and elsewhere notes "An Italian 'Imitation' of Shelley's *The Cenci*" (*PMLA*, xxxvii. 683-690). Valuable information concerning "Shelley Manuscripts" (*Literary Rev.*, ii. 498) is contributed by W. E. Peck. G. B. Dolson, "Southey and Landor and the *Consolation of Philosophy* of Boethius" (*Amer. Jour. of Phil.*, xliii. 356-358), questions the notion that Landor took the plan of his *Conversations* from Boethius, though Southey did. R. B. Quintana's "The Satiric Mood in Byron" (*Heller Vol.*, 211-231) represents a reaction from the tendency to consider Byron's satires of Italian inspiration and to trace them to the man himself. W. Graham's "Byron and Campbell: A Parallel" (*N&Q*, 12 S. xi. 45-46) notes considerable borrowing by Campbell from Byron. A. M. Bierstadt identifies eleven "Unacknowledged Poems by Thomas Campbell" (*MLN*, xxxvii. 343-345) signed 'C' in the *New Monthly Magazine* from 1821 to 1830.

The English Traveller in America, 1785-1835 is a dissertation (Columbia) by Miss J. L. Mesick. The same theme for a later period is treated by S. T. Williams in a series of articles bearing the title "The Founding of Main Street" (*No. Amer. Rev.*, ccxv. 775-784; ccxvi. 121-128; 248-253; 411-416) and discussing the letters of Mrs. Trollope, Dickens, Thackeray, and Matthew Arnold. John Davis another author of travels in America, is treated by R. A. Law in "The

Bard of Coosawhatchee" (*Texas Rev.*, vii. 133-156). H. R. Wagner has compiled *The Plains and the Rockies: A Bibliography of Original Narratives of Travel and Adventure, 1800-1865*. W. B. Cairns continues his study of *British Criticisms of American Writings, 1815-1833* (Wisconsin).

H. T. Baker writes on "Lamb and the Periodical Essay" (*No. Amer. Rev.*, ccxv. 519-528) and P. F. Baum in "Landor and B" (*Sewanee Rev.*, xxx. 411-419) makes a fresh examination of Landor's quarrel with Charles Betham. S. T. Williams revives George Brimley, "A Mid-Victorian Critic" (*Ibid.*, 229-236), and considers "Carlyle's Past and Present: A Prophecy" (*So. Atl. Qu.*, xxi. 30-40) and "Arnold on Men of His Day" (*Literary Rev.*, xx. 665-666). J. D. McCallum is the author of a dissertation on *Lord Morley's Criticism of English Poetry and Prose* (Princeton). In fiction L. A. Shears treats *The Influence of Walter Scott on the Novels of Theodor Fontane* (Columbia); H. H. Carter, "Ruskin and the *Waverley Novels*" (*Sewanee Rev.*, xxx. 130-153), gives an epitome of Ruskin's exceedingly numerous comments on Scott, whom he admired greatly; and R. W. Wenley in "Marian Evans and 'George Eliot'" (*Washington Univ. Studies*, ix. 3-34) studies George Eliot's intellectual and philosophical development in the light of the influences at work upon her. A. Boyd suggests "A New Angle on the Drood Mystery" (*Ibid.*, 35-85) and A. Woollcott writes on "Charles Dickens, the Side-tracked Actor" (*No. Amer. Rev.*, ccxvi. 513-522). E. G. Sutcliffe discusses "Thackeray's Romanticism" (*So. Atl. Qu.*, xxi. 313-321); W. T. Hale studies *William de Morgan and the Greater Victorians* (Indiana); and S. Alden contributes "George Gissing, Humanist" (*No. Amer. Rev.*, ccxvi. 364-377). Several hitherto unpublished Stevenson items have been privately printed: *Diogenes at the Savile Club* (Chicago, 1921); *Stevenson's Workshop*, material from Stevenson's note book edited with facsimiles by W. P. Trent (Boston, 1921); and *When the Devil Was Well* (Boston, 1921), a story, also edited by W. P. Trent. Miss A. D. Snyder defines "Stevenson's Conception of the Fable" (*JEGP*, xxi. 160-168).

Among the later Victorian poets T. L. Hood investigates at length "Browning's Ancient Classical Sources" (*Harvard Stud. in Class. Phil.*, xxxiii. 79-180). The late J. R. Bonnell discussed "Touch Images in the Poetry of Robert Browning" (*PMLA*, xxxvii. 574-598). Mrs. M. H. Bates is the author of a volume of *Browning Critiques*, and R. A. Law finds "The Background of Browning's *Love Among the Ruins*" (*MLN*, xxxvii. 312-313) in a chapter of *Chronicles*. H. H. Gowen's "Jottings" (*Ibid.*, 183) are on Matthew Arnold and Browning, and A. A. Kern's note on "*King Lear* and *Pelleas and Ettarre*" (*Ibid.*, 153-157) is that Tennyson was influenced by *Lear*. Miss C. Rummons writes on "The Ballad Imitations of Swinburne" (*Poet Lore*, xxxiii. 58-84) and Miss Eliz. Atkins has published a volume on *The Poet's Poet: Essays on the Character and Mission of the Poet as Interpreted in English Verse of the Last One Hundred and Fifty Years*.

Two studies of Hardy have appeared: S. C. Chew's *Thomas Hardy, Poet and Novelist* (Bryn Mawr), published in 1921; and J. W. Beach's *The Technique of Thomas Hardy*. Miss R. M. Stauffer writes of *Joseph Conrad: His Romantic-Realism* and G. H. Clarke of "Joseph Conrad and His Art" (*Sewanee Rev.*, xxx. 258-276). L. Lockert treats "Some of Mr. Galsworthy's Heroines" (*No. Amer. Rev.*, ccxv. 255-266), and J. W. Beach in "The English Sentimentalists" (*Ibid.*, ccxvi. 89-101) considers some contemporary writers of fiction. A. A. Raven makes an interesting collection of the unusual words in Masfield: "A Study in Masfield's Vocabulary" (*MLN*, xxxvii. 148-153); Miss G. P. Dilla traces "The Development of Wilfrid Wilson Gibson's Poetic Art" (*Sewanee Rev.*, xxx. 39-56); L. C. Zucker writes an appreciation of "The Art of a Minor Poet" (*So. Atl. Qu.*, xxi. 259-269), Francis Ledwidge, a young Irishman sponsored by Lord Dunsany; and N. J. O'Connor discusses Lennox Robinson in "A Dramatist of Changing Ireland" (*Sewanee Rev.*, xxx. 277-285).

Of more general character are F. E. Schelling's *Appraisements and Asperities*, a stimulating volume of essays on contemporary writers; the late C. T. Winchester's *An Old*

Castle and Other Essays, a series of papers on various subjects from Shakespeare to the nineteenth century poets; and B. Matthews' *The Tocsin of Revolt*, a collection of some of his recent writings on contemporary topics. F. C. Prescott's *The Poetic Mind* attempts a Freudian explanation of the poetic process. Henry Van Dyke considers the diction of poetry in "The Fringe of Words" (*Yale Rev.* xii, 73-84). H. E. Cory links "Psychoanalysis and Literary Criticism" (*Gayley Anniv. Papers*, 187-194) and J. E. Spingard drafts an indictment of "Scholarship and Criticism in the United States," reprinted from a volume, *Civilization in the United States: An Inquiry by Thirty Americans*. G. N. Shuster traces *The Catholic Spirit in Modern English Literature*. W. L. Phelps writes of *Human Nature in the Bible*. J. B. Fletcher makes a comparative study of "Herod in the Drama" of Europe (*SP*, xix. 292-307); C. W. Wells treats "The Art of Narrative in Autobiography" (*Gayley Anniv. Papers*, 57-76); G. W. Cole, "Bibliography—A Forecast" (*Papers of Amer. Bibl. Soc.*, xiv. 1-19), makes a plea for comparative bibliography; and R. Withington adds "Additional Notes on Modern Folk Pageantry" (*PMLA*, xxxvii. 347-359). Finally attention may be directed to A. Morize's *Problems and Methods of Literary History*, though written chiefly from the point of view of modern French literature.

We may conclude this survey with a few papers dealing with folk lore: W. N. Brown, "The Silence Wager Stories" (*Amer. Jour. of Phil.*, xliii. 289-317), a theme represented in English in the ballad *Get Up and Bar the Door*; A. Taylor, "The Three Sins of the Hermit" (*MP*, xx. 61-94), a study of the folk tale which Matthew Gregory Lewis used in *The Monk*; P. F. Baum, "The Mare and the Wolf" (*MLN*, xxxvii. 350-353); A. G. Brodeur, "Androcles and the Lion" (*Gayley Anniv. Papers*, 195-213), part of a larger investigation of the sources and development of the grateful lion story; A. Taylor, "The Gallows of Judas Iscariot" (*Heller Vol.*, 135-156), concerning the popular traditions as to the tree Judas chose to hang himself on; P. F. Baum, "Judas's Red

Hair" (*JEGP*, xxi. 520-529), which contains instances of the tradition from the middle ages to Tennyson; E. W. Burlingame, "St. Cuthbert and the King's Daughter" (*MLN*, xxxvii. 187), giving eastern parallels to the legend; and Stith Thompson, "The Transmission of Folk Tales" (*Gayley Anniv. Papers*, 129-136), in which he considers the assimilation of European material by the American Indians as probably typical of what happened in Europe in the days of the great migrations.

ALBERT C. BAUGH

II. AMERICAN LITERATURE

In *The Journal of John Woolman*, Rancocas Edition, edited by Amelia Mott Gummere, we at last have a satisfactory text of this early American classic, based on two early manuscripts and the English Journal at Swarthmore College, together with the folio in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The volume contains all the known writings of Woolman, including an unpublished Essay on Human Relations, and a new memoir and bibliography. "The Poetical Works of John Trumbull, containing 'McFingal,' a modern Epic Poem, revised and corrected with copious explanatory notes, 'The Progress of Dulness,' and a collection of poems on various subjects" has been published by The Andiron Club, of New York, in *The Colonnade*, xiv (1919-22). Oral Sumner Coad has discussed "An Old American College Play" (*MLN*, xxxvii. 157-163), *The Mercenary Match* by Barnabas Bidwell, one of the rarest of early American plays. A survey of "American Plays of Our Forefathers" (*North American Review*, ccxv. 790-804) by Montrose J. Moses, dealing with plays prior to 1870, does little more than show that they were not like the plays of to-day. Freneau is the subject of one of the longer critical essays in Fred Lewis Pattee's *Side-Lights on American Literature*. D. L. Clark has studied *Brockden Brown and the Rights of Women* (Univ. of Texas Bulletin, Compar. Lit. Series, No. 2, 48 pp.), and

Worthington Chauncey Ford has edited *Broadsides, Ballads, Etc., printed in Massachusetts, 1639-1800* (Mass. Hist. Soc. Colls. vol. 75). In *British Criticisms of American Writings, 1815-1833* (Wisconsin) William B. Cairns has completed his study of the British attitude toward American literature during the first half century of the independence of the United States. Aiming to discover as far as possible the consensus of opinion among British readers, he has examined a large number of minor and short-lived periodicals in addition to the well-known periodicals, and has presented his results in a volume of over 300 pages.

American Indian Verse (Kansas), by Nellie Barnes, provides a representation of the verse of many tribes, in translation, indicating the poetic style, the variety of verse forms, and the preferred subjects. Guy Montgomery has presented "A Method of Studying the Structure of Primitive Verse Applied to the Songs of the Teton-Sioux" (*Univ. of California Publ. in Modern Philology*, xi. 269-283), and Eda Lou Walton has written "Navaho Poetry: An Interpretation" (*Texas Review*, vii. 198-210), with translations by the author. Here may be mentioned a collection of *Americans Ballads and Songs* edited by Louise Pound, which, after a selection of imported ballads, gives examples of Native Ballads and Songs, Ballads of Criminals and Outlaws, Western Ballads and Songs, etc. Some of the texts are here printed for the first time. In this connection may be mentioned also an article on "National Elements in Stephen Foster's Art" (*So. Atlantic Qu.*, xxi. 322-326) by J. G. Burnett, and several publications relating to the negro: "Pro-Slavery Propaganda in American Fiction of the Fifties" (*So. Atlantic Qu.*, xxi. 41-50, 170-178), by Jeannette Reid Tandy; "The Negro in American Literature" (*Bookman*, lvi. 137-141), by Benjamin Brawley; "Racial Feeling in Negro Poetry" (*So. Atlantic Qu.*, xxi. 14-29), by Newman I. White; and *The Book of American Negro Poetry*, chosen and edited by James Weldon Johnson, with an essay on the creative capacities of the negro.

Most of the studies of the year have naturally dealt with the writers of the nineteenth century. There is a book on *Religious Thought in the Greater American Poets* by E. J. Bailey. Mr. Pattee's book of *Side-lights*, already mentioned, contains interpretative and critical chapters on Bryant, Poe, Longfellow, Mary E. Wilkins, O. Henry, and Jack London. Stuart P. Sherman's book on *Americans* includes chapters on Emerson, Whitman, and Joaquin Miller. Gamaliel Bradford's *American Portraits (1875-1900)* gives biographical interpretations of Mark Twain, Sidney Lanier, Henry James, and Henry Adams. "An Unpublished Concord Journal by Frank Sanborn" (*Century Mag.*, N. S. LXXXI. 825-835), edited by George S. Hellman, was written when Sanborn was a senior at Harvard College in 1854-55. M. A. DeWolfe Howe's *Memories of a Hostess* is based on the diaries of Mrs. James T. Fields; Willa Cather has made the book an occasion for an article entitled "The House on Charles Street" (*Literary Rev.*, III. 173-174). Another valuable contemporary record of nineteenth-century writers is Caroline Ticknor's *Glimpses of Authors*, containing reminiscences of Hawthorne, Whittier, Mark Twain, and many others. *The Evening Post* by Allan Nevins not only relates the history of a great American newspaper, but also contains a chapter useful to the student of Bryant.

Of publications concerning individual writers of the century, the most important is *Correspondence of James Fenimore-Cooper* in 2 vols., edited by his grandson James Fenimore Cooper, covering nearly the whole of Cooper's life. This correspondence will compensate in some measure for the lack of an adequate biography, although "the original letters," according to the editor, "contain much of too intimate a nature for the eyes of the public even now: this has been eliminated." In an appendix is printed a journal relating to Cooper's home life in 1848. Poe is represented in this year's studies by a discussion of "A Source for *Annabel Lee*" (*JEGP.* XXI. 341-346) by R. A. Law; by "Poe's Doctrine of Effect" (*Univ. of California Publ. in Modern Philology*,

xi. 179-186) by George F. Richardson; by a pamphlet describing fully *The Poe Cottage at Fordham* (Trans. Bronx Society of Arts, Sciences, and History, 638 W. 158th St., New York) prepared by Reginald Pelham Bolton; and by T. O. Mabbott's "The Letters from George W. Eveleth to Edgar Allan Poe" (*Bulletin* N. Y. Public Library). Surmise as to Whittier's love affairs will hereafter be considerably reduced by the publication of *Whittier's Unknown Romance: Letters to Elizabeth Lloyd* with an introduction by Marie V. Denervaud—letters which reveal the story of his main if not only passion. "Emerson's Debt to Montaigne" (*Heller Volume, Washington Univ. Studies*, pp. 245-262) has been studied by W. L. Ustick, and "Emerson as Poet of Nature" (*PLMA*, xxxvii. 599-614) by Norman Foerster. "The Indian Legend of Hiawatha" is the subject of a paper by Stith Thompson (*PMLA*, xxxvii. 128-140), and there are interesting glimpses of Longfellow in the *Random Memories* by the late Ernest Wadsworth Longfellow, although there is much less about the poet than one would expect. On Hawthorne, E. C. Ross contributes a single paragraph, "A Note on *The Scarlet Letter*" (*MLN*, xxxvii. 58-59). "Childhood Traits in Whitman" (*Dial*, lxxii. 169-177) is written by Emory Holloway in the light of recent psychology; the author seeks to reveal childhood traits that survived in the adult Whitman. *Walt Whitman in Mickle Street* is the subject of a book by E. L. Keller. Carolyn Wells and Aldred F. Goldsmith have made *A Concise Bibliography of the Works of Walt Whitman*, which includes also fifty works about Whitman. Although this is not the place for a bibliography of writings on Abraham Lincoln, one book, *Lincoln*, by Nathaniel Wright Stephenson, who emphasizes the man's inner life, should not be disregarded. "Unpublished Chapters from the Autobiography of Mark Twain" (*Harpers Mag.* cxliv. 273-280, 445-460, and cxlv. 310-315) will doubtless appear in book form along with additional matter. Ralph Holmes has written on "Mark Twain and Music" (*Century Mag.*, civ. 844-850), and Olin H. Moore on "Mark

Twain and Don Quixote" (*PMLA*, xxxvii. 324-346). *Abroad with Mark Twain and Eugene Field: Tales They Told to a Fellow-Correspondent*, by Henry W. Fisher, gives most of its 246 pages to Mark Twain. "Sarah Orne Jewett" (*Sewanee Rev.*, xxx. 20-26) is an interpretative study by Martha Hale Shackford. *The Life of Donald G. Mitchell (Ik Marvell)* by W. H. Dunn provides a full length biography. On William Sydney Porter there is an article, "O. Henry, Playwright," (*Bookman*, lvi. 152-157), by Alexander Woollcott, and the *Letters to Lithopolis; from O. Henry to Mable Wagnalls*. Jessie B. Rittenhouse has published some "Memories of Madison Cawein" (*Bookman*, lxi. 305-312). Marcus Dickey's *The Maturity of James Whitcomb Riley* takes up the account of his life where *The Youth of Riley* left off. "William Vaughn Moody: An American Milton" (*Double Dealer*, iv. 79-86) is a critical article by Howard Mumford Jones. Meade Minnigerode has edited *Some Personal Letters of Herman Melville, and a Bibliography* (Edmond Byrne Hackett: Brick Row Book Shop), and Henry S. Canby has discussed critically "Conrad and Melville" (*Literary Rev.*, ii. 393-394). *William Dean Howells* is an extended critical study by Delmar Gross Cooke. A new collection of essays by John Burroughs, *The Last Harvest*, has appeared, containing extended discussion of Emerson and Thoreau; also *My Boyhood; with a Conclusion by His Son, Julian Burroughs*, and *John Burroughs Talks*, a book of reminiscences and comments edited by Clifton Johnson. Allan Nevins has written an article on "Garland and the Prairies" (*Literary Rev.*, ii. 881-882). There is a small volume of *Twenty-one Letters of Ambrose Bierce* (G. Kirk, Cleveland) edited with a note by Samuel Loveman. Two other collections of letters may be mentioned: *Letters of James Gibbons Huneker*, and *The Letters of Horace Howard Furness*, in 2 vols. Finally, there are several studies of a general nature: "Dante Interests in 19th Century America" (*PQ*. i. 192-201) by Emilio Goggio; "English and American Appreciation of Rabelais" (*Univ. of California Publ. in*

Modern Philology, xi. 139-151) by George Rupert MacMinn; and *The Satirical Element in the American Novel* (Pennsylvania) by Ernest J. Hall.

Studies in present-day American literature are proceeding at such a furious rate that only a selection may here be attempted. One of the outstanding books is Carl Van Doren's *Contemporary American Novelists (1900-1920)*. Percy H. Boynton has done a similar work in his several papers on "American Authors of To-day" (*Engl. Journal*, xi. 383-391, 455-462, 527-535, 610-620), his subjects being E. A. Robinson, Robert Frost, Amy Lowell, Edgar Lee Masters, and Carl Sandburg. In *Appraisements and Asperities*, Felix E. Schelling has written critically on "Carl Sandburg—Rebel?", "Our Miss Repplier," "The Poetry of George E. Woodberry," "The Quaintness of Mr. Crothers," and "Some Forgotten Tales of Henry James." Stuart P. Sherman has written a brochure entitled *The Significance of Sinclair Lewis*. "Sherwood Anderson" is the title of a paper by Paul Rosenfeld (*Dial*, LXXII. 29-42) and one by T. K. Whipple (*Literary Rev.*, II. 481-482). H. B. Fuller is the author of "Chicago Novelists" (*Literary Rev.*, II. 501-502), and Amy Lowell has attempted "A Bird's-Eye View of E. A. Robinson" (*Dial*, LXXII. 130-142). "Matthew Arnold and American Letters To-day" (*Sewanee Rev.*, xxx. 298-306), by Norman Foerster, is a consideration of tendencies in the light of Arnold's criticism of the Romantic Movement. Two penetrating discussions of expressionism are "The Rag Bag of the Soul" (*Literary Rev.*, III. 237-238), by Edmund Wilson, Jr. and "The Expressionists" (*Literary Rev.*, III. 285-286), by Henry S. Canby. Mr. Canby is also the author of *Definitions*, in which he seeks to ascertain the drift and meaning of contemporary literature. Of the many books on the drama, a single one may be named, *The Theatre of Tomorrow*, in which Kenneth MacGowan has made a useful collection of facts about recent stagecraft. Oliver M. Saylor has tried to present "The Real Eugene O'Neill" (*Century Mag.*, N. S., LXXXI. 351-359). Lastly, a hand-

book has been prepared by J. M. Manly and Edith Rickert, *Contemporary American Literature: Bibliographies and Study Outlines*.

The foregoing record is clearly an indication of the rapidly growing interest in American letters, although it must be admitted that this interest is more popular than scholarly. Substantial studies of American subjects are still rare.

NORMAN FOERSTER

III. FRENCH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

American contributions to French studies have been chiefly in literary history, more largely in the modern than in the mediæval field. A few writers have concerned themselves with linguistic studies. M. B. Rowe defines *aigre* and discusses its survival in modern dialects in "Old French *aigre* 'vinegar,'" (*MLN*, xxxvii. 438-440) and U. T. Holmes proposes etymologies for the Provençal words, *enclutge*, *soanar*, *olifan* in "Some Provençal Etymologies" (*MP*, xx. 95-97). A. D. Menut in his dissertation on *The Semantics of Doublets in Old and Middle French* (Columbia) first studies doublets of ecclesiastical, legal, and scientific origin, then those influenced by humanism and the *rheloriqueurs*. O. M. Johnston in a "Note on *Por ce que*, *Parce que*, and *Pour que*" (*MLN*, xxxvii. 310-312) indicates the close relationship that existed between these conjunctions. J. L. Barker has contributed two articles on phonetics. His "Syllable and Word Division in French and English" (*MP*, xix. 321-336) shows with diagrams the difference between English and French articulation in groups like *sit down* and *tle de*, in words like *temple* and *restaurant*. His "Formation of Voiceless Consonants in French and English" (*MP*, xx. 173-180) enlarges upon the theme that phoneticians in describing the formation of consonants have not taken into account how the positions they describe are reached and left. M. M. Dondo in his dissertation on *Vers Libre, a logical development of French verse* (Columbia) makes a special

study of rhythm and classifies the various metrical or rhythmical arrangements of which modern French seems capable. In "Seventeenth-Century Prosody: 'Hier'; 'Fléau'; 'Meurtrier'; 'Fuir'" (*MLN*, xxxvii. 96-101) H. C. Lancaster shows that the rôle of Corneille in establishing the syllable count for these words is less important than has been hitherto supposed.

Before taking up contributions to the detail of literary history, I would mention two books of a more general nature which are of such high quality and will be of such importance to advanced students that, although they may be used as text-books, they clearly deserve consideration here. The first is *A History of French Literature* by W. A. Nitze and E. P. Dargan, which for its breadth of information and excellence of temper bids fair to rank as the leading book of its kind in English. The other by A. Morize, *Problems and Methods of Literary History with special reference to Modern French Literature* brings many valuable suggestions to men engaged in literary research.

An important contribution to the study of Old French Literature has been made by E. C. Armstrong in *The French Metrical Versions of Barlaam and Josaphat with especial reference to the termination in Gui de Cambrai* (Elliott Monographs, Princeton). He reproduces in facsimile portions of different versions and adds in an appendix the text of the Brussels fragments of Gui de Cambrai's version. C. B. Lewis traces the "Origin of the Weaving Songs and the Theme of the Girl at the Fountain" (*PMLA*, xxxvii. 141-181) to annunciation legends in the Apocryphal Gospels, and M. B. Ogle traces to the same source the "Orchard Scene in *Tydorel* and *Sir Gowther*" (*RR*, xiii. 37-43). Information with regard to the relations that existed between the author of the *Tristan* and the Angevin rulers is furnished by R. S. Loomis in "Tristram and the House of Anjou" (*MLR*, xvii. 24-30) and by J. L. Deister in "Bernart de Ventadour's Reference to the Tristan story" (*MP*, xix. 287-296). In "The Sources of *Ille et Galeron*" (*MP*, xx. 35-44) F. A. G. Cowper com-

pletes the publication of his dissertation (Chicago), utilizing the new Wollaton Hall MS. and continuing a discussion begun by E. S. Sheldon (*MP*, xvii. 383-392).¹ M. E. Temple concludes that there was a certain amount of "Paraphrasing in the *Livre de Paix* of Christine de Pisan of the *Paradiso* III-V" (*PMLA*, xxxvii. 182-186).

J. C. Dawson brings down to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries his study of "The Floral Games of Toulouse" (*RR*, xiii. 97-114), printing a number of poems from the *Livre rouge*. A. H. Krappe in "Pierre de Ronsard's 'Hymne de la mort' and Plutarch's 'Consolatio ad Apollonium'" (*MLR*, xvii. 150-156) argues that Ronsard modeled his poem on this treatise. G. L. van Roosbroeck suggests as the source of "A Lost Play by Alexandre Hardy" (*MLN*, xxxvii. 121-123) *La Polyxene* of Molière d'Essertines. The same writer discusses "Corneille's Relations with Louis Petit" (*MLN*, xxxvii. 307-309) and holds in "Corneille's *Cinna* and the *Conspiration des Dames*" (*MP*, xx. 1-17) that in choosing the subject of this play the dramatist had in mind a plot directed against Richelieu in 1626. In a fourth article, "Hamlet in France in 1663" (*PMLA*, xxxvii. 228-242), he suggests the influence of Shakespeare on Montfleury's *Trasibule*. H. C. Lancaster studies the life and works of a minor dramatist in "De Rayssiguier" (*RHL*, xxix. 257-267). A. Constans advances the idea that the subject of "Georges de Scudéry's Lost Epic" (*MLN*, xxxvii. 212-215) was the deeds of Robert le Grand, Count of Dreux, who flourished in the twelfth century. F. B. Barton brings forward evidence to show that "The Sources of the Story

¹ A. H. Krappe's dissertation, *Alliteration in the CHANSON DE ROLAND and in the CARMEN DE PRODICIONE GUENONIS* (Chicago) was not mentioned in "American Bibliography for 1921." The author lists all cases of alliteration and holds that the process had precedents in popular literature, Teutonic tradition, and Mediaeval Latin verse, but throws no light on the priority of the two poems. Another dissertation unmentioned last year is that of J. S. Will, *Protestantism in France, II (1598-1629)* (Columbia), which forms the only published part of a work in three volumes on Protestantism in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

of *Sesostris et Timarète* in *Le Grand Cyrus*" (MP, XIX. 257-268) are largely found in Lope's *Los Prados de Leon*. C. Searles in "La Fontaine's Imitation" (PQ, I. 56-70) discusses the fabulist's method of rejuvenating ancient material, while L. Cons emends a passage in "La Préface des Fables de La Fontaine" (MLN, XXXVII. 246-248). E. C. Hills in "Thomas Jefferson and Molière" (MLN, XXXVII. 443) calls attention to Jefferson's tribute to Molière's influence as regards physicians. T. W. Bussom publishes his dissertation in which he studies *The Life and Works of Pradon* (Minnesota), giving considerable space to the dramatist's rivalry with Racine.

In "Errors in Beauchamps' 'Recherches sur les théâtres de France'" (MLN, XXXVII. 466-469) H. C. Lancaster shows that one date is incorrect out of every six given by this often quoted eighteenth century authority. H. E. Haxo offers corrections to A. Caze's *Pierre Bayle* in "Pierre Bayle and His Biographers" (MLN, XXXVII. 55-56). G. Atkinson has published a monograph entitled *The Extraordinary Voyage in French Literature from 1700 to 1720* (Paris, Champion), which is a continuation of his dissertation devoted to this type of travel literature in the seventeenth century. G. L. van Roosbroeck restores to G. Bernard, Maynard, and Grécourt "Verses attributed to Voltaire" (MLN, XXXVII. 440-442). The same writer publishes "A Prologue for Voltaire's *Arlémire*" (PQ, I. 137-141) that was circulated at the time *Arlémire* appeared; he calls it a kind of parody of the first scene of Voltaire's play, but he might have pointed out that half of it is a closer parody of the opening scene of *Phèdre*. F. Vexler has published a dissertation called *Studies in Diderot's Esthetic Naturalism* (Columbia), in which he indicates what his ideas were concerning the artistic imitation of nature in drama and tragedy and shows that he tries to conciliate esthetics of Classicist origin with the new *système de la nature*. It forms a part of a general study of Diderot's esthetics, to be published subsequently. A. Schinz contributes a helpful bibliographical study of

recent Rousseau literature called "Le Mouvement Rousseauiste du Dernier Quart de Siècle" (*MP*, xx. 149-172). F. A. Waterhouse in "An Interview with J. J. Rousseau" (*PMLA*, xxxvii. 113-127) recounts a visit of C. F. Weiss to Rousseau in 1760. E. H. Ayers publishes a long article entitled "Histoire de l'Impression et de la Publication de la *Lettre à D'Alembert* de J. J. Rousseau" (*PMLA*, xxxvii. 527-565).

G. Chinard, in "La correspondance de Mme de Staël avec Jefferson" (*RLC*, II. 621-640) publishes nine letters written from 1807 to 1817. The same writer discusses the relations of "Chateaubriand and Mrs. Sutton" (*MLN*, xxxvii. 193-206) in the light of letters he publishes from the latter to the former, and destroys a legend related by Barthe with regard to Chateaubriand's visit to America in "Chateaubriand et l'Abbé C. F. Painchaud" (*MLN*, xxxvii. 101-105). A dissertation called "Supernaturalism and Satanism in Chateaubriand" (Columbia) has been published by M. Rudwin. It will form the opening chapter of a book to be called *The Devil in Modern French Literature*. G. Chinard points out the influence of *Queen Mab* and *Alastor* on *la Maison du berger* in "Shelley et Vigny: une source possible de la *Maison du berger*" (*RLC*, II. 477-483). A. Schaffer studies the dependence of Banville on Villon in "The 'Trente-six ballades joyeuses' of Théodore de Banville" (*MLN*, xxxvii. 328-333). H. E. Patch in her dissertation on "The Dramatic Criticism of Théophile Gautier" (Bryn Mawr) summarizes Gautier's theories about dramatic literature and his judgments of French plays from Corneille to his own day. A 67 page appendix adds an index of his dramatic criticisms from 1835 to 1872. B. M. Woodbridge emphasizes in "Flaubert and War Brides" (*MLN*, xxxvii. 183-185) the novelist's contradictory attitudes towards war. The same writer points out a "kinship of imagination" between a passage in Anatole France and one in *Daphnis and Chloe* in "Sylvestre Bonnard and Philetas" (*MLN*, xxxvii. 56-58); but G. L. van Roosbroeck shows that France's narrative is still nearer

to *La Poupée* of Bibiena in "Sylvestre Bonnard and the Fairy" (*MLN*, xxxvii. 248-250). A. Marinoni in "A Note on Maupassant" (*MLN*, xxxvii. 186-187) compares *les Tombales* and the *Widow of Ephesus*. R. P. Bowen contributes an "Analysis of the Priest Genre in the Modern French Novel" (*PMLA*, xxxvii. 722-734) of the last 100 years, and C. E. Young an article on "Marriage in the French Drama" (*PQ*, i. 241-247) in which he studies the problems treated in various French plays from 1850 to 1910. D. C. Cabeen devotes to the study of a contemporary author his dissertation entitled *The African Novels of Louis Bertrand: A Phase of the Renaissance of National Energy in France* (Pennsylvania).

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

IV. SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE LANGUAGES AND LITERATURE

The most important contribution to Spanish linguistics made during the year by an American scholar is C. C. Marden's second part of his edition of the *Libro de Apolonio* (Elliott Monographs, 11-12, Princeton), the first part of which appeared in 1917. The first chapter records the general features of orthography, morphology, syntax, dialect and versification; the second chapter contains the text-emendations and personal interpretations of the editor, and the third chapter includes the vocabulary. The latter lists all forms, and the context as well when a word has more than one meaning in the text. The editor presents additional evidence that the Aragonese linguistic traits of the text are due to the copyist, and also that "the original poem adhered to the Alexandrine verse of the *cuaderna vía*." E. H. Tuttle continues his important studies in phonology. In "Spanish *e* for *ue*," (*MLR*, xvii. 414-415) he argues that *culebra* for *culuebra*, *frente* for *fruenta*, etc., are not due to dissimilation. The development began with assimilation; *l* and *r* were labialized and the weak *u* following was absorbed. In his

article "Romanic Etymologies," (*MLR*, xvii. 79-80) he proposes Arabic origins for Galician *axexar*, Span. *acechar*; Span. *acetre*, *celtre*, *celtre*, and Port. *alcançar*, Span. *alcansar*. In "Notes étymologiques," (*ZRPh*, xli. 685-687) he discusses Portuguese and Spanish derivatives of *arbitriare* (*albedriar*, *alvidrar*) and *arbitriu*; Ital. *brutto* and Span. *burdo* from *brutu*, and suggests a Provençal origin for *carroña*. D. S. Blondheim in "Vino judiego" (*RFE*, ix. 180-181) supplements A. Castro's article on the same subject (*RFE*, vii) by citing the equivalents of "vino judiego" in early Catalan and Sicilian texts.

H. M. Martin's article "Termination of Qualifying Words before Feminine Nouns and Adjectives in the Plays of Lope de Vega" (*MLN*, xxxvii. 398-407) is devoted chiefly to a study of the use of *el* or *la* before feminine nouns beginning with accented *a* or *ha*, those beginning with unaccented *a*, those beginning with *e*, and before adjectives. A. S. Sloan in "The Pronouns of Address in Don Quijote" (*RR*, xiii. 65-76) shows that a study of Don Quijote does not confirm the statements of grammarians regarding the distinctions in the use of *tú*, *vos* and *vuestra merced* as pronouns of address. H. Keniston's article "More on the Ending -ufdo" (*Hisp.* v. 167-169) continues the discussion of diaeresis and synalepha in words of the *huído* type, begun in the previous volume.

In the general field of Spanish literature C. Barja's *Libros y autores clásicos* offers an interesting survey of the outstanding writers and literary works down to the end of the seventeenth century. In early Spanish literature, W. S. Hendrix in his article "Military Tactics in the Poem of the Cid" (*MP*, xx. 45-48) studies the poem from a new angle, and the high praise accorded to it by Southey and Coleridge is discussed by E. Buceta in his "Opiniones de Southey y de Coleridge acerca del 'Poema del Cid,'" (*RFE*, ix. 52). S. G. Morley in "El romance del palmero" (*RFE*, ix. 298-310) studies the eight versions of the "romance del palmero" prior to 1650, and finds that the story occurs in two narrative types and contains five important elements. With this as a

basis, he classifies the traditional ballads on this subject and offers suggestions regarding its original form. In "La leyenda de los Infantes de Lara" (*Hisp.* v. 149-156) A. M. Espinosa describes the experiences and gleanings of a ballad-collector in the country of the Infantes de Lara.

Traditions of American scholarship have been followed in the amount of attention devoted to the Spanish drama. J. P. W. Crawford's *Spanish Drama before Lope de Vega* (Pennsylvania) presents an outline of the development of dramatic literature from the earliest period to about the year 1590. In his article "Development of the Entremés before Lope de Rueda" (*PMLA*, xxxvii. 187-207) W. S. Jack shows that incidental comic scenes, which first appear in certain works of Juan del Encina, were gradually developed with greater detail and completeness until they came to possess unity of action and formed a new genre, the *paso* or *entremés*. J. P. W. Crawford's "Early Spanish Wedding Plays" (*RR*, xii. 370-384) presents evidence of a special type of play in the sixteenth century which was frequently performed at weddings. In *The Play of the Sibyl Cassandra* (Bryn Mawr) G. G. King discusses the appearance of the sibyls in Gil Vicente's *auto*, and gives additional proof of the close relationship that existed between the drama and the plastic and pictorial arts in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In "La aparición que hizo Jesu Christo a los dos discípulos que yvan a Emaus: an Early Sixteenth-Century Play" (*RR*, xiii. 228-251) J. E. Gillet reprints with a brief introduction the 1603 Burgos edition of this play by Pedro Altamirando (or Altamira), which previously had been known only by Moratín's brief extract from an edition of 1523. The same writer, in an article entitled "Cueva's 'Comedia del Infamador' and the Don Juan Legend" (*MLN*, xxxvii. 206-212) reviews the evidence of the relationship between Juan de la Cueva's play and "El burlador de Sevilla," and finds that Leucino in the former play "has contributed materially to the formation of the Don Juan type," but that it is a forerunner rather than a model for "El bur-

lador de Sevilla." G. T. Northup's *Ten Spanish Farces of the 16th, 17th and 18th Centuries* illustrate admirably the development of the *paso*, *entremés* and *sainete* from Lope de Rueda to Ramón de la Cruz. The notes deal with important literary and linguistic questions, and the introduction summarizes the historical development of the *entremés* and raises the question of the influence of the *commedia dell'arte*. The sixth volume of the *Comedias y entremeses* (Madrid) which forms a part of the notable *Obras completas de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra* edited by R. Schevill and A. Bonilla y San Martín, is devoted to a detailed study of the dramatic works of Cervantes. In addition to many new facts regarding the sources of the plays the editors present evidence that a number of the *comedias* published in 1615, and especially *La casa de los celos*, *Los baños de Argel* and *El laberinto de Amor*, were written during his first period of dramatic activity (1582-1587). This volume also contains an edition of the *Poestas sueltas* of Cervantes. In the same series have appeared during the year a volume devoted to the *Viage del Parnaso* and the first volume of the *Novelas Exemplares*, accompanied by ample notes.

Curiously enough, much less attention has been devoted to the later drama. S. G. Morley in his "Notes on the Bibliography of Lope de Vega's *Comedias*" (*MP*. xx. 201-217) makes use of Cambrónero's catalogue of the Biblioteca Municipal of Madrid, a manuscript index of Spanish plays by don Joaquín Arteaga and other sources to make corrections in Rennert's bibliography of Lope de Vega's plays, and in the Rennert-Castro bibliography. F. O. Reed's "Spanish Usages and Customs in the Seventeenth Century as noted in the Works of Lope de Vega" (*PQ*. i. 117-127) gives an intimate picture of Spanish life in the seventeenth century and makes clear the meaning of many allusions found in the plays of Lope de Vega and his contemporaries. Southey's interest in Lope de Vega is discussed by E. Buceta, "Una traducción de Lope de Vega hecha por Southey" (*RR*, XIII. 80-83). J. E. Gillet's "Church-and-Stage Controversy in

Granada" (*MLN*, xxxvii. 284-89) examines an anonymous eighteenth-century document in which the theater is blamed for presenting men and women of lax morals on the stage and for permitting the impersonation of various sacred characters. Other pamphlets are described which throw light on the conflict between Church and Stage at Granada in the 18th century.

Hayward Keniston's *Garcilaso de la Vega, a Critical Study of his Life and Works* (Hispanic Society) is a noteworthy contribution to our knowledge of sixteenth-century poetry. It corrects mistakes of previous biographers, offers new facts in the poet's life and presents a social background of absorbing interest. The author's arguments in favor of Garcilaso's priority over Boscán in the composition of *versos sueltos* and octaves are especially important. G. I. Dale studies "The Homeric Simile in the 'Araucana' of Ercilla" (Heller Volume, Washington Univ.) and finds that "the charge of unevenness and inconsistency which has been made against the poem as a whole may justly be applied to the amplified similes." Don Quixote and Sancho Panza as the prototypes of Tom Sawyer and Huck Finn are entertainingly discussed by O. H. Moore in "Mark Twain and Don Quixote" (*PMLA*, xxxvii. 324-346). The first two chapters that have appeared of L. E. V. Sylvania's "Doña María de Zayas y Sotomayor: A Contribution to the Study of her Works" (*RR*, xiii. 197-213) are restricted to doña María's position as a feminist and to a discussion of the ethical principles underlying her novels.

In the field of nineteenth-century literature, F. Schneider in "Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer as 'Poeta' and his Knowledge of Heine's 'Lieder,'" (*MP*, xix 245-256) describes his discovery of a manuscript of Bécquer's *Rimas* from which the latter were published after his death and discusses the changes introduced into the printed version. He presents plausible arguments that Bécquer became interested in Heine about the year 1860 as a result of his friendship for Augusto Ferrán y Fornies, an enthusiastic admirer of German

literature. *The Romantic Dramas of García Gutiérrez* (Columbia, Instituto de las Españas) by N. B. Adams gives an account of the poet's life and the advent of romantic drama in Spain, and analyzes his romantic plays. R. T. House in "Lope de Vega and 'Un drama nuevo,'" (*RR*, XIII. 84-87) adds Lope de Vega's *Lo fingido verdadero* to the list of plays said to have been employed by Tamayo y Baus in the composition of *Un drama nuevo*. T. A. Fitz Gerald's "Some Notes on the Sources of Zorrilla's 'Don Juan Tenorio,'" (*Hisp.* v. 1-7) discusses the inaccuracies contained in Zorrilla's own statements regarding his use of earlier versions of the Don Juan legend. C. E. Farnham's, "American Travellers in Spain (1777-1867)" (*RR*, XIII. 44-64 and 252-262) records the discomforts experienced in Spanish inns by American travellers in the days when travelling in Spain was not an unalloyed pleasure.

S. E. Leavitt lays the basis for a systematic study of the literature of three Spanish American countries in three important articles: "A Bibliography of Peruvian Literature (1821-1919)" (*RR*, XIII. 151-194); "Uruguayan Literature. Bibliography" (*Hisp.* v. 121-132 and 186-196); and "Chilean Literature: A Bibliography of Literary Criticism, Biography, and Literary Controversy" (*The Hispanic American Hist. Rev.*, v. 116-143; 274-297; 516-534; 760-776). G. G. King in *A Citizen of the Twilight: José Asunción Silva* (Bryn Mawr) interprets the work of Colombia's greatest poet.

J. P. WICKERSHAM CRAWFORD

V. ITALIAN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

In the field of Italian linguistics H. H. Vaughan in "The Influence of Non-Latin Elements on the Tonic Vowel in Italian Dialects" (*PQ.* I. 147-153) argues in favor of Germanic and Celtic influences upon North Italian dialects, Oscan influences on the speech of the Neapolitan provinces and the Abruzzi, and Greek influences on the dialects of Terra d'Otranto, the Calabrie and Sicily. C. Goggio's "The Use

of the Conditional Perfect for the Conditional Present in Italian" (*PMLA*, xxxvii. 566-573) records the frequent use of the conditional perfect for the conditional present. The emphatic quality which at first characterized this construction has to a large degree disappeared. It seems to have been used more commonly in Tuscany than elsewhere.

In addition to K. McKenzie's scholarly edition of *La Vita Nuova* and Thomas Nelson Page's last eloquent tribute to *Dante and his Influence*, two important publications deal with Dante. In "The Gilded Leaden Cloaks of the Hypocrites (*Inferno*, xxiii, 58-66)" (*RR*, xii. 335-352) G. L. Hamilton illustrates with a wealth of analogues drawn from medieval history, exempla, theological treatises and folk lore the punishment of hypocrites as described by Dante. In his "Dante Notes" (*MLN*, xxxvii. 36-39) H. D. Austin gives Albertus Magnus as source for the explanation of Galassia in the *Convivio* ii. 15. He also gives a plausible explanation of the much-discussed "Indico Legno" (*Purg.* vii, 74) as "Indian gem," mentioned as *lignis* by Isidore of Seville, and as *lychnis* by Solinus and Pliny. In these cases the Indian origin of the gem is mentioned. The study of Dante from the days of Ticknor to Norton is described by E. Goggio in his article "Dante Interests in Nineteenth Century America" (*PQ*. i. 192-199). C. E. Whitmore concludes his "Studies in the Text of the Sicilian Poets" (*RR*, xii. 353-369) with a further examination of the chief sources and general considerations regarding their relationships.

Miss Winifred Smith makes two contributions in a field which is peculiarly her own. In "Two Commedie dell'arte on the Measure for Measure Story" (*RR*, xiii. 263-275) she publishes two inedited seventeenth-century scenarios based upon Cintio's *Epizia*, and in "Giovan Battista Andreini as a Theatrical Innovator" (*MLR*, xvii. 31-41) she discusses the improvements introduced in Italian stage productions during the first half of the sixteenth-century. In fiction A. H. Krappe's article on the "Source of Sebastiano Erizzo's *Sei Giornate*," (*MP*, xix. 269-284) records the sources of twenty-

nine of the thirty-seven tales, chiefly in Valerius Maximus, Boccaccio, *Gesta Romanorum* and other medieval compilations. The same writer's "Note on Bandello, Parte 1, Novella 14" (*PQ*, I. 301-303) indicates certain scholia to Ovid's *Ibis* as the source for an important incident in this *novella*. J. L. Russo in his "Lorenzo da Ponte. Poet and Adventurer" (Columbia) gives a fascinating account of the checkered career of the librettist of *Le Nozze di Figaro* and *Don Giovanni*, first Professor of Italian at Columbia University, and the earliest exponent of Italian literature and music in this country. N. I. White proves in "An Italian 'Imitation' of Shelley's *The Cenci*" (*PMLA*, xxxvii. 683-690) that it is more correct to speak of G. B. Niccolini's *Beatrice Cenci* as a translation rather than imitation of Shelley's drama. R. Altrocchi in an interesting essay appraises with keen insight and balanced judgment *Gabriele D'Annunzio, Poet of Beauty and Decadence* (The Chicago Literary Club).

J. P. WICKERSHAM CRAWFORD

VI. GERMANIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

Literary criticism in the field of German literature is, as usual well represented by numerous articles and reviews. E. Prokosch, "Stammesart in der neueren Dichtung" (*MLJ*, vii. 155-163) shows that German literature should be studied from the standpoint of the individual German races, a principle already employed by Nadler in his *History of German Literature*. M. G. Bach discusses *Wieland's Attitude toward Women and her Cultural-Social Relations* (Columbia). Archer Taylor in an article "Three Sins of the Hermit" (*MP*, xx. 61-94) treats of a folktale, given by Wickram in his *Rollwagenbüchlein*, enlarged and adapted by M. G. Lewis in his *Monk* and used by E. T. A. Hofmann in his *Elixiere des Teufels*. An article by Fletcher Briggs "Glover's Influence on Klopstock" (*PQ*, I. 290-300) traces the influence of the English poet's epic *Leonidas* on Klopstock's verse. H. J. Weigand has continued his studies on Heine by an article

on "Heine's Family Feud" (*JEGP*, xxi. 70-106) in which he discusses in much detail the struggle of the poet with his relatives over the estate of his wealthy uncle Solomon Heine.

The interest in Goethe continues unabated. James T. Hatfield in an article "Goethe and the Ku Klux Klan" (*PMLA*, xxxvii. 735-739) presents the interesting suggestion that there is a possible connection between the *Vehmgericht* of Goethe's *Götz* and the Klan, through the medium of Scott's novel *Anne of Geierstein* which stood under the influence of Goethe's drama and was well known in the South. A. B. Benson discusses "English Criticism of the Prologue in Heaven in Goethe's Faust" (*MP*, xx. 225-243) showing how little the English understood the scene and how Goethe's apparent irreverence shocked them. In an article "Another Faust" (*JEGP*, xxi. 539-555) H. W. Puckett has discussed a new treatment of the second part of Goethe's Faust by Ferdinand Avenarius which appeared in 1919. The author, discontented with the way Goethe continued the problem, has given to the world his own idea. He connects it with the first part of Goethe's Faust by a *Vorspiel* and develops the action in five *Handlungen*, the first and third of which are further divided into four *Aufzüge* each. Puckett gives the contents of the work and comments on its lack of poetic beauty while admiring its philosophy. E. Prokosch, in an article entitled "Deutsches Volkstum in Goethe's Faust" (*Päd. Monatshefte, Jahrbuch für 1921*, 39-48) gives a new and original interpretation of the second part of Faust, considering it to be a review of Goethe's life and of German history in symbolic form from the beginning of his Weimar period to the end of his life. Problems of *Faust* are also treated by A. B. Faust in his article "The Origin of the Gretchen Theme in Faust" (*MP*, xx. 181-188). He discusses Bode's work on *Die Schicksale der Friederike Brion* and Otto von Boenigh's essay *Das Urbild von Goethe's Gretchen* (1914) which tried to prove that Maria Flint of Stralsund was Goethe's model for Gretchen. Faust shows that Bode has succeeded in clearing the character of Fried-

erike. He dismisses von Boenigh's argument, however, as it can not be proven that Goethe ever heard of Maria Flint. He thinks that the Gretchen episode had its origin, not in personal experiences of Goethe, but in the awakening of a humanitarian sentiment characteristic of the period of Goethe's early manhood. A. W. Porterfield writes on "Goethian Generosity" (*Bookm.* lv. 540-542). A selection of *Goethe's Literary Essays* in English has been compiled by J. E. Spingarn. The selection has been carefully made, but many of the essays are only of ephemeral value.

Martin Schuetze continues his essays on "Fundamental Ideas in Herder's Thought" (*MP*, xx, 361-382) discussing various phases of environment. Seven hitherto unprinted letters of Varnhagen's von Ense to J. P. Eckerman have been published by Carl F. Schreiber (*JEGP*, xxi, 411-430). Irving Babbitt in an article "Schiller's Romanticism" (*MLN*, xxvii, 257-268) defends his view of the influence of romanticism on Schiller against Professor Lovejoy's criticism, who then replies in the same number (268-274). German literature since the war is briefly treated by A. Filipov under the title "New German Literature" (*Liv. Age*, cccxiii, 538-543).

Older German literature is represented by a translation of Hans Sachs' Fastnachtspiel under the title *Wandering Scholar from Paradise* (Little Theatre Classics); further by two articles by Clair H. Bell, one "The Call of the Blood in the Medieval German Epics" (*MLN*, xxvii, 17-26), discussing how the tie of common blood asserts itself in those unconscious of any kinship—a feature not yet found in the *Hildebrandslied* and lost again at a later date, as instanced by Lessing's *Nathan*—the other *The Sister's Son in Medieval German Epics* (California), treating the survival of matriliney in these poems. Further, John C. Hodges "The Nibelungen Saga and the Great Irish Epic" (*MP*, xx, 383-394) denies Zimmer's theory that the Irish poem was influenced by the Nibelungen legend. Ernst Voss in an article "Two Alsatian Poets" (*JEGP*, xxi, 502-512)

discusses the well known controversy between Jacob Wimpheling and Thomas Murner. D. S. Jordan has written on the humanist *Ulrich von Hutten*.

The growing interest in the German drama is shown by the many translations and the critical reviews of German plays. Georg Kaiser's tragedy *From Morn to Midnight* has been translated by Ashley Dukes for the Theatre Guild (Brentano). Stefan Zweig's drama *Jeremiah* has been done into English by Eden and Cedar Paul. The plays of Heinrich von Kleist have been treated in three articles: Arturo Farinelli "Kleist's Prinz von Homburg" (*JEGP*, xxi, 621-644) tries to prove that the elector did not really intend to have the prince executed for insubordination, but used the execution as a threat to cure the prince of his dreaminess and to enoble him. C. H. Ibershoff in an article "A Note on Kleist's Prinz von Homburg" (*JEGP*, xxi, 670-674) calls attention to two parallel episodes, one the fate of a French soldier in Scotland, who, because he helped in the capture of a fort, was first knighted and then hanged for disobedience of orders, second the scene in Scott's *Fair Maid of Perth* in which the Highland chief Conachar shows the same abject cowardice as does the prince at the sight of his grave. Walter Silz "Rational and Emotional Elements in Heinrich von Kleist" (*MLN*, xxvii, 321-327) shows how the man and the poet are inseparably blended in Kleist. E. C. Roeder has written a monograph *Richard Wagner's Die Meistersinger and its Literary Precursors* (Trans. Wisconsin Acad. xx, 33-129). No article has appeared on Hebbel, but an excellent edition of his Nibelungen trilogy has been prepared by Adolf Busse for the Oxford German Series.

Recent German dramas have been frequently discussed. Ebbel T. Scheffauer, under the caption "New German 'Storm and Stress' (*Bookm.* lvi, 237-239), writes of Fritz von Unruh's *Stürme*, a very successful drama dealing with the ideal of stern duty, and of *The Machine-Stormers* by the gifted proletarian poet Ernst Toller, which has caused a sensation and deals with the clash of English workmen at the

beginning of the nineteenth century, somewhat in the style of Hauptmann's *Weber*. The same critic reviews Georg Kaiser's new drama *Noli Me Tangere*, based on his prison experiences and containing no action but only the endless conversation of sixteen prisoners who are distinguished solely by their numbers, expressing their yearnings for light, air and food (*Bookm.* LVI, 373-375). She also calls attention to the celebration of Hauptmann's sixtieth birthday and to the many revivals of his plays in Germany. The recent production of Hauptmann's peasant drama *Rosa Bernd* in New York is reviewed by Lewisohn (*Nation*, cxvi, 392-394) and by S. Young (*New Rep.* xxxii, 251-252). Two recent German dramas *Die Pest* by Bernhard Benson and *Die Götterprüfung* by Kurt Eisner are briefly reviewed (*Liv. Age*, cccxii, 494-495). Another brief article on "Modern German Drama" will be found in *Liv. Age*, cccxiv, 616-617. A long article by G. Maxwell "Oberammergau and its Passion Play" (*Fortn.* cxxii, 1018-29) gives a history of the genesis of the play.

A number of German novels have appeared in English translation during the year. Foremost stands Hauptmann's latest novel *Phantom*, a psychological treatment of a sordid life, which has been translated by B. L. Morgan under the title *The Phantom*. Jacob Wassermann's novel *The World's Illusion* which was so successful in this country has been followed by another powerful story *The Gooseman*, translated by A. W. Porterfield. Two works of Arthur Schnitzler have been rendered into English: *Doctor Graessler*, translated by Paul B. Zeisler has been appearing in serial form (*Dial*, lxxiii, July to Nov.) together with an appreciation of the author from the pen of R. Specht, further *Casanova's Home Coming* (Seltzer), also a volume of his short stories under the title *Shepherd's Pipe*, translated by O. T. Theiss (*Sea Gull Lib.*). Waldemar Bonsel's charming story of insect life *The Adventures of Maya the Bee*, interesting alike to adults and children, has been translated by Adele Seltzer. Ernst von Wildenbruch's well-known tale *Neid* has been translated

under the title *Envy* by Elise Traut and an edition of two humorous tales has appeared under the title *Der Onkel aus Pommern*. (Oxford Junior German Series.) Several more of Johanna Spyri's children's tales have appeared in translation: *Rico and Wiseli*, *Rico and Stineli*, and *How Wiseli was provided for*, translated by Louise Brooks. *Trini, the Little Strawberry Girl*, translated by Helen B. Dole; also a new edition of *Heidi*.

B. A. Uhlen Dorf has discussed "The Ethnic Elements and National Problems in the Writings of Charles Sealsfield" (*Deutsch-Amer. Geschichtsblätter*, xx). Ethel Scheffauer (*Bookm.* LVI, 238) calls attention to the powerful nature novels of Hermann Löns. Hugo von Hofmannsthal's *Lucidor*, a narrative giving dramatic characters and situations for an unwritten comedy has been published in translation by Kenneth Burke (*Liv. Age*, CCCXIV, 121-132).

In the field of verse a few epigrams of Hofmannsthal have been published under the title "From the Book of Friends" (*Dial*, LXXIII, 3-4) Heinrich Heine's "Monologue from a mat-tress," translated by L. Untermeyer has appeared (*Poetry*, XXI, 318-323). F. Bruns who published an anthology of German lyrics last year has written on *Modern Thought in German Lyric Poets from Goethe to Dehmel* (Wisconsin). A number of German lyrics by Holz, Rilke, Klemm, Werfel and others have been translated by Babette Deutsch and Avrahm Yarmolinsky (*Poetry*, XXI) and Babette Deutsch touches on the verse of various German lyricists under the title "A Note in Modern German Poetry" (*Poetry*, XXI, 149-153). Older German verse is represented by a translation of Ewald von Kleist's *Wonderful Crucifix of Limpas* by E. F. Reeve and by a dissertation by Elizabeth F. Johnson on *Weckherlin's Eclogues of the Seasons* (Johns Hopkins).

In the Pennsylvania German field a large work has appeared from the pen of James O. Knaus, Jr., entitled *Social Conditions among the Pennsylvania Germans in the Eighteenth Century, as Revealed in the German Newspapers Published in America* (Lancaster, Pa.), in which he discusses the news-


papers, the education, the language, traits, vocations and political ideals of these people. Further S. G. Zerfass has written a complete *History of the Ephrata Cloister* (Lititz, Pa.). In this connection an older work of H. H. Reichardt *Pennsylvania German Dialect Writings and their Writers* deserves mention (Penna. Ger. Soc. 1918).

Philological articles have been fairly numerous. The following are of a general nature. E. Prokosch in a stimulating article on "Inflectional Contrasts in Germanic" (*JEGP*, xx, 468-490) has shown how association not only by analogy but also by contrast has given rise to many morphological changes. Incidentally he discusses such moot questions as the origin of the Gothic forms *mēlum*, *qēmum*, the u-forms of the second ablaut class, and the West and North Germanic forms of the preterite of the seventh ablaut class. In another article "Lautverschiebung und Lenierung" (*JEGP*, xxi, 119-126) the same scholar denies the resemblance between the Germanic sound shifting and the Keltic lenition. S. Feist in an article entitled "Die religionsgeschichtliche Bedeutung der ältesten Runeninschriften" (*JEGP*, xxi, 601-611) shows the religious significance of the formula "I(+name) wrote," etc., tracing parallels in non-Germanic languages. Hermann Collitz "Germanische Wortdeutungen" (*MLN*, xxxvii, 215-217, 271-279) treats Gothic *inn*, *inna* and *duginnan*, identifying the latter with Latin *pre-hendo*. Friedrich Kluge, "Germanisches Reckentum und frz. garçon" (*MLN*, xxxvii, 385-390) defends his theory connecting the French word with German *Recke*. S. Kroesch in "Semantic Notes" (*JEGP*, xxi, 612-620) treats among other things the German word *bekümmern* and the Dutch *lorrendraaijer*. W. Kurelmeyer continues his articles on "German Lexicography" (*MLN*, xxxvii, 390 ff.) by discussing several words whose origin is uncertain. E. H. Zeydel "Das kommt mir Spanisch vor" (*JEGP*, xxi, 335-340) traces the origin of the phrase back to the political conditions of the sixteenth century in which much prejudice against the Spaniards existed and shows

the change in meaning from "strange and unfamiliar" to "proud and haughty" F. Klaeber, "Kritik und Kritiker der deutschen Sprache" (*Päd. Monatshefte, Jb. für 1921*, 22-26) gives a number of interesting criticisms of the German language, mostly on the part of foreigners.

Gothic is represented by some excellent "Gothic Notes" by A. W. Sturtevant (*JEGP*, xxi, 442-456) in which he discusses the dative construction *anahaim wisan*, the plural of consonant stems, and the weak inflection of the predicate adjective. The same scholar in an article "Zum altnordischen Vokalismus" (*JEGP*, xxi, 513-538) treats various irregularities of Old Norse verbs such as *ma:megin*. Old High German has two articles devoted to the often discussed word of the *Hildebrandslied* *sunu-faterungo*, one by A. L. Corin (*JEGP*, xxi, 153-159), presents the novel theory that *ungo* is an enclitic conjunction cognate with Gothic *-uh*, and with the meaning and use of Latin *que, filius pater-que*, as it were; the other by Herman Collitz (*JEGP*, xxi, 551-571), defends Möller's view of the form as an old dual, felt as a plural; he also discusses the suffix *-ung* in its relation to *-ing*. One monograph concerns itself with the Old Saxon epic the *Heliand*. It is E. C. Metzenthin's dissertation *Die Adressaten des Heliand* (Univ. of Pa. *JEGP*, xxi, 191-223; 457-506) which opens up again the question of the home of the poem and comes to the conclusion that the author was a Saxon cleric and that the work was written to further the missionary activities of the Frankish church so dear to the heart of Louis the Pious, and was addressed to the inhabitants of the shore of the North Sea, especially those living in Saxo-Danish territory.

Modern German grammar is represented by a second revised and enlarged edition of G. O. Curme's admirable *Grammar of the German Language*. J. Bithell has compiled a *Commercial German Dictionary*. H. Lang, a German-English Medical Dictionary 2nd edition, Blackiston. W. Kohler, an Encyclopedic Dictionary of the German Language. The same firm has also issued a *German-Swedish Dictionary* by F. Wrede.

Turning now to the Scandinavian field we find an admirable archaeological article by George T. Flom "South Scandinavian Rock Tracings" (SS, VIII, 1-21), illustrated by five plates. The discussion of early voyages to the coast of North America is continued by L. M. Larson in an article "Did John Scolvus Visit Labrador and Newfoundland in about 1476?" (SS, VII, 81-89), answering the question in the affirmative. The points on which this view is based are also given by the author (ASR, x, 42-43). A volume of Anglo-Saxon and Old Norse poems in English translation has been published by G. N. Kershaw. Halidór Hermannsson has compiled a bibliography under the title *Icelandic Books of the Seventeenth Century* (Islandica 14, Cornell) and G. T. Flom has discussed *The Language of the Konungs skuggsjá* (*Speculum regale*) (Illinois). J. G. H. Holme writes on the present literary renaissance in Iceland under the title "Iceland's Younger Choir" (ASR, x, 550-553). Skuli Johnson has translated a "Group of Icelandic Lays" (ASR, x, 554-5) and Jakobina Johnson an Icelandic poem of Matthias Jochumsson (ASR, x, 281) under the title "Providence." 

The Norwegian novel is well represented by several stories of Johan Bojer. His *Last of the Vikings* began in the November Century and his *Dyrendal*, a tragic story of a farmer's daughter, has been translated by A. R. Shelander under the title *God and Woman*. *Skobelef*, a story of a horse, has been translated by S. B. Hustvedt (ASR, x, 416-422). *Karl Asen in Heaven* appeared in the Bookman (LIV, 327-333); *The Light*, on Rembrandt, in the Century, (LI, 215-222). Two stories of Knut Hamsun: *Under the Autumn Star* and *A Wanderer Plays on Muted Strings* containing the musings of a literary, nature-loving tramp have been translated by W. W. Worster under the title *Wanderers*. Josef Wiehr has written an excellent biography of Hamsun (Smith College) and Hanna A. Larsen has published a monograph on the same author. She has also contributed an article on "Recent Norwegian Books" (ASR, x, 659-667), dealing with novels of Bojer, Sigrid Undset, Olav Duun, Sjur Bygoi and others,

Helpless, a story by Per Sivele, one of Norway's great poets, has been translated by Mabel J. Leland (*ASR*, x, 477-486). *The Moose Hunter*, a short story by the Norwegian novelist Mikkjel Fonhus appeared in (*ASR*, x, 742-748).

Ibsen, as usual stands in the foreground of interest in Norwegian drama. A new edition of *Peer Gynt* has appeared in Everymans Library. Julius E. Olson in an article entitled "Phases of Ibsen's Authorship" (*SS*, vii, 65-80) discusses the subconscious elements in the composition of *Peer Gynt*; further the hiatus between Ibsen's dramatic poems and his social dramas, pointing out that poetic imagination is the source of the former, while reason is the basis of the latter. Gunnar Heiberg's three-act play *The Balcony* has been translated by E. J. Vickner and Glenn Hughes (*Poet Lore*, xxx, 475-496). A short Norwegian grammar entitled *Norwegian Self-Taught* has been prepared by C. Thimm.

Selma Lagerlöf stands foremost in the domain of Swedish literature. Her unusual story *Bannlyst* dealing with the ostracism of an Arctic explorer under suspicion of having eaten human flesh, has been translated by W. W. Worster under the title *The Outcast*. A new translation of Gösta Berling has been made by Pauline P. Flach for the Lambskin Library. Two of her short stories have appeared in English Translation: *The Eclipse* (*ASR*, x, 726-729) and *A Halland Tale* (*Liv. Age*, cccxiv, 479-485). A one act drama *Lighting of the Christmas Tree* has appeared in the Vassar Series. A short story of the Swedish novelist Sigfrid Siewertz has been translated by C. W. Stork as *Leonard and the Fisherman* (*ASR*, x, 403-411). F. J. Fielden has translated *Selected Short Stories* of the Swedish writer Per Hallstrom as volume 20 of the Scandinavian Classics. English versions of Ernst Ahlgren's short story "Mother Malena's Hen" (*ASR*, x, 765-770) and Hjalmar Söderberg's story "The Wages of Sin" (*ASR*, x, 361-365) have been made by C. W. Stork, who has also translated a number of Swedish poems during the year (*ASR*, x and *Poetry*, xxi, 73). A number of sketches

in Swedish by Erik Dahlheim have appeared under the title *En Modors Skugga*. Johan Mortensen, professor of literature at the University of Lund, has contributed another article on "Books of the Year" (*ASR*, x, 667-674), discussing works of Selma Lagerlöf, Anna Elgström, Henning Berger, Gustav Hellström and others. Ingve Hedvall writes on "The Swedish Theatre of Today" (*ASR*, x, 543-549). Amandus Johnson, well-known as the historian of the Swedes in America, has treated *The Swedish Contributions to American National Life 1638-1921* (Com. of the Swedish section of America's Making, 7 West 16th St. N. Y.).

A number of critical articles have also appeared. A. W. Sturtevant "The Character of Ingeborg in Tegnér's Frithiof's Saga" (*SS*, vii, 31-51) contrasts this Swedish ideal of woman with those of Goethe and Schiller. In another article "Frithiof På Sin Faders Hög" (*SS*, vii, 101-109) the same scholar discusses the purification and conversion of the hero in Tegnér's poem. Johan Mortensen writes on "Strindberg's Personality" (*ASR*, x, 287-295).

The most important contribution from Danish literature is the third and last part of Martin Nexø's novel *Ditte*. It is entitled *Toward the Stars* and describes the tragic end of the unfortunate heroine, a poor girl of the working class (translated by Asta and Rowland Kenney). Under the title, "Egholm and his God," W. W. Worster has translated a novel of the Danish novelist Johannes Buchholtz, an excellent character study of a religious fanatic; also a continuation of *Egholm*, entitled *The Miracles of Clara van Haag*, setting forth the adventures of Egholm as a photographer and those of his daughter Hedwig in the house of the Van Haag's. It furnishes us with rather unreal but humorous pictures of life in a small Danish town. Jacobsen's poems have appeared in English in the Sheldonian Series. Svend Fleuron's remarkable animal tale *Kittens, a Family Chronicle* has been translated by David Pritchard with a foreward by Carl van Vechten. *Two Dead Men*, a detective story dealing with a murder in Copenhagen,

written by Jens Anker, has been translated by Frithjof Toksvig. Gunnar Gunnarsson's *Guest the One-Eyed*, a chronicle of an Icelandic family, giving a series of pictures of life in Iceland, has been translated by W. W. Worster. *Sworn Brothers*, another tale of the early days in Iceland, by the same author, has been translated by C. Field and W. Emmé. Enjnar Mikkelsen's love tragedy *Frozen Justice*, describing primitive life among the Esquimos of Alaska, has been translated by A. G. Jayne. A story of the Northwest Coast, by the same author, entitled *Silla Cannin*, has appeared in *Liv. Age*, cccxiv, 716-722. Laurido Bruun's *Promised Isle*, an amusing satire of life on an island of the South Seas, has been translated by David Pritchard. Stokes has published a *Danish Fairy Book* in the translation of F. H. Martens and under the editorship of Clara Stroebe; also Karl H. With's *Mouse Story*, as told by an old schoolmaster, translated by Gerda F. Behrens and Dorothea Prall. *Henrik and Rosalie*, a tale by Meir Goldschmidt, first published in 1867, has now been translated by C. W. Stork (*ASR*, x, 423-429). S. F. Davidson and R. S. Hillyer have published a charming *Book of Danish Verse* in English translation as volume 19 of the Scandinavian Classics. Various other translations of Danish poems have appeared during the year (*ASR*, x). A series of humorous tales by Ralph Bergengren has appeared under the title *Gentlemen and Merry Companions*, and another of his tales in English translation may be found under the title *David the Dreamer* (*Atlantic Mo.* cxxx).

Many critical essays on subjects of Danish literature have likewise appeared. The first installment of G. T. Flom's "Dramatic Theory in the North from Holberg to Ibsen" (*SS*, vii, 91-101) discusses the theories of Holberg, showing how far ahead of his time he was. Johan Nordahl-Olsen in an article "Holberg and Bergen" (*ASR*, x, 282-286) treats of the dramas of the great dramatist in connection with his native city. Robert Neiendam writes on "Two Hundred Years of the Danish Stage" (*ASR*, x, 675-681). An in-

teresting article on Hans Christian Andersen has been contributed by the Danish author Hans Brix (*ASR*, x, 730-738). The Life of the Danish critic Georg Brandes has been written by Julius Moritzen with an introduction by R. H. Fife. In an excellent article "The Book Season in Denmark" (*ASR*, x, 275-281) Christian Rimestad discusses novels of Nexö, Michaelis and others.

In the Dutch and Flemish field the most important work is a fine English edition of Charles De Coster's great prose epic *Ulenspiegel and Lamme Goedsak* which gives a marvelous picture of Flanders in the late Middle Ages. It has been well translated by F. M. Atkinson. Agnes Symmers in an article "Some Dutch Writers" (*Bookm.* LVI, 523-525) discusses Van Eeden whose story *De Kleine Johannes* appeared in English as *The Quest* in 1910; further Johann de Meester who paints vivid pictures of contemporary Dutch life, Henri Borel, a writer on Chinese life whose *Wu Wei* has appeared in English, further the lyrics of Henriette Roland-Holst, a popular Dutch writer with a slight socialistic trend. W. E. Griffis has published an investigation *The Dutch of the Netherlands in the Making of America* (Holland Society of N. Y.).

DANIEL B. SHUMWAY

I. THE DEFINITION OF ROMANCE

Any attempt to define the romance must necessarily undertake to determine the differentia that separate this species of narrative art from that to which it is most closely related, viz. the epic.

So far as formal or material tests are concerned, it is impossible to discover any infallible criterion by means of which the two species may be distinguished. In form both are metrical narratives and in subject-matter fictions dealing with heroic adventure and achievement. Such are the *Iliad*, the *Beowulf*, the *Nibelungenlied*, and the *Chanson de Roland* as representing the epic and the *Fierebras*, the metrical *Morte d'Arthur*, the *Roman de Troie*, and the *Roman de Thèbes* as representing the romance. Again, while both may under certain conditions vary from this norm, both will be found, when they do so vary, to pass through much the same range of variation. Both the epic and the romance may, particularly when embodied in works of an alien character, be short. Short, for example, is the epic recital of the *Battle of Brunanburh* embedded in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. Short likewise are those passages of romance sometimes incorporated in the epic or drama, as the story of the lotus-eaters in the *Odyssey* and the stories of "the three caskets" and of "the pound of flesh" in Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*. Similarly both the epic and the romance may, in the later stages of their development, be written in prose instead of verse. This is true of the *Younger Edda* as exemplifying the epic and the *Huon de Bordeaux*, the *Merlin*, and the *Recueil des Histoires de Troie* as exemplifying the romance. In prose is written likewise the large body of relatively late Greek romance from the *Cyropædia* of Xenophon to the *Heroicus* of the Younger Philostratus.

A parallel alteration is observable as we pass to a consideration of subject-matter. In both epic and romance we notice a tendency to turn, as time advances, from heroic

adventure and achievement to love and to adventure pursued for its own sake. Thus love, which manifests itself as a subordinate interest in the *Æneid*, becomes a dominant interest in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius and adventure for adventure's sake, which appears at the very beginning of epic tradition as a conspicuous, though by no means controlling interest, in the *Odyssey*, becomes an all absorbing interest in the *Lusiads* of Camoëns. In like manner in the domain of romance the heroic interest gradually yields to an interest in love or in adventure for its own sake. Thus Benoit de Ste. More in his *Roman de Troie* cunningly relieves the monotony of a long succession of battle scenes by interspersing, wherever possible, love episodes, as in his stories of Jason and Medea, Troilus and Cressida, and Achilles and Polyxena. In like fashion in the Charlemagne romance love, which in the early *Chanson de Roland* receives but little attention (cf. the few allusions to Aude, the betrothed of Roland), wins for itself as time passes a gradually increasing share of recognition until we find in the later *Fierebras* a fairly detailed treatment of the relationship between Gui de Bourgogne and the Saracen maiden Floripas and in *Otuel* between the titular hero and Belicent.¹ At length Chrétien de Troyes enthrones love as a paramount concern in his *Erec*, *Cligès*, *Yvain*, and *Lancelot*. In like manner the Greek romancers elevate love to a position of chief importance, as Heliodorus in his *Theagenes and Chariclea* and Longus in his *Daphnis and Cloë*. Solikewise an increasing tendency manifests itself on the part of the later authors of romance to substitute aimless and unmotivated adventure in place of adventure undertaken in behalf of a definite object. This disposition makes itself conspicuously felt in the medieval roman d'aventure and in the Greek *Life of Alexander* by the false-Callisthenes and its Latin derivatives. There is, to be sure, a general preference for a martial theme on the part of the epic author and for an amatory or adventurous theme

¹ There appears no reason to doubt the priority of the *Chanson de Roland* to the *Fierebras* and *Otuel* as claimed by Comfort, *P. M. L. A.* XXI, 345 ff.

on the part of the author of romance. But since neither the epic author holds exclusively to the one nor the author of romance to the others, the mere choice of theme cannot be employed as an infallible means of distinguishing the two.

As little can we discover the essential difference between the romance and epic by limiting ourselves to a consideration of the social conditions under which the one or the other species originated. It is a matter of common observation that among every people that has produced both kinds of narrative fiction the epic always precedes the romance in point of time. From this invariability of temporal sequence it would be easy to form the notion that there is no essential difference between the two but only such accidental differences as we should naturally expect to find in passing from the narrative art of an earlier and more primitive to that of a later and more sophisticated age. One might simply view the romance as a continuation of the epic, differing from it only in respect to such external details of setting and background as an advancing civilization would inevitably bring in its train. There is about this simple disposition of the matter something initially alluring. Certain it is that the epic, whether as found among the Greeks or among the early Germanic peoples, lays but little stress upon social gradations, nice distinctions of rank, and the like. Agamemnon is lifted but little above his followers; he rules them directly and not through the agency of any intermediaries. Equally simple is the relation that exists between Beowulf and his thanes. It is that described by Tacitus as characteristic of the "comitatus," the parent of our present day body-guard. In marked contrast to the simplicity of social structure depicted in the epic stands the complexity of social organization represented in the romance. Not only has Charlemagne his peers and Arthur his knights of the Round Table but each knight and each peer is himself the suzerain of a further body of retainers and so on down through the social scale. But to ground the distinction between the romance and the epic upon these social differences is to overlook the

fact that not all national varieties of romance reflect a social organization of the same complexity as that which we find reflected in the medieval romance. The elaborate stage-setting of manners and customs that distinguishes the latter is due, of course, to the great medieval institution of chivalry. No such elaborateness of social background appears, however, in the Greek romance. And for the all-sufficient reason that the institution of chivalry was unknown to the ancients. For this reason the relation of simplicity of social organization revealed in the medieval epic to complexity of social organization depicted in the medieval romance finds no parallel in the social conditions represented in the epic and romance of the Greeks, Romans, or any other peoples of antiquity. The Greek epic, to be sure, displays in respect to the primitive heroic life that it depicts, a striking resemblance to the Germanic epic; but the Greek romance lacks altogether the sumptuous social setting of the medieval romance. The hero of antique romance is not, like his medieval counterpart, a mere cog in an imposing and highly articulated social machine. He respects no such elaborately conventionalized standards of conduct—with their emphasis on “courtoisie,” “Ehre,” and the like—as does the hero of medieval romance, Arthurian or otherwise. The hero of antique romance is pictured as interesting for the same reason that all epic heroes are interesting, as interesting on his own account and not because of any adventitious interest that may attach to him as the officially ticketed representative of any particular caste or station. One searches in vain, either in the Greek travel romances of the false-Callisthenes, Achilles Tatius, or Antonius Diogenes, or in the love romances of Longus or Heliodorus, or in the romantic transformations of epic themes in the *Heroicus* of the Younger Philostratus or in the *Ephe-meris* of Dictys Cretensis, for any such emphasis upon rank or upon standards of conduct as determined by rank as constantly appears in the medieval romance of chivalry. By leaving the Greek romances out of account in the generalizations which he gives in the earlier chapters of his otherwise

admirable *Epic and Romance* respecting the differences in the representations of social life in the epic and romance W. P. Ker seems erroneously to demand for all romance the highly articulated social system that is to be found only in the romance of chivalry.

An excessive occupation with the medieval romance—particularly the Arthurian,—with its emphasis upon outward forms and ceremonies, to the neglect of the Greek, which pays no regard to these chivalrous externalities, easily tempts in like manner to erroneous generalizations respecting differences in the social classes by and for whom the epic and romance have been created. It is sometimes supposed that the romance differs from the epic in being a more distinctively aristocratic form of literature than the latter. The epic, it is sometimes urged,³ is written for the nation at large and has about it therefore a more democratic atmosphere than the romance, which is made exclusively for the upper class. No one certainly can gainsay that the romance was intended for exclusively aristocratic consumption. But so quite as much was the epic. To be sure the theme of the epic is national and the sentiments by which it is inspired patriotic. But in respect neither to the status of the author nor to that of the auditor can it be contended that the latter was any more democratic than the former. Both in ancient and in medieval times the epic no less than the romance was the conscious creation of the professional court poet, who had exclusively in mind the upper circles of society, which were in those days the only circles capable of appreciating these formal types of literature. As time passed and as, after the invention of printing, those able to read multiplied, the epic might, by reason of its patriotic appeal, come to attract a wider public than the romance. But it is at least questionable whether after the reading public had become thus extended, the romance did not more than make up for the patriotic appeal of the epic by its own even more general appeal to the instinctive desire of all men for a

³ I have in mind only what I have heard in conversation.

tale of love and adventure. In the first instance, in any case, the epic was, whether we consider the intent of the author or the expectations of the auditor, a no less aristocratic form of literature than the romance. In the Middle Ages the special conditions noted above as differentiating the romance of chivalry from the various antique types of romance had no doubt their effect in making that romance a peculiarly aristocratic possession. The feudal organization of society not unnaturally brought about a somewhat exceptional limitation of the reading public and thereby imparted to the romance an exceptionally aristocratic tone. But in this regard, as in respect to the exhibition of a more highly organized state of society, it differs from the romance of the Greeks and other peoples of antiquity and from what we should naturally expect to be true of the romance as such, among whatever people produced. Hence no universally valid conclusions respecting the difference between the romance and epic can be based upon a superiority of aristocratic appeal on the part of the maker of romance and his public.

No doubt the essential distinction between romance and epic is that which at once comes to mind when we use these terms. But since no adequate definition of this distinction is made in any English dictionary, I shall attempt to offer some suggestions for the construction of one.

By a romance we commonly mean a tale of an improbable or, better, of an incredible character.² In this respect the

Def.

² Into the well known story of the earlier meanings of the term *romance* it is perhaps hardly necessary to enter. Nevertheless the story is one of such inherent interest and one that helps so far to explain the present meaning of the term that it will not be amiss to review it briefly. Originally *romance* bore a meaning quite distinct from that which it bears today. It signified something pertaining to Rome and was applied (1) to a language derived from popular Latin and (2) to a literary composition written in such a language. A good example of this secondary meaning of the term is afforded by the title *Roman de la Rose*, where the term *roman* has no reference whatsoever to the "romantic" character of the contents of the poem, which is, furthermore, only in part romantic anyway. It bore the title of

romance differs from the epic, which was once, though now, of course, to the modern reader no longer, a credible tale. The epic author and his contemporary auditors entertained a lively faith in the truth of the epic narrative, however improbable or even incredible it may have been when regarded solely from the rationalistic standpoint. The epic poet never thinks of questioning his supernatural machinery and discharges his task in a spirit of semi-religious seriousness, in the full confidence that he will win a ready acquiescence from his hearers. The author of romance on the other hand is totally indifferent to the credibility of his tale so long as it is made plausible or, failing that, amusing and diverting. The epic again from its prevailingly warlike theme is essentially a

course, because of the language in which it was written, the term *romance* (O. F. *romans*, etc.) being used, as it is still today, to distinguish the vernacular from the Latin or learned language. In England, however, *romance* was used to distinguish the Anglo-French from the native language or literature (cf. Voelker, P., *Zs. fuer rom. Philologie* X, 489). But from the mere accident that those who used romance languages, particularly the French, chanced to excel in the composition of tales of an incredible character, the term came at length to be applied to a tale of this sort in whatever language written. Having once come to clear itself of all association with language, the term could be extended backward to include whatever of a fanciful character had been written before the time of the French by the Hindoos, Arabs, Persians, Greeks, or Romans, as well as forward to embrace those productions of a like character which, largely as a result of French influence came to be written by the Celts, Teutons, Slavs, and other peoples of late medieval and modern Europe. Thus the term now signifies exhibitions of fancy wherever found—whether standing alone in romances so-called, as in the *Panchatantra*, the *Arabian Nights' Entertainment*, the *Milesian Tales*, the *Dolopathus*, the *Balam and Josophat* the Greek fables regarding the Aethiopians and Hyperboreans, the *Decameron* of Boccaccio, the *Heptameron* of Margaret of Navarre, the Chaucerian tale of Cambuscan and the wondrous horse of brass, and the story of Oberon as recounted in *Huon de Bordeaux* or by Wieland, or incidentally incorporated in epic or drama, as in the Homeric episodes of Ulysses's adventures with the Circe, the Cyclops, and the lotus-eaters, in the fabulous episodes in the *Beowulf* or *Niebelungenlied*, and in the Shakespearean episodes of "the three caskets" and "the pound of flesh," of Oberon and Titania, and of Othello's recital of "moving accidents by flood and field," and of "men whose heads do grow beneath their shoulders."

virile type of narrative, fit for the mead-hall, love and random adventure being admitted only incidentally for the purpose of emphasizing by contrast the essentially serious character of the main story. The romance, on the other hand, is intended for the relaxation and amusement of a mixed society and not infrequently by reason of the peculiar constitution of the medieval literary public, in which, because of the crusades, men were in the minority, came to take on the characteristics of an essentially feminine type of literature and to be composed expressly for the ladies' bower. In it the author shows a distinct predilection for love and haphazard adventure and aims by novelty of treatment to pique the curiosity of a society that has become so far jaded by the increase of wealth and luxury as to react against the rigors of an heroic diet and to demand a somewhat highly seasoned banquet.

But the object of this paper is not so much to state the essential distinction between the epic and the romance as it is to explain and account for it. A clue to the explanation of this distinction is afforded by the fact, already remarked, that in the case of any people that has produced both kinds of narrative fiction, the romance always succeeds the epic in point of time. This circumstance suggests that there is a causal connection between the two. This I believe to be the case and for the following reasons.

The epic is an indigenous, the romance an exotic creation. The epic is the characteristic product of a people that has lived an isolated existence cut off from contact with other peoples. It is the product of a people that has preserved its cultural birthright intact and uncorrupted by outside influences. The romance, on the other hand, is the characteristic product of a people that has come into contact with an alien civilization and that has allowed its ancestral traditions to be contaminated, if not altogether undermined, by the infiltration of new ideas. So long as a story continues to develop on the soil of the people who first produced it, it will remain epic; but so soon as it passes into the hands of an

alien folk, to whom it is strange, it will become romance. Thus the epic of one people will, if transplanted, become the romance of another.

The earlier method of story-telling presupposes a perfect accord between the poet and his hearer. The latter was in a position to understand and appreciate all that the former had to tell of persons and places, birth and burial customs, nuptial rites and hearth joys, feasts, feuds, and plundering expeditions. And the former, on his part, sought to satisfy none but anticipated cravings. The knowledge of a common fund of ancestral tradition thus at once established a mutual understanding between author and auditor. Not only need the former explain nothing but he was under an obligation to explain nothing, for the latter would, in child-like fashion, resent it if he did; everything had to be taken for granted. Hence in spite of the frequent repetitions the essential brevity and compactness of the epic recital. Formulas abound. Hence the need of scholiast and commentator to interpret for the modern reader.

✓ (Between the author of romance and his auditor there must of course likewise exist a community of understanding. For without such a community of understanding no art of any sort is possible. But the community of understanding that exists between the author of romance and his auditor is essentially different from that which existed between the epic author and his auditor. It is not a community of understanding established by the story to be related. For the ideas present in the epic story, being those of an heroic age and a primitive society, are not such as he and his audience cherish. ✓ These earlier epic ideas furnish no common basis of understanding between them. These ideas he must interpret—in so far as they are capable of being interpreted—in terms of the later more advanced and sophisticated ideas with which he and his audience are familiar. In case these ideas are incapable of interpretation, he must replace them with others that can be interpreted. This will be a long process in which many authors of many

ages may participate, each bringing the original story into fresh harmony with the ideas of his own time. At all times the author of romance will play the part of leader, tending gradually to wean his audience away from whatever belief or faith in the epic fable they may in the first instance entertain. For while unable to understand or appreciate the code of ethics or the standards of conduct which the epic poet takes for granted, his auditors will nevertheless experience a certain respect for the antique traditions of the stranger folk from whose hands they receive these epic tales. The fame of these foreign heroes, of the exploits they have performed, and of the situations in which they have found themselves will have reached the ears of his auditors and will have created in their minds certain expectations, expectations not unlike those which an Elizabethan audience must have entertained when they attended for the first time a presentation of *Hamlet*. These expectations will be the more necessary to satisfy in an age which was, despite its comparative sophistication, as eager to know what it took to be history as it was ignorant of what history really was. These expectations he must needs satisfy therefore at the risk of having his refashionings dismissed as deliberate invention. In order to escape this difficulty and at the same time to provide for his public a recital of immediate contemporary appeal the author of romance frequently found himself tempted to father his adaptations of epic story upon some reputable sponsor. Hence it happens that three of the most important cycles of medieval romance repose upon apocryphal foundations, viz., the Alexander cycle upon the *Life of Alexander*, falsely attributed to Callisthenes, the attendant of Alexander on the latter's Asiatic campaign, the Charlemagne cycle upon the *History of Charles the Great*, fraudulently ascribed to Archbishop Turpin, the friend and contemporary of Charlemagne, and the Troy cycle upon two annalistic histories of the Trojan war falsely attributed to alleged participants in that event, who had never so much as had even an existence in the flesh, viz., to the Cretan soldier

Dictys, represented as fighting on the side of the Greeks, and to the Phrygian soldier Dares, represented as fighting on the side of the Trojans. [In all these cases the reteller of epic stories was quite willing to forego the reputation which he might have won as fabricator of an ingenious falsehood for the sake of providing for his work an authentication sufficient to lead his hearer to accept that work as a genuine relic of antiquity.] With a precisely similar object in view Geoffrey of Monmouth declared that he had obtained the materials of his *History of the Kings of Britain* from an "old British book given him by Archdeacon Walter of Oxford." For although it would appear that Geoffrey was here speaking the truth and that he did as a matter of fact find in an old British book the materials he used in his *History*, we can but suppose that he would have been perfectly willing to allow the marvels he set down to pass as his own had he not realized the necessity of providing therefor the all important documentation which he knew that his readers would demand. The sole difference between the case of Geoffrey of Monmouth and that of the unknown authors of the romanticized stories of Alexander, Charlemagne, and Troy lay therefore in the fact that the former appears to have been spared the personal responsibility of inventing the legendary additions necessary to make his story "take" with a contemporary audience.⁴

⁴ Since the book from which Geoffrey claims to have extracted his *History of the Kings of Britain* was an "old British book" and since Geoffrey himself appears to have been a Briton, the objection may be raised that we have romance produced by those to whom the story of the British kings was native and that such a circumstance violates our conception of romance as the story of one folk refashioned by another. But the remoulding of a story of one folk by another, though a usual, is by no means an invariable prerequisite to the production of romance. The essential characteristic of romance is that the story be incredible. But a story may become incredible through changes subsequently wrought in the character of the people who first produced it. The record of the British kings found in the book from which Geoffrey purloined the materials of his history must have been epic to the people who produced and read it because there can be no doubt that

All four of these great sources of medieval romance were, like the various versions of the same stories derived from them, romances in the sense in which I have defined romance. They were stories which for author and audience contained an interest different from that which the stories from which they were derived possessed. They were stories from which had been expunged whatever was exclusively national and failed to possess meaning for the people for whom they were written. Of the four cycles above mentioned only that of Arthur reached a stage at all approaching that of complete romanticization. Belief in Arthur's mysterious birth and passage, while no doubt an article of faith with the original Celtic teller of the fiction, expressive as it was of the national Celtic belief in the coming of a Messiah, could of course no longer have been believed in by Geoffrey nor by the Anglo-French court for whom he wrote. And yet even in his case so far has the traditional demand for authentication persisted that he has felt bound to cite the source of his materials. It is not until we reach Chrétien de Troyes that we find the Arthurian story completely emancipated from all epic memories and associations. The vague shadowy figure of a mighty feudal monarch who moves as a mysterious power from behind the stage through Chrétien's pages has thrown off all lingering vestiges of epic tradition. This is proved by the absence of any attempt on the part of the French writer to authenticate or document the Arthur of his writings. Quite different is the case of the Troy story. Here the influence of epic tradition was so strong that no writer to the end of the Middle Ages dared to tell the story of the famous siege without invariably pleading the authority of the alleged contemporaries who witnessed with their own eyes the events of which he spoke. All supernatural and miraculous agencies in which Homer and the ancient epic

they believed in it. To Geoffrey, however, who even if a Briton, was a highly educated scholar and wrote in Latin with an Anglo-French audience in mind, this same chronicle of events could not have seemed credible and must therefore, even though in no wise altered, have been romance.

cyclicists delighted had to be completely eliminated and everything done to make the audience believe in the historical veracity of the events related. Only the author himself was aware of the deception. A Dares or a Dictys only or perchance the more enlightened of their successors was conscious of the falsehood of the revamped version. To them alone was the tale of Troy pure romance; to their auditors it was still in large measure epic. Hence the persistence of authentication—even when hardened into mere convention—is an unerring sign of incomplete romantization.

Hence it was only by gradual and imperceptible stages that the epic suffered romantic transformation. The author was the radical in the process—he it was who felt free to undertake the alteration—and the audience the conservative. Only in an occasional cycle—such a cycle as that of Arthur, that dealt with the heroic traditions of an obscure and despised people—was it possible to overcome completely the influence of epic tradition.

It will not be without interest finally to follow the method pursued by the romantic remoulder of epic fable and to see where he changes and where he leaves unchanged the original with which he is dealing.

Not unnaturally the romantic refashioner will retain of the original epic story only those portions that find some parallel in the life of his own day.

The theme of the epic is usually war—war undertaken in behalf of country against some foreign foe. But war is of perennial interest to humanity. Hence the maker of romance customarily retains as the shell of his story the epic battle narrative, not infrequently enlarging upon it. The war narrative in Benoit's *Roman de Troie* is, for example, much longer than that in Homer's *Iliad*. Medieval interest in these anciently recorded encounters between the Greeks and the Trojans is moreover attested by the pictures of the turreted castles filled with fighting warriors that appear, for example, on the margins of manuscripts of the *Roman de Troie*. But in the rehandling of the religious and mythological

elements in the ancient epic story all is changed, as indeed it had begun to be changed even in *Beowulf*. The old epic motivation of the siege of Troy, for example, which according to cyclic tradition had been due to the Wrath of Iris and the Apple of Discord, has in the annals of Dares been abandoned and in its stead is substituted a series of counter hostilities between the Greeks and Trojans originally provoked by the insult King Laomedon felt he had sustained at the hand of the Argonauts, who, on their way to Colchos, had unsuspectingly landed on the coast of Phrygia. Furthermore even when the epic subject-matter is retained by the romancer, an attempt will always be made by the latter to translate concepts strange to his age or country in terms of concepts with which his contemporaries and fellow-countrymen are familiar. Hence his constant use of anachronisms—a use so frequent that the anachronism may be looked upon as a well nigh invariable accompaniment of the romance. Thus Benoit's Greeks and Trojans fight on horseback and not from chariots, they wear the insignia of chivalry, and when engaged in duels "trace, retrace, and foin like two wild boars." Similarly the desire of Boccaccio to render an ancient pagan rite intelligible to his Christian contemporaries prompted that author in his *Filostrato* (canto I, stanza 19) to picture Criseida, when first seen by Troilo, as "clad in black" because of the penitential season.⁵ ✓?

But it is not merely in such minor alterations as are involved in changes in motivation or in the substitution of new concepts in place of old that the author of romance recasts the epic fable. Not infrequently he adds entirely new matter for which little or no warrant exists in the older

⁵ Not because she is mourning the loss of her husband, for whose decease it would have been ludicrously out of character for her to have expressed regret, but because his own mistress Maria d'Aquino, whom, as he tells us in his *Proemio*, Criseida represents, had, when he first beheld her at the church of St. Lorenzo at Naples, been so attired because it was Holy Saturday, as previously explained in the *Filocolo*, ed. Moutier, Firenze, 1827-34 VII, 4ff.

epic recital. His motive for so doing is always of course to interest a contemporary audience. The peculiar appeal sought by the romanticizer will depend upon the nature of his theme and upon the special conditions or inducements under which he undertakes his task.

His motive may be to please a patron. It was apparently for this reason that Geoffrey of Monmouth elevates the comparatively inconspicuous Arthur of Nennius, the "*dux bellorum*" of that author—who, though still in part an historical figure, had already begun to take on those legendary accretions of marvellous feats at Mt. Badon, etc. which, had they been allowed to accumulate without foreign interference, might have grown into the proportions of a Celtic epic of Arthur—into a mighty world conqueror, a second Alexander who exacts tribute from Rome. In so magnifying Arthur Geoffrey of Monmouth had not the Celts in mind, whose most exalted ambitions appear to have been limited to conceptions of purely insular sovereignty, but the Normans, particularly the court of Henry II, a monarch whose glories as ruler of two realms his Arthur was evidently intended to shadow forth.

A further motive, comprehending Geoffrey's but passing beyond it, actuated the transformations wrought by Chrétien de Troyes in the Arthurian story. Chrétien had become interested, in large part no doubt by reason of the solicitations and suggestions of his noble patrons, Marie, Countess of Champagne, and Philip, Count of Flanders, in illustrating through stories the intricate subtleties of courtly love. With this end in view he transforms the world-conquering Arthur of Geoffrey and Wace into a mighty feudal monarch of long established authority. For only an Arthur of inherited sovereignty, a monarch at ease in his own realm, would have the leisure and seasoned experience to provide the atmosphere proper to the putting to proof of the questions of love casuistry that occupy the attention of his knights. For it was to amuse the several members of the "social experiment station" that Marie, the daughter of the famous Eleanor of

England, had, in apparent pursuance of the amatory interests of her mother, set up at Troyes, that Chretien wrote certainly his *Lancelot* and very probably also his earlier love romances as well. To the same interest in courtly love must also be ascribed either, as Professor Kittredge supposes,⁶ that idea so happily conceived by Benoît de Ste. More of matching the unaccommodated Troilus of the extant Dares-text with the only unattached lady of that text, thus giving us the love episode of Troilus and Briseida, or else, as the present writer is more inclined to believe, the elaboration by Benoît of a love episode between the two already conceived of by Dares himself but omitted by the redactor of our Dares-text as having, unlike the love episodes of Jason and Medea and of Achilles and Polyxena, no bearing upon the progress of the war narrative. Nor can it be denied that it has been this secondary love interest, entirely absent in the earlier epic forms of these two stories of Troy and of Arthur, that accounts for the prolonged life of both these stories. Without it the Arthurian story would not be alive today and the story of Troy would never have engaged the attention of Boccaccio or of Chaucer, of Shakespeare or of Dryden.

A still further motive actuated the later romantic accretions that likewise go far to account for the continued popularity of the Charlemagne story. The primary interest of that story—the interest that was paramount so long as the story remained epic—was the martial or heroic interest. This initial interest began gradually to yield, however, as Bédier has so brilliantly demonstrated,⁷ to a desire on the part of the later redactors of the story to represent Charlemagne as a great crusader, bent upon rescuing the sepulchre of Christ from the hands of the infidel. This is most clearly seen in the *Destruction de Rome* and the *Fierebras* in which Charlemagne's campaign against the Saracens in Italy and Spain is undertaken to regain the "relics of the Passion" and to bring them home for permanent installation at St.

⁶ *On the Date of Chaucer's Troilus*, etc., Chaucer Soc., Second Ser., No. 42.

⁷ *Les Légendes Épiques*, 4 vols., Paris, 1910.

Denis. At a still later date chansons de geste came to be diverted even further from their original purpose and to be written for the purpose of prompting pilgrimages not to Rome and Campostella only but to various local shrines, as in the case of the *Guillaume d'Orange*. Here we can trace with ease the course of romantic development. Originally, as in the *Chanson de Roland*, which is our only extant representative of the purely or almost purely epic form of the Charlemagne story, interest is divided between Charlemagne and his followers as patriots fighting for love of "douce France" and as champions of Christendom, fighting for the faith against the heathen Saracens. The latter interest—which is rather the more prominent of the two—is still an epic interest since based upon the actual historical campaign of Charles against the Saracens in Spain. So soon however as the relics of the Passion come into the story we have a clear indication of the manner in which a story originally epic will become diverted to serve a new interest needed to insure the continued popularity of an old story in the hands of a people of a later generation whose interests are different from those of the original creators of the story. Finally when in still later times the crusades had stimulated an interest in the pilgrimages to such purely local shrines as were supposed to contain sacred relics brought home by the crusaders, a still further adaptation of the Charlemagne story was made to fit this case as well. Charlemagne now recedes into the background, as Arthur had done when the interest in courtly love had become supreme, and in order to provide a suitable finder for the sacred relics of a local shrine, some one of Charlemagne's peers or more often, as in the Arthurian story, some other knight, real in this case as imaginary in that, was now for the first time brought within the circle of the great king's followers.

Thus what we customarily speak of as romance is the product of an attempt to make the ideas of an epic story, which the vicissitudes of conquest or peaceful interpenetration has brought into the hands of some new folk, intelligible

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and significant to them. It is for this reason that the romance always follows the epic. The romance presupposes the epic. The romancer requires the epic to build upon. He avails himself of the appeal of epic names and actions, the fame of which has already been brought to his own folk by common report, to serve as a means of first eliciting their interest in the story which he is about to tell. But into this story he is so wise as to put no more of the old epic ideas than are capable of being brought into harmony with the ideas of his hearers. The shell or framework of the epic story, in so far as it is martial, is customarily retained, a warlike theme being of perennial interest to mankind, but the intent or purpose of the martial epic narrative as well as whatsoever in the epic has to do with religious forms or observances is changed. Thus the program of the romancer is as a rule that followed by Chrétien de Troyes in his transformation of earlier Arthurian material. He retains the "matiere" of his original but alters its "san." But not every change made in an epic original results necessarily in the production of romance. In case the new folk into whose hands the epic original has fallen has chanced to adopt the faith of the people who created it, the resultant product will still remain epic although epic of a somewhat modified variety. This is what happened in the case of the Anglo-Saxon Biblical Epic. There we find anachronisms, as in the later romance. Christ becomes an aetheling and his disciples thanes just as afterwards Theseus is converted into a duke by Chaucer in his *Knight's Tale* and by Shakespeare in *Midsummer Night's Dream*. The presence of an anachronism is not therefore in itself an inevitable sign of romance. In order that romance be forthcoming it is necessary that the change be one of ideas rather than of the mere names of ideas, that it be real and not simply nominal. When, for example, the Homeric epic becomes the prey of a rationalizing Euhemerus or of an allegorizing Tzetzes, when the epic tradition of Arthur falls into the hands of a Chrétien de Troyes and the gallant warrior

who fought against the invading Saxons becomes a great feudal monarch presiding over a court interested in the solution of problems of love casuistry, or when the epic memories of the great Christian king of the Franks are used as a basis on which to rear poems the dominant interest of which centers in the crusades or pilgrimages to shrines, then and then only do we obtain the romance. Unless, in short, there exist between peoples between whom stories pass, differences more fundamental and more spiritually significant than such as can be measured by purely external differences in manners and customs, the transformation necessary to convert epic into romance will not take place.

It follows from what has been said that the alteration in the purpose or interest of a story capable of turning it from epic to romance can come about only through the passage of that story from the hands of a people of one cultural level into that of a people of a different cultural level. Hence peoples of different stages of culture must be brought into intimate contact with one another before the conditions necessary to the production of romance can be supplied. The agencies that bring about such contacts are conquest, trade, missionary or colonial enterprises, travel, or any of the other undertakings that bring strange folk into close communication with one another. So long as the Greeks lived an isolated existence cut off from intercourse with their neighbors they produced the epic. But so soon as they became subject to the inroads of the "barbarians" they began to produce the romance. The chief incentives to the production of Greek romance were influences from the orient. As a result of the wars with Persia romantic narratives of extraordinary occurrences appeared in the pages of even so sober an historian as Herodotus. But it was as a result of the Macedonian and still more of the Roman conquest of Greece that the impulse was given to the wholesale production of Greek romance as such. As a result of these conquests Greece was opened up to the outside world and become cosmopolitanized. Rome herself had little of an

intellectual kind to offer Greece but by contributing still further to the destruction of the bounds of nationality that formerly held that country in a state of isolation, the Roman Conquest exposed her to those oriental influences which at all times appeared with her, as with the later countries of Western Europe, to be those most readily provocative of romance. Among the medieval nations of Western Europe like causes produced like results. Up to the time of the Norman Conquest the Anglo-Saxons had continued to sing in patriotic strains of their own native heroes or of those who, through their own change of faith, had become theirs by Christian adoption. But no sooner did the Normans appear in England than epic production ceased. To be sure the Anglo-Saxons did not themselves turn forthwith to the appropriation of foreign heroes made famous by the Normans and thus to the production of romance. For with the arrival of the Normans native English writing of any formal sort virtually ceased for centuries. It was the Normans and the other French peoples who became the great purveyors of romance to Western Europe. They it was who, partly no doubt by reason of their geographical position, partly no doubt because of the large amount of foreign admixture in their blood, and partly beyond question because of that spirit of intellectual curiosity which has at all times been a peculiar characteristic of French peoples, ransacked the globe for fit subjects for romantic adaptation. These they found in the first instance in the great epic traditions respecting Charlemagne. These they proceeded both in England and in France to recast to serve the new religious purposes born of the crusades. They turned then to stories of the Greeks, Romans and various peoples of antiquity, already partially romanticized, and supplemented them with all manner of romantic additions, most conspicuously such as were prompted by their interest in courtly love. Finally they came, presumably in England, for the first time, in contact with the richly imaginative and highly poetical ancestral traditions of the Celts. These, if without the form that would make

them epic, were epic in spirit and intent. Chief among these epic materials was that which had to do with Arthur. This in preference to the rest they appropriated, eventually making Arthur the center of a court whose members they had gradually recruited from tales of other Celtic heroes, who had had originally nothing whatsoever to do with him under whose domination they came thus to be enrolled. In place of the epic conception entertained of Arthur by the Celts, as of a sort of Messiah whose birth was mysterious and who should after death return again to rule over them, the French or writers who, like Geoffrey of Monmouth, wrote in the interests of the French, substituted first the notion of a great world conqueror, of one who, like their own Henry II, ruled across the seas, and afterwards the idea of a great feudal monarch who, again like Henry, was exempt from the necessity of winning his way to power and could, like that monarch or at least like his consort, devote his leisure to the pleasant social task of adjudicating the cases of distressed lovers.

It is thus apparent that when once an epic story has been severed from the ancestral trunk and has been planted in separate soil there is no limit to the number of subsequent transformations that it may undergo. It may assume forms as myriad as Proteus. It is like a ship which once cut loose from its moorings becomes a derelict, capable of being put to whatever uses the coast-dwellers upon whose shores it is cast may choose.

NATHANIEL E. GRIFFIN

II. HETERODOXY IN DANTE'S PURGATORY

In his "Dante as a Religious Teacher" Dr. Edward Moore makes the following significant remarks with regard to Dante's teaching on the subject of Purgatory: "Dante's conception of the nature and purpose of the pains of Purgatory stands in very marked contrast to the popular ideas of the Middle Ages, and not only to the popular ideas, but also to the teaching and practice of the Roman Church both then and in later times. . . This difference of attitude on the part of Dante applies not only to the general conception of Purgatory itself, but still more strikingly to the practical consequences flowing from it, in teaching respecting indulgences, transference of merits, and means of remission of, or escape from, Purgatorial penalties."¹ However, the eminent Dantist minimizes the significance of this difference of attitude and applies to it what he said in a preceding page concerning Dante's conception of the relation of Church and State, namely, that "it may be held to be contumacious, but scarcely heretical, to criticize and oppose what has been authoritatively declared to be essential as a practical condition for the exercise of the Church's mission."²

The fallacy of this attitude lies in applying our modern conception of heresy to a far different age. The medieval Church unquestionably denounced as heretics all who refused obedience to the demands of prelate and pope in temporal as well as in spiritual matters. In the quarrel between the empire and the papacy over the question of investitures, the Council of Lateran, in 1102, required all the bishops in attendance to subscribe a declaration anathematizing the new heresy of disregarding the papal anathema.³

¹ Edward Moore, *Studies in Dante*. Second Series, p. 43.

² *Ibid.*, p. 13.

³ Harduin, *Concil.*, VI, II, 1861-2. For this and other references concerning political heresy I am indebted to Henry C. Lea, *A History of the Inquisition*, Vol. III, Chapter IV.

In the same year Paschal II exhorted his adherents to the slaughter of all the subjects of Henry IV. The same pope wrote to Robert the Hierosolymitan of Flanders praising him for his good work against Henry and promising remission of sins to him and his soldiery.⁴ A little later the German bishops were required at their consecration to abjure all heresy, especially the Henrician, alluding to the errors of the emperor who had sought to limit the encroachments of the Holy See on the temporal power.

The Stedingers who inhabited the lower Weser were good Catholics but they loved their rights and independence and were not prone to pay tithes to any feudal bishop. For years they defended themselves against their enemies till, in 1230, at a synod held in Bremen they were put to the ban as the vilest of heretics.⁵ In 1238 Gregory IX commuted the vow of the Podestà of Spoleto to serve in Palestine into service against Viterbo and offered Holy Land indulgences to all who would enlist under his banner.⁶ Similar measures were taken against Frederick II and his son Conrad IV. The crusade against Pedro III of Aragon in 1284 was preached by Martin IV to punish him for his conquest of Sicily.⁷

Thomas Aquinas proved that resistance to the authority of the Roman Church was heretical.⁸ The bull *Unam Sanctam* of Boniface VIII was embodied in the canon law. In it we read that "whoever resists the power lodged by God in the Church resists God, unless, like a Manichean, he believes in two principles, which shows him to be a heretic." Thus we find that Ezzelin was represented as a powerful heretic persecuting the Church. Clement IV justified his appeal to arms against Manfred by a formal trial for heresy. Boniface VIII quarreled with the Colonnas and condemned them as heretics.

⁴ Martène, *Ampl. Coll.* I, 587-94.

⁵ *Emois Chron.* ann. 1227, 1230.

⁶ *Episth. Selecth. Saec.* XIII, T.I, No. 720, 801.

⁷ Vaissète, *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, IV, 46.

⁸ Aquinas, *Summa*, II-II, Q.11, a. 2-3.

Cases like these could be multiplied. They all show that the medieval Church did not look upon opposition to temporal power as merely contumacious but as heretical, and did not shrink from inflicting the most rigid penalty upon the men who opposed the papal will in such matters. How much worse than contumacious will Dante's attitude seem when we find some of the conceptions in his Purgatory opposed to what the Church considered necessary to the soul's welfare!

I

Whatever vagueness and diversity of opinion may be found among the Fathers as to the abode of souls after death, it is incontestable that the Schoolmen are almost unanimous in believing that souls were destined either for Paradise or for an underground pit. The general belief of the medieval Church was crystallized by St. Thomas, the best and the most authoritative of medieval theologians. According to him all souls which did not go to Paradise were destined for this subterranean pit and distributed among four receptacles: hell proper, the *limbus puerorum*, purgatory, and the *limbus Sanctorum Patrum*, which after Christ's death remained unoccupied.⁹

Dante took Purgatory from underground and placed it on the slopes of a steep mountain situated in the center of the southern hemisphere. It is the exact antipodes of Jerusalem and Mount Calvary and is crowned by the Earthly Paradise. In *Purg.* VII, 4-6, the poet makes Vergil say:

Prima che, a questo monte, fosser volte
L'anime degne di salire a Dio,
Fur l'ossa mie, per Ottavian, sepolte.—

words which might easily be interpreted, as they were by Benvenuto, to mean that before the coming of Christ there was no Purgatory. Naturally those who are eager to maintain Dante's strictest orthodoxy claim that the souls which were

⁹ Aquinas, *Summa*, Suppl. Q. 69; *Sentent.* 3^m, Dist. XXII, Q. 2.

expiating their sins in the underground Purgatory were removed to the new one after Christ's death. For if Dante meant that before Christ there was no Purgatory he would be disregarding the opinion of the Doctors who based their belief in the existence of Purgatory before Christ upon Second Maccabees XII, 46, where prayer is asked for the dead "ut a peccatis solvantur," a passage which according to St. Thomas "non potest nisi de illis qui sunt in purgatoriis intellegit."¹⁰ And in the *Summa* we read: "For going down into hell of the lost He [Christ] wrought this effect, that by descending thither He put them to shame for their unbelief and wickedness: but to them who were detained in Purgatory He gave hope of attaining to glory."¹¹

Having thus brought Purgatory into the light, Dante combined the *limbus puerorum* and the *limbus Patrum* into one and reserved a place in it for illustrious pagans and Moslems. As for the Terrestrial Paradise the Church had always asserted that it was situated in the East. St. Thomas is very explicit as to its location: "For whatever Scripture tells us about paradise," he writes, "is set down as matter of history; and wherever Scripture makes use of this method, we must hold to the historical truth of the narrative as a foundation of whatever spiritual explanation we may offer."¹² The lower part of the mountain forms an Ante-purgatory, where are detained the souls of those who delayed repentance, a conception that can be connected with the *Æneid* and therefore alien to medieval theology.

As for the form of punishment in Purgatory Dante not only diversified it, but, contrary to general opinion, he emphasized its purpose of purification rather than satisfaction. Most Fathers and the Schoolmen speak of material fire, the same fire which punishes the lost in Hell, and emphasize the awful suffering of the spirits. According to St. Augustine "this fire, though it be not everlasting, yet it

¹⁰ Scherillo, *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*, VIII, 4.

¹¹ Aquinas, *Summa*, III, Q.LII, a. 2.

¹² *Ibid.*, I-III, Q.CII, a.1.

is passing grievous, for it doth far pass all pains that any man can suffer in this life. Never was there yet found so great a pain in flesh as that is."¹³ In one of his epistles, thought by some to have been written by St. Cyril, it is stated that "there is not a man living who had not rather be tormented with all the pains and torments together which all the men in the world, from Adam until this time, have suffered, than be for one day tormented with the least pain which is either in Hell or in Purgatory."¹⁴ Gregory, commenting on the Third Penitential Psalm, writes: "But because I esteem that purging fire, though it be transitory, to be more intolerable than all the tribulation that in this life can be suffered, I greatly fear to be purged in the wrath of transitory vengeance." And Venerable Bede, on the same Psalm, affirms that "no torture either of the martyrs or malefactors can be compared with the pains of Purgatory." Purgatorial suffering according to St. Anselm "is bigger than the biggest which in this life can be devised." Finally St. Thomas asserts that "the least pain in Purgatory exceeds the greatest pain of this life. It is the same fire which torments the just in Purgatory and the damned in Hell."¹⁵

Dante, on the contrary, keeps penal satisfaction almost entirely in the background. His punishments are appropriate in kind for the purification of the soul from any evil tendency which may be still lingering. The spirits are happy in their torment. In Purgatory, according to Ruskin, it is no longer a question as to "what the sinner has done, but only what evil feeling is still in his heart, or what good, when purified, his nature is noble enough to receive."¹⁶ To this end the poet provides, in addition to the punishments, subjects for constant meditation both of the virtue to be acquired and the vice to be eradicated, and these subjects are drawn not only from sacred but from profane history.

¹³ St. Augustine, *De vera et falsa Poenit.* Cap. XVIII.

¹⁴ St. Augustine, *Epistle* CCV.

¹⁵ Aquinas, *Summa*, Suppl. Q.LXXII, a.1.

¹⁶ Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

Dante's system is superior to all other medieval conceptions of Purgatory, yet it cannot be denied that in it he departs from the general opinion of the Church and of the theologians. D'Ovidio asserts that "in this Dante availed himself of his freedom as a poet and also as more or less of a theologian."¹⁷ If his departure from Aquinas and other Schoolmen were limited to questions of structure or location that apology might suffice; but if it involved difference of opinion even in doctrinal matters then it is to be feared that such liberty ran great risks.

Men who differed from Aquinas in the smallest details were looked upon with suspicion for he was and is still considered the champion of orthodoxy. Only two years after Dante's death John XXII canonized him declaring that in default of miracles his writings sufficed for that honor (quot scripsit articulos, tot miracula fecit). Pierre Roger (afterward Clement VI) exclaimed in 1323: "Vir Dei est tu, et verbum Domini in ore tuo verum est"; and again on another occasion: "Ecce plus quam Salomon hic!"¹⁸ St. Thomas was also called a second Augustine (Augustinus alter): in the canonization proceedings Jacopo di Viterbo, archbishop of Naples, declared: "Ego credo in fide et spiritu sancto, quod salvator noster doctorem veritatis pro illuminatione orbis et universalis ecclesiae miserit Paulum apostolum et postea Augustinum, et novissimo tempore fratrem Thomam, cui usque ad finem saeculi non credo alium successurum." The Catholic Church has always proclaimed St. Thomas the ablest defender of its doctrines. At the Council of Trent the *Summa* was placed upon the altar with the Holy Scriptures and the decrees of the Supreme Pontiffs, that from it might be sought counsel and reasons and answers.

II

Since the penal side of Purgatory was prominent in men's minds the Church sought from early times to relieve the

¹⁷ D'Ovidio, *Il Purgatorio e il suo preludio*, p. 352.

¹⁸ Touron, *Vie de St. Thomas*.

anxiety of the faithful and to offer remedies for the relief and deliverance of souls detained there. With the development of sacerdotalism these remedies increased and became so markedly defined as to give the Church a power never dreamed of before.

Belief in the efficacy of suffrages for the dead began at an early time. Tertullian speaks of prayers for the dead and of the oblations annually offered for them that they might partake of the first resurrection and have repose during the interval.¹⁹ The soul for which this oblation was offered became a participant in the mysteries of the Eucharist. Cyprian attached a special value to commemoration in the service of the mass, which was efficacious both for the dead and for the living.²⁰ Cyril of Jerusalem states that over what he calls "the propitiatory sacrifice" they commemorated those who had gone to rest "believing that the greatest benefit would accrue to those on whose behalf prayer was offered while the holy and tremendous Victim lies upon the altar."²¹ And for this Ephrem, the Syrian, also pleads in his last will: "On the thirtieth day, my brethren, make a commemoration of me. For the dead are helped by the sacrifice which is offered by the living. If the men of Mathathias, who were entrusted with the offering of sacrifices, could expiate, as you have read, by their oblations the sins of fallen soldiers, how much more are the priests of God's own Son able to expiate by their Holy Sacrifice and by the prayers of their lips the sins of the dead!"²² "Not in vain," writes Chrysostom, "were these things ordained by the Apostles that a memorial of the departed be made at the tremendous Mysteries. For they knew that thereby great gain and help would accrue to their souls, because at that time, when the whole people and the sacerdotal assembly

¹⁹ Tertullian, *De Corona Militie*, Cap. 3; *De Monogam.*, Cap. 10; *De Exhort. Castit.*, Cap. 11.

²⁰ Cyprian, *Epist.* XXXIX.

²¹ Cyril, *Catech. Mystag.*, 5, 9, 10.

²² Ephrem, *Testam.*, 72, 78.

stand praying with arms extended, and the awe-inspiring Victim is present, how should we not placate God as we pray in their behalf?"²³ St. Jerome declares that by every mass not one only, but several souls are delivered from Purgatory.²⁴

The efficacy of suffrages for the dead is also taught by the Western writers of this period. St. Augustine makes frequent references to the subject. According to him all that the living can do is by the sacrifice of the altar, by prayer and by almsgiving. This, he says, has been handed down from the Fathers, and is practiced universally by the Church. Burial near the tombs of saints is advantageous because it will remind the living to commend the dead to those saints as patrons, a statement which shows that the custom of invoking the suffrage of the saints had begun.²⁵ When St. Honoré was elevated to the see of Arles he forthwith spent all the accumulated treasures of his Church in celebrations for the dead. At the Council of Attigny, in 765, attended by twenty-seven bishops and seventeen abbots, a contract was drawn up and signed by all, providing that when any of those present should die he should have the benefit of a hundred masses celebrated by priests and three hundred by bishops. In 1114 the prelates assembled at the Council of Compostella entered into a similar agreement to assist one another to attain eternal bliss.²⁶

Gregory the Great, who was the first to formulate the doctrine of Purgatory in express terms, laid great stress upon the efficacy and frequency of masses as a means of freeing souls from Purgatory. He tells with approval of a woman who delivered her husband from prison by this means. He had mass said for thirty days in succession for a deceased monk named Justus. On the last day the spirit of the monk

²³ Chrysostom, *Ep. ad Phil.*, 3, 4.

²⁴ Jerome, *Serm. III, de Missa*.

²⁵ Augustine, *De Cura pro Mortuis*, Cap. 4, 18; *Serm. CLXXII*, Cap. 2; *Quaest. in Heptateuch*. Lib. I, Q. 172.

²⁶ Lea, *History of Confession and Indulgences*, Vol. III, pp. 326, 327.

appeared to his brother, telling him that he was now released from Purgatory, after enduring intense torments.²⁷

During Carolingian times the repeated sacrificial death of Christ was the most important means of intercession. Masses were the surest protection against sin's penalties in Purgatory, because in them Christ himself was presented to the Father, and the infinite value of his Passion was brought anew before Him; in other words, the merit of that Passion was multiplied.²⁸ About the middle of the ninth century Haymo of Halberstadt maintained that those not wicked enough for damnation nor good enough for immediate salvation can, through the supplications of the Church, be liberated with remedial pains, which last till doomsday, unless shortened by prayers and weeping of friends, almsgiving and the mass.²⁹

In the lives of St. Anselm and St. Bernard we read of the deliverance of souls from Purgatory through the offering of masses. In a life of the latter are recorded the words of a monk who, after being delivered from Purgatory through masses, appeared to one of his friends and leading him to the altar exclaimed: "Ecce, haec sunt arma gratiae Dei, quibus ereptus sum: haec est virtus misericordiae Dei, quae invincibilis permanet, haec est Hostia illa singularis, quae totius peccata mundi tollit. Et vere dico tibi, quod his armis gratia Dei, huic virtuti misericordiae Dei, huic Hostiae salutari, non est quidquam quod resistere valeat, nisi cor impenitens."³⁰ St. Peter Damian exhorts the faithful to pray and to aid souls in Purgatory by the marvellous sacrifice so that God may receive them as a satisfaction for their penalty.³¹ Peter Lombard claims that the prayers of the Church, the salutary sacrifice, and almsgiving will undoubtedly aid the dead.³² Likewise St. Bonaventura states that

²⁷ Gregory, *Dial.* IV, 55-59.

²⁸ Harnack, *History of Dogma*, Vol. V, p. 328.

²⁹ Haymo of Halberstadt, *De Varietate Libror.* Lib. III, Cap. 7, 8, 9.

³⁰ Migne, *Patrologia: S. Bernardi Vita prima*, Liber VII, Cap. II.

³¹ Damian, *Sermo* LVIII.

³² Peter Lombard, *Sententiarum* Lib. IV, Dist. XLV.

the dead can be aided by fasting, prayer and almsgiving, but especially by the celebration of masses.³³ St. Thomas Aquinas also admits that prayers, almsgiving, and the sacrifice of the mass aid souls in Purgatory.³⁴

Another efficacious means of aiding the dead was found in indulgences. Nor can this practice be considered an invention of the Schoolmen, for they found indulgences already in existence and simply framed the theory according to practice. "Those," says Cyprian, "who have received the benefit of a martyr's intercession, are thereby enabled to satisfy the justice of God."³⁵ Other early writers admit the intercession of the martyrs for the lapsed. John VIII, when consulted by the German bishops as to whether those killed in war against the pagans received the remission of their sins, replied that those who had died with Christian piety received life eternal, and that he granted them absolution.³⁶ This was nothing but a plenary indulgence to men who were already dead. In 900 John IX granted indulgences to those who died fighting against the pagans as well as to the defunct emperor Arnulf. In 1002, at the obsequies of Otto III in Cologne, the archbishop granted remission to his soul, and when in 1077, the empress Agnes died in Rome, Gregory VII, after several days spent in masses and prayers for her soul, gave her remission of her sins.³⁷ Urban II at the Council of Clermont, in 1095, decreed that service in Palestine should stand in lieu of all penance incurred by those who had duly confessed their sins, and added that this was assurance that those who died in penitence during the expedition could be sure of heaven.³⁸ His successor, Paschal II, promised the Spaniards who fought the Saracens remission and grace.³⁹ In 1118, Gelasius II, at the dedication of the

³³ Bonaventura, *Breviloquii*, Pars VII, Cap. 3.

³⁴ Aquinas, *Summa*, Suppl., Q. LXXI.

³⁵ Cyprian, *Ep.* XVIII.

³⁶ Fleury, *Hist. Eccl.* I, liii, n. 37.

³⁷ Lea, *History of Confession and Indulgences*, Vol. III, p. 332.

³⁸ *Council of Clermont* ann. 1095, Cap. 2.

³⁹ *Hist. Compostellana*, Lib. I, Cap. 9, 39.

church of St. Laurence in Genoa, granted indulgences to all those who were buried in the contiguous cemetery.⁴⁰ Innocent III lavished plenary indulgences for forty days' service in the crusades against the Albigenses. Boniface VIII, in 1300, promised plenary indulgences to those who went to the Jubilee, even to those who might die on the way. In 1310, the bishops assembled at the Council of Mayence granted an indulgence of forty days to all buried in their churches.⁴¹ In the same year Pierre de la Palu alludes to such indulgences issued by prelates, and holds them to be strictly within their competence. He also claims that if it is so expressed in the concession anyone who gains an indulgence may apply it to a soul in Purgatory.⁴²

The early belief that the merits of the martyrs gave them a special intercessory power with God formed the basis of the value attached to the suffrages of the saints, the supplication for which forms so prominent a feature of the ancient liturgies.⁴³ As a corollary to this transference of merits the belief arose that sinners could be benefited by participating in the good works of holy men, and to this end rich men especially were induced to pay large sums of money to religious houses. It was an easy deduction from this that the good works of all the faithful formed a common fund for the benefit of each member. In 1127, Honorius II, in order to raise an army against Roger of Sicily, promised to those who might die plenary remission of sins on the divine authority and the merits of the Virgin and the saints.⁴⁴

Thus in the Middle Ages the belief became wide-spread that the merits of holy men on earth formed a fund for the benefit of sinners, that the merits of the saints in heaven could be relied upon to relieve the sinner from the burden

⁴⁰ Amort, *Historia Indulgentiarum*, p. 106.

⁴¹ Hartzheim, *Concil. Ger.*, IV, 197.

⁴² P. de Palude, *Sent.* IV, Dist. XX, Q. IV. a. 3. concl. 6; Dist. XLV, Q. I, a. 3. concl. 5.

⁴³ Lea, *op. cit.* III, 14, 15.

⁴⁴ *Chron. Beneventan.* in Baronii Annal. ann. 1127, n. 5.

of satisfying for his sins and that the transcendent merits of the humanity of Christ crucified were an inexhaustible treasure for the redemption of the race for which He suffered; all of which merits were applied by the Church and by the hands of the representative of Peter. How natural it was then, during the first half of the thirteenth century, for Alexander of Hales to put all this into theological terms! According to him indulgences really remit temporal punishment due to sin and are valid not only in the forum of the Church but also in the forum of God, because the universal Church cannot fall into error concerning matters of this kind.⁴⁵

Then he explains how indulgences satisfy the demands of divine justice. The satisfactory merit of Christ and of the Church is offered to God when the relaxation of penance is conceded. Hence the penitent really satisfies for his sins, but he does so by drawing on the treasury of the Church.⁴⁶ Indulgences, then, are nothing else than an application of the supererogatory satisfaction of Christ and His saints. This satisfaction constitutes the spiritual treasury of the Church, which can be at the disposal of only those through whom the Church is espoused to Christ. It is through the pope and the bishops that children are begotten unto Christ the Redeemer, and hence it is their exclusive right to dispose of the Church's spiritual treasure in favor of these same children.⁴⁷ Indulgences may also be applied to the souls in Purgatory because the Sovereign Pontiff has the right to dispose of the spiritual treasure of the Church in favor of all who need it.

Albertus Magnus regarded indulgences as payment from the treasure by the power of the key.⁴⁸ St. Bonaventura follows Alexander: indulgences, according to him, are valid before God, because if they were not, the Church's action

⁴⁵ Alexander of Hales, *Summa*, IV, Q. 83; m. I, a. 3 and Im. This and some of the following citations are taken from Otten's *Manual of the History of Dogmas*, Vol. II.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, a. I ad IVm.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, m. III.

⁴⁸ Albertus Magnus, *Sent.* IV, Dist. XX, a. 16.

in granting them would not be merciful but cruel, and she would make herself guilty of deceiving them whom she was commissioned by Christ to guide in the way of truth. Concerning indulgences for the dead, he is inclined to the opinion that in granting them the pope uses his judiciary power, a different view from that held by Alexander, who claimed that they were granted by way of help and impetration.⁴⁹ St. Thomas maintains that indulgences are valid for the remission of temporal punishment due to sin, that this remission holds good also for the dead and that it would be blasphemy to say that the Church does anything in vain. "Christ and the saints left their satisfactory merits as a spiritual treasure to the Church, and it is only the head of the Church who can dispose of them."⁵⁰ The theory was accepted by the leading Schoolmen almost unanimously. Their statements assume the existence of the practice of granting such indulgences. Moreover *quaestuarii*, or pardoners, wandered all over Europe selling exemptions from penance and Purgatory. It is true that many of these were impostors and that the Church condemned them, yet they were not condemned for preaching a false doctrine but only for the abuse of a privilege which did not belong to them.

It is a mistake to suppose that the Schoolmen invented new doctrines. "They took the dogmas of the Church, classified them, sifted them through the refinement of reason, distinguished in them the cause from the effect, the genus from the species, and presented them under clearer forms, clothing them with new and more definite terms. Under the light of the Angelic and Seraphic Doctors, these dogmas appeared no longer independent tenets, isolated truths, but a body of doctrine ruled by some invariable principle, bound with close relations, and quickened by mutual operations. Among others, the dogma of Indulgences was set forth with perfect precision as to its main lines."⁵¹

⁴⁹ Bonaventura, *Sent.* IV.

⁵⁰ Aquinas, *Summa*, Suppl., Q. XXV, a. 1, 2.

⁵¹ Lépiciér, *Indulgences*, p. 307-308.

III

These then were the current teachings and practice of the Church in the Middle Ages. On the contrary Dante's Purgatory contains not a word concerning remission of or escape from Purgatorial penalties by means of indulgences, almsdeeds, transference of merits, and mortuary masses. With him the idea of purification stands paramount while the most prominent idea in the Church's teaching was that of payment for the penalty incurred. Indulgences which in his day were so widely applied as to almost empty Purgatory receive from him but words of scorn. "Thus in *Par.* XXVII, 52-53, he makes St. Peter blush at the 'privilegi venduti e mendaci' to which his seal is attached, and in *Par.* XXIX, 124-126, there is a bitter allusion to the profitable trade driven by the pig of St. Antony and others (i.e. his masters) 'who are much more pigs themselves', 'pagando di moneta senza conio.'"⁵² And yet St. Thomas says that an indulgence "is not a simple act of absolution from the liability to punishment, but it is an authoritative substitution of one satisfaction for another. By a judiciary sentence, the penitent receives a designated amount of the spiritual treasure of the Church, and therewith he pays to that extent his indebtedness to God."⁵³

According to *Purg.* XI, 70-72 and XIX, 125, Dante apparently would not deny the element of satisfaction in the Purgatorial penalty; since, however, he keeps that element in the background, we agree with Dr. Moore that "these passages do not necessarily go beyond the satisfaction of God at the purifying process being gradually accomplished."⁵⁴ On the other hand the whole *Cantica* is permeated with the idea of purification.⁵⁵ Since the spirits know that purification alone will admit them into Paradise, they are eager to undergo the purifying pain which is something to be prayed

⁵² E. Moore, *Studies in Dante*, Second Series, p. 45.

⁵³ Aquinas, *Summa*, Suppl. Q. 25, a. 1.

⁵⁴ E. Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

⁵⁵ *Purg.* XVI, 31-32; XI, 34; IV, 91-95; XIII, 88-90; XVII, 85-87, etc.

for rather than to be avoided. "The spirits eagerly welcome the boon of the corrective discipline. They are 'contenti nel fuoco'. Some grudge the interruption of their sufferings even for the few moments spent in conversing with Dante, and they apologize for the curtness of their answers to him on this ground (*Purg.* XVIII, 115-117). Others, in the purifying furnace of the last *Cornice*, moved towards him 'as much as they could, only being careful not to go where they would be out of reach of the burning' (*Purg.* XXVI, 13-15). Another, having referred to his suffering as 'pena,' immediately substitutes 'sollazzo' (*Purg.* XXIII, 71-72)."⁶⁶

The general conception of the medieval Church was that Purgatory existed in order to exact the due penalty of sin which had not been paid on earth. This was also the opinion of Aquinas and other Schoolmen. Dante's conception is altogether different. For him Purgatory "is an opportunity given us of unliving the life that we have lived, and building up for ourselves a past through which 'the stream of memory can flow unstained' (*Purg.* XIII, 88-90). It gives us the opportunity of living ourselves out of the thing with which we have united ourselves and living ourselves into the things we have severed ourselves from. So far from being a mere supplement to the sacrament of penance it is the inner experience and vitally organic process, beyond the grave, to which that sacrament does but admit us."⁶⁷

The efficacy of prayer for the dead is admitted by Dante. Manfred entreats him to ask his good daughter Costanza to pray for him, for the prayers of the righteous can shorten the period of delay before entering Purgatory proper (*Purg.* III, 140-145). It is interesting to note here that Manfred asks for the prayers of one who was herself excommunicated, for on April 11, 1281, Honorius IV renewed a former decree of excommunication against Costanza. This was repeated on November 18, 1286, including also James, her son, and

⁶⁶ E. Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 50-51.

⁶⁷ Wicksteed, *Dante and Aquinas*, p. 232-233.

the Sicilian prelates who had assisted at the coronation.⁵⁸ Belacqua states that his delay can be shortened through the intercession of a heart which is living in the Grace of God, for no other is heard in Heaven (*Purg.* IV, 133-135). Jacopo del Cassero wants the intercession of his friends (*Purg.* V, 70-73), and Bonconte and Pia appeal to Dante's own pity to intercede for them (*Purg.* V, 85-87, 133). Giudice Nino asks for the prayers of his innocent young daughter (*Purg.* VIII, 71-72). Other references to the efficacy of prayers are found in *Purg.* VI, 27; XI, 127-142; XIII, 124-129. All these cases, however, refer to souls in Ante-purgatory for whom prayers hastened the time when they were allowed to start their purification. There are two cases also in Purgatory proper. One (*Purg.* XVI, 51) is that of Marco Lombardo who asks Dante to pray for him when he reaches Heaven; the other (*Purg.* XXIII, 85-93) is that of Forese who claims to have been freed from the other cornices as well as from Ante-purgatory through the tears and prayers of his wife.

With regard to prayers for those in Purgatory proper Dr. Moore takes the position that "as we may offer intercessory prayers for living friends that they may profit by God's dispensation of sorrow, pain, warning, or encouragement, so assuredly would Dante hold that this privilege and duty extended also to the discipline of those who have gone before. Thus, indirectly, Purgatorial penance may be abridged."⁵⁹ The same interpretation might also be applied to the prayers for those in Ante-purgatory. However, one thing stands out clearly, namely, that the only means which Dante claims will aid the dead is prayer. That the word "far" in *Purg.* XI, 32 may refer to almsdeeds is possible, but commentators assume a great deal when they make it refer to masses. The mass was considered by the Church the most potent means of aiding the dead, and the principal offering which could be presented to Heaven in behalf of the souls in Purgatory. The Church taught and still teaches that the mass is a

⁵⁸ Potthast, *Regesta*, Vol. II, 22414, 22537.

⁵⁹ E. Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

propitiatory sacrifice, that Christ is actually present on the altar in the state of a victim, and that he demands pardon for sinners, as he did upon the cross; that he satisfies the justice of his Father, and appeases his anger. That Dante should dispose of such a powerful means by a mere "far" is inconceivable. For him it is only "i buoni preghi," the prayers of the innocent and the tears of widows that avail.

IV

From *Purg.* II, 103-105; VII, 4-5; XXV, 85-87, it seems that Dante believed that all souls had to traverse Purgatory before reaching the presence of God. It is true that he speaks of Beatrice, her father, one of her friends, Boethius, and St. Francis as ascending directly to Heaven, but evidently this was a rare privilege, since he declares that all those who are not directed toward Acheron will gather at the Tiber and thence to Purgatory.

This was not the belief of the Church. Gregory the Great states that some souls go to heaven at once while others are kept waiting and pass the interval in various mansions.⁶⁰ St. Peter Damian declares that "those who live as though the body were a prison go at once to heaven."⁶¹ The second Council of Lyons, in 1274, declared that souls free from sin are at once received into heaven. Hugh of St. Victor asserts positively that the righteous are wafted at once to Christ.⁶² With the development of the doctrine of Purgatory and of sacramental absolution the idea of a judgment postponed until doomsday gradually disappeared. In 1254 Innocent IV, in laying down points of faith for the Greeks, asserts that the souls of baptized infants and adults dying in grace without unsatisfied sins fly at once to heaven. Aquinas also claims that "immediately at death souls are either plunged into hell or ascend to heaven, save those whose passage to

⁶⁰ Gregory, *Dial.* Lib. IV, Cap. XXV.

⁶¹ Damian, *Serm.* LIX.

⁶² H. of St. Victor, *De Sacramentis*, Lib. II, P. XVI, Cap. 4.

the latter is delayed in Purgatory."⁶³ Both Damian and Aquinas speak of immediate ascension to heaven, and since their Purgatory was underground they could not mean that before ascending souls had to make a detour in the opposite direction. Nearly all the Schoolmen are agreed that the elect are placed in full possession of their essential happiness as soon as they have satisfied the justice of God for their past sins. It has been claimed that St. Thomas' assertions were directed against those who denied particular judgment, but it seems that this question was fairly well settled by the end of the patristic age both in the East and the West. St. Chrysostom writes: "I think that the valiant athletes of God, who during life contended bravely with the invisible enemies, . . . shall at the end of their days be examined by the Prince of the Ages."⁶⁴ St. Hilary declares that if we have led bad lives, hell will be our portion. Then he refers to the parable of Dives and Lazarus and concludes that "there was no interval of delay; for the day of judgment makes the beginning either of eternal blessedness or eternal pain."⁶⁵ The same is maintained by St. Basil and by Gregory of Nyssa.⁶⁶ The doctrine of immediate destination is also found in the professions of faith of Gregory XIII, Benedict XIV, and Michael Palaeologus.

Dante's apparent belief that nearly all needed some Purgatorial purification would nullify some of the means which the Church considered sufficient for the faithful to gain Paradise. What about the host of martyrs and saints? Had they not sufficient merits accumulated to allow them escape from Purgatory? The treasure of the Church was composed of the superabundance of the merits of Christ and of the saints. If these possessed more merits than they needed for themselves why a sojourn in Purgatory? Then there were plenary indulgences granted to those dying in

⁶³ Aquinas, *Summa*, Suppl., Q. LXIX, a. 2, 4.

⁶⁴ Chrysostom, *Ep. ad Cor.*, Hom. 42, 3-7.

⁶⁵ Hilary, *Tract. super Ps. II*, 49.

⁶⁶ Basil, *Ps. I*, Hom. 4—Gregory of Nyssa, *Orat. de Mortuis*.

the wars against the infidels in Palestine and Spain, and the heretics in France. To these we must add the thousands of monks and other pious men and women who followed tabulated Penitentiaries by which they worked off the equivalent of Purgatorial penance.

There are three other instances in the *Purgatorio* in which Dante departs from accepted opinions. Manfred, son of Frederick II, died in 1265 excommunicated by two popes and condemned as a contumacious heretic. On the point of death he turns to God and Dante places him in Purgatory among those who postpone repentance till the last moment (*Purg.* III, 112-145). It is true that it was held by some that when an excommunication was unjust it was not binding before God. Shall we say then that two popes acted unjustly? But to question the action of a pope was held to be heretical. St. Thomas says: "For the remission of both actual and original sin, a sacrament of the Church is necessary, received either actually, or at least in desire, when a man fails to receive the sacrament actually, through an unavoidable obstacle, and not through contempt."⁶⁷ Bartolini, a Catholic Dantist, states that "the Church does not consider lost one who dies excommunicated, since by the act of perfect contrition and desire for confession he can obtain pardon at the extreme moment."⁶⁸ St. Thomas also claims that contrition has the desire of confession united thereto.⁶⁹ There is no indication whatever that Manfred felt that kind of contrition. On the contrary he rebukes the Church when he says: "Through their (the priests') maledictions a man is not so wholly lost that the eternal Love of God cannot turn to him, so long as hope retains one shred of green" (*Purg.* III, 133-135).

Much has been written about Cato the Younger, who is made warder of Purgatory (*Purg.* I, 31-48) and destined

⁶⁷ Aquinas, *Summa*, III-IV, Q.LXXXIV, a.5; Q. VI, a. 1 of the *Supplement*.

⁶⁸ Bartolini, *Studi Danteschi*, Vol. II., p. 107.

⁶⁹ Aquinas, *Summa*, Supplement, Q. X, a. 1.

eventually to a place in Paradise. In connection with this we may mention the case of Ripheus, Trojan hero, who is placed in Paradise (*Par.* XX, 68). Whatever may be said about their virtues the fact remains that they were pagans and unbaptized, and the Church held that baptism was absolutely necessary for salvation. St. Thomas declares that "men are bound to that without which they cannot obtain salvation. Now it is manifest that no one can obtain salvation but through Christ. But for this end is baptism conferred on man, that being regenerated thereby, he may be incorporated in Christ, by becoming His member. . . . Consequently it is manifest that all are bound to be baptized: and that without baptism there is no salvation for men."⁷⁰ The Fathers and the Schoolmen may differ as to the form in which it is to be administered or as to the age of the recipient, but they are unanimous in believing it necessary for salvation. The Church had to invent a legend in order to save Trajan. It was thought that, through the intercession of Gregory the Great, Trajan's soul was delivered from hell and returned to the body long enough to be converted, baptized, and to receive absolution for its sins.

The eleventh Canto of the *Purgatorio* opens with a paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer as part of the discipline of the Proud. The last clause reads: "This last prayer, O dear Lord, is not indeed made for ourselves, for it is not needed, but for those who have remained behind us." And in verse 31 Dante declares that the prayers of those in Purgatory ascend continually on behalf of their friends on earth. In this he differs from St. Thomas who maintains that those who are in Purgatory are not in a position to pray for us (*non sunt in statu orandi, sed magis ut oretur pro eis*).⁷¹

V

It results from the above that Dante differed from the general belief of the Church not only as to the conception

⁷⁰ Aquinas, *Summa*, III-III, Q. LXVIII, a 1.

⁷¹ Aquinas, *Summa*, II-II, Q. LXXXIII, a. 11.

of Purgatory, but also with respect to indulgences for the dead, transference of merits, and means of remission of or escape from Purgatorial penalties. By suggesting that all must pass through Purgatory before entering Paradise he ignored some of the most powerful means advocated by the Church for the full remission of penalty. In the case of Manfred and Cato he took considerable liberty with some of the most cherished sacraments. And in the statement that souls in Purgatory pray for us he is in direct opposition to Aquinas' opinion.

Apologists claim that in the case of indulgences for the dead, Dante was not open to criticism because it was not a *de fide* doctrine in his time, and that in the case of other divergencies he could not be accused of heterodoxy because he does not offer an open protest against the doctrines which he seems to condemn. As for the former it will be seen that it was not necessary for a doctrine to be approved by a general council in order to be binding. As for the latter, from the general tone of his writings there can be no doubt that certain beliefs are repudiated by him. These beliefs are conspicuous by their absence; they are studiously, almost obtrusively ignored by him.⁷³ Such procedure is at times a more forcible means of denial than an open attack.

Whatever doctrine the Church practised, whatever doctrine was approved, sanctioned, or tolerated by the pope the faithful were bound to accept irrespective of councils. And since that was the general opinion not only of the ignorant but also of the learned theologians, some of whom are now venerated as saints, it follows that dissension from such doctrines was considered heretical.

The position of the Fathers on the supremacy of the pope is seen by the formula subscribed to at the eighth General Council in 869. It reads in part: "By the Apostolic See the Catholic religion has always been preserved immaculate, and sound doctrine has been taught."⁷⁴ Rabanus Maurus de-

⁷³ E. Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 43.†

⁷⁴ Mansi, *Sacr. Concil.*, VIII, 351.

clares: "We see that the authority of the Roman Pontiff extends itself to all the churches of Christ, so that all bishops acknowledge him as their head, and that all ecclesiastical transactions are subject to his judgment; hence, according to his decision, what has been established remains in force, what has been done amiss is corrected, what needs to be enacted is approved. The decrees of the Roman Pontiff are sent to all the churches, both in the East and the West, and they are received and observed by the faithful as having the force of ecclesiastical laws."⁷⁴ In a synod held in Rome in 863, Nicholas I anathematized all who should refuse to receive the teaching or ordinances of a pope.⁷⁵ Writing to Michael Cerularius, pope Leo IX (1048-1054) declares that "just as a hinge, remaining itself immovable, opens and shuts the door, so Peter and his successors exercise judiciary power over the whole Church, and their firm position no one must attempt to shake; because the Supreme See is judged by no one."⁷⁶ Gregory VII ascribed personal sanctity to every pope.⁷⁷ Writing to Emperor Henry he exclaimed: "The Greek Church is fallen away, and the Armenians also have lost the right faith, but all the Easterns await from St. Peter the decision on their various opinions."⁷⁸

By the middle of the twelfth century the pope's position is fully defined by St. Bernard: "Who are you? The chief priest, the Sovereign Pontiff. You are the prince of bishops, the head of the Apostles; in priority you are Abel, in government Noah; as a patriarch you are Abraham, in order Melchisedech, in rank Aaron, in power Peter, in virtue of your anointing you are Christ. So then, according to your own authority, other bishops are called to a share in responsibility, you are called to the exercise of plenary power. The power of other men is confined within fixed limits; yours

⁷⁴ R. Maurus, *Cont. Graec.*, 11, 4.

⁷⁵ Harduin, *Concil.* V, 574.

⁷⁶ Mansi, *Sacr. Concil.*, XIX, 638 B sqq.

⁷⁷ Gregory VII, *Ep.* VIII.

⁷⁸ Gregory VII, *Ep.* II.

extends to those who have power over their fellows. Have you not power, for sufficient reason, to shut heaven against a bishop, and even deliver him to Satan?"⁷⁹

The papal decretals obtained an ever increasing authority. Alexander II wrote to King Philip of France, requesting him to rank the papal decrees along with the canon, nay even with the decrees of the Ecumenical Councils.⁸⁰ Here it is interesting to quote Dante's words in *Paradiso* IX, 133-135:

Per questo l'Evangelio e i Dottor magni
Son derelitti, e solo ai Decretali
Si studia sì che pare ai lor vivagni.

And again in his letter to the Cardinals, addressing the Church, we read: "Thy Gregory lies covered with cobwebs, Ambrose lies among the neglected cupboards of the clergy. So lies Augustine. Dionysius, Damascene, and Bede are tossed aside. They declaim the *Speculum* as they call it, Innocent, and him of Ostia. And why? The former writers were seekers after God, as the end and chief good. These hunt after incomes and benefices."⁸¹

At the first Lateran Council in 1123 there was no sign of any action on the part of the bishops; in fact the pope published the decrees in his own name.⁸² Likewise at the second Lateran Council in 1139 the bishops appeared as mere passive witnesses to hear Innocent's lofty commands.⁸³ Later Innocent III claims that the pope is God's *locum tenens* on earth, set to watch over the social, political, and religious condition of mankind, like a Divine Providence, as chief overseer and lord. At the fourth Lateran Council in 1215 Innocent had his decrees read to the bishops, and after listening in silence they were allowed to give their assent. At the second Synod of Lyons convoked by Gregory X the papal decretals were promulgated partly during the council

⁷⁹ St. Bernard, *On Consideration*, Book II, Chap. VIII.

⁸⁰ Jaffé, *Regesta*, Second Edition, N. 4525.

⁸¹ Dante, *Epistle* VIII, 7.

⁸² Harduin, *Concil.* VI, ii.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, i, c. 1214.

and partly afterwards. "At the Council of Vienna, in 1311, only the bishops previously selected by Clement V were admitted. When he saw that a majority was favorably disposed towards the Order of Templars, he ordered a cleric to proclaim that any bishop who spoke a word without being first asked for his opinion by the pope, would incur the greater excommunication."⁸⁴

Aquinas, who represents the general opinion of the Schoolmen, reasons thus: "As the Church is a living organism, essentially one and visible, she must have one head living visibly among men; her oneness, moreover, demands that this head have supreme authority in matters of faith, so that he may decide questions and solve difficulties connected therewith. Consequently, as the Sovereign Pontiff is the successor of Peter, he has by divine right full jurisdiction on the whole Church, and holds the place of Christ in regard to pastors and flock alike."⁸⁵ According to St. Thomas the Apostolic See rules, a council derives its whole authority from the pope; he has the right to establish a new confession of faith, and whoever rejects his authority is a heretic, for it belongs to him alone to decide on every doctrinal question.⁸⁶ "As it belongs to the pope to decide questions of faith, his decisions have greater weight than the views of all men whatever, no matter how well versed in Holy Scripture they may be."⁸⁷

Nor does St. Bonaventura think otherwise. "If at the time of the legal priesthood," he says, "it was morally wrong to contravene the judgment of the high priest, and was punished with death, how much more is this the case under the dispensation of revealed truth and grace, when it is known that the plenitude of power has been entrusted to the vicar of Christ. Hence this evil is in no way to be tolerated, that in matters of faith and morals any one should

⁸⁴ Janus, *The Pope and the Council*, p. 194.

⁸⁵ Aquinas, *Cont. Gent.* IV, 76; *Sent.* IV, d. 24, 9. 3.

⁸⁶ Aquinas, *Summa*, II-II, Q. I, a. 10; Q. XI, a. 2, 3.

⁸⁷ Aquinas, *Quaestiones Quodl. Duodecim*, 9, c. 16.

teach what is contrary to his decisions; approving what he has reprobated, building up again what he has torn down, defending what he has condemned."⁸⁸ The second Council of Lyons, 1274, stated that "as he (the pope), before all others, is bound to defend the faith, so in like manner does it belong to him, when questions of faith arise, to decide them according to his own judgment."⁸⁹

Medieval opinion concerning the authority of the pope can be summed up thus: What the pope does is as if done by God Himself; he acts with divine authority; he can change the nature of things by applying to one the substantial properties of another; he can change, for instance, injustice into justice; no one has the right to ask him a reason for his acts, his will is the only reason (*ei est pro ratione voluntas*). St. Thomas goes so far as to say that the only thing which the pope cannot do is to destroy the Scriptures. They even claimed that the pope was not bound by his own laws. According to Gregory VII the canonical ordination gave him sanctity: "By the merits of the blessed Peter he is infallibly holy."⁹⁰ In the bull "Unam Sanctam" of Boniface VIII, we read: "To every human creature we declare, say, define, and pronounce, that to be subject to the Roman Pontiff is absolutely necessary to salvation." Therefore "a council merely as such was an accident and not at all the essence of such authority as might afterward attach to its utterances. It was the voice of the Church (through the pope), not of the council, that was of force, and this might or might not be reached through the council."⁹¹

All this was perfectly understood in the Middle Ages. The inquisitors did not stop to ascertain whether a certain doctrine was *de fide* or not. "They took the teaching of the pope as the safest and simplest criterion of the true faith. Whoever contradicted a papal decision, or knowingly dis-

⁸⁸ St. Bonaventura, *Apol. Pauperi*. c. I.

⁸⁹ Mansi, *Sacr. Concil.*, XXIV, 70A sqq.

⁹⁰ Gregory VII, *Reg.* II, 51, 75.

⁹¹ Du Bose, *The Ecumenical Councils*, p. 45.

obeyed a papal command, thereby incurred the guilt of heresy, and was handed over to the secular power to be put to death. 'Whoever does not agree with the Apostolic See,' says Paschal II, 'is without any doubt a heretic.'"⁹² The Minorites contradicted the pope in their desire to observe the rule of poverty in all its strictness and were condemned. John of Belna, the inquisitor of Carcassonne, appealed to the authority of the most famous canonist of that time, Henry of Segusio, who had declared that he who does not receive the papal decrees is a heretic.⁹³ Like Dante, Roger Bacon tells us that the study of Scripture was neglected for that of the Sentences, in which lay the whole glory of the theologians. His opinions were condemned, he was accused of unorthodox speculations, and cast into prison where he died. "A number of the Spirituals paid with their lives for disputing the right of John XXII to uphold their rule and the bull of his predecessor, Nicholas III. No council had condemned their opinions; it was only papal authority, and in this case the authority of the reigning pope, on the strength of which they were sentenced to the stake."⁹⁴

Would Dante have fared better had his works been examined by an inquisitor of his times? It is doubtful. His conception of what the Church had been and what it was in his day is clearly set forth in the last *Canti* of the *Purgatorio*. In Canto XXIX we have the procession of the Church militant as it was instituted by Christ. It is led by seven candlesticks which represent the seven beatitudes, the flames representing the merits, and the streaks of light the rewards. Then follow twenty-four leaders who symbolize the twenty-four books of the Old Testament, and four Beasts with six wings which represent the four evangelists. The space enclosed by the four Beasts contains a triumphal chariot, the Church, upon two wheels which represent the New and the Old Testament. The chariot is drawn by a Gry-

⁹² Janus, *op. cit.*, p. 245.—Martène, *Thesaur. Anecd.* i, 338.

⁹³ Baluze and Mansi, *Miscell.* ii, 275.

⁹⁴ Janus, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

phon, the symbol of Christ. Then follow seven maidens, who are supposed to symbolize the four cardinal and the three theological virtues. Finally we see two old men whom all agree to be St. Luke and St. Paul, followed by four of a humble aspect representing the Epistles of St. James, St. Peter, St. John, and St. Jude; and an aged solitary, personifying St. John as representing the Apocalypse.

After passing rapidly over the vicissitudes of the Church from the earliest epoch of her existence, Dante gives us a picture of her condition in his own times. In Canto XXXII we again see the chariot completely covered with the plumage of the eagle, that is, the Church represented as having become powerful, rich, and given completely to temporal matters. Even the wheels are covered, that is, even the New and the Old Testament are overshadowed by worldly considerations. "Thus transformed, the holy structure put forth heads on all its different parts, three above the pole, and one at each corner," signifying that the Church instead of practising the seven virtues, followed the seven capital sins. The Roman Curia sits upon the chariot transformed into a monster in the form of "a dishevelled harlot with bold and eager looks. And, as if in order that she should not be taken from him, I saw standing at her side a giant [the King of France], and ever and anon they kissed each other." "Then, full of jealousy and fierce with rage, he unloosed the monster and dragged it off through the forest so far, that he made of that alone a shield for me against the harlot and the newly-formed beast." The episode of the giant dragging the transformed chariot through the forest out of sight, refers to the translation of the Apostolic Seat from Rome to Avignon in 1305.

It is true that many worthy men in the Middle Ages described the corruption of the clergy in no uncertain terms, yet a picture like this in which the Church is represented as a monster given to the seven capital sins and the Roman Curia as a harlot, was found only in the utterances of heretics.

How would a medieval ecclesiastical court have viewed such utterances when men were condemned to the stake merely for the pallor of their faces which was considered by inquisitors a characteristic of heretics? At a distance of six hundred years laymen absolve Dante not only for these utterances but also for divergencies in doctrinal matters, for so long as he accepted the main doctrines of the Catholic Church modern enlightenment tends to tolerance. The Church also absolves him, for when it is a question of claiming one of the few really great poets in the world, she casts all logic to the winds. But his contemporaries would have been obliged to apply medieval standards and beliefs, and judged by them Dante's utterances and divergencies would have been considered heretical.

ALFONSO DE SALVIO

III. A CHATEAUBRIAND RARITY

The library of John H. Wrenn,¹ acquired by The University of Texas, contains an *editio princeps* which would seem to be of some importance to students of the history of French literature. The work in question is listed in the Catalogue of the Wrenn library,² as follows:

Chateaubriand, Vicomte de: *Maison de France, ou Recueil de Pièces Relatives à la Légitimité et à la Famille Royale*. Par M. le Vicomte de Chateaubriand, Pair de France. Tome Premier (Tome Second), Paris, Le Normant Père, Libraire, Rue de Seine No. 8, Faubourg Saint-Germain, 1825.

The work is in two volumes, octavo. The Catalogue describes the two volumes as being bound "in contemporary dark-blue straight grain morocco, the sides and backs tooled in gold and blind, with slight inlays of red, and gilt edges." The work was the personal copy of the Duchesse de Berri, her coat-of-arms being impressed on the side of each volume. A seal on the first blank page informs us that the binder was Simier, "Relieur du Roi, de S. A. R. Madame Duchesse de Berri et de S. A. R. Mgr. le Duc de Bordeaux, Rue St. Honoré 152, à Paris." A number of cabalistic numerals and indications, apparently in the handwriting of J. H. Wrenn himself, as to the date of purchase, catalogue number, and so on, are to be seen on this same page. We read, among other things: "This copy belonged to the Duchess de Berri;" and "Binding Fr. 19 Cent. French Memorial." In a word, this copy of the *Maison de France* is an excellent example of the *editio princeps de luxe*.

The fact that the *Maison de France* is a handsome first edition, however, is only the first and least important of its qualities. The second, growing directly out of the first, is

¹ For an enumeration of the works in the Wrenn collection of interest to Romance students and a brief description of each of them, see the present writer's article in *The Texas Review* for January 1921, pp. 119-122.

² Compiled by Harold B. Wrenn and Thomas J. Wise, I. 228.

the fact that the work is extremely rare. The Wrenn catalogue gives no information as to the number of copies that were printed, but its absence from the catalogues of the world's greatest libraries makes it perfectly clear that the book was printed privately, "à tirage limité." Examination of the catalogues of the Bibliothèque nationale, the British Museum, the Preussische Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, the Library of Congress, and of those of the libraries of The Johns Hopkins University, The University of Texas, the Peabody Institute in Baltimore, and of Columbia University in the city of New York, gives no hint whatsoever as to the existence of the work. M. Lanson, in his *Manuel bibliographique de la littérature française moderne* (Paris, Hachette, 1909) seems to have no knowledge of the book. René Kerviler, on the other hand, in his *Essai d'une bio-bibliographie de Chateaubriand et de sa famille* (Vannes 1895), mentions the *Maison de France* (item 48—p. 48), calling attention to the titles of only a few of the more important essays contained therein. André Maurel, drawing his information directly from the work of Kerviler, also notes the *Maison de France* in the "appendice bibliographique" to his *Essai sur Chateaubriand* (Paris, 1898, p. 223). Finally, bare mention of the book is to be found in Thieme's *Guide bibliographique de la littérature française de 1800 à 1906* (Paris, 1907, p. 76). Neither the *Conservateur* (6 vols., 1818–20) nor the *Revue encyclopédique* (vols. 25–32, 1825–26) contains any allusion to the *Maison de France* or to Chateaubriand's intention of compiling such a work. The same is true for the *Littérature française contemporaine* of Quérard, Lonandre et Bourquelot (Paris, Daguin, 1846); the *Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur de livres*, of Jacques Charles Brunet, vol. I (Paris, Didot frères, 1860); the *Catalogue général de la librairie française*, of Otto Lorenz, vol. I (Paris, Nilsson, 1892); and the *Journal de la librairie*. Even Chateaubriand himself, in his later years, seems to have forgotten or wilfully to have ignored the existence of this work, as he makes no reference to it whatsoever in his *Mémoires d'outre-tombe*

(cf. vol. IV of the edition of Edmond Biré—Paris, Garnier frères, pp. 223-313). All this has led the present writer to the conclusion that the copy of the *Maison de France* in the Wrenn collection is the only one extant in this country, if not in the world.

The external attractiveness and the rarity of the *Maison de France*, nevertheless, are but matters of secondary importance. It is the contents of the two volumes that are of prime significance; and it is the main object of the present study to treat of these contents. We shall see that the *Maison de France* contains, in addition to a number of Chateaubriand's better-known writings, a few compositions that are not to be found in any of the editions of his collected works or of his individual productions. These compositions were all published during Chateaubriand's lifetime, in some form or other, but they are now either entirely out of print or extant only in the political archives of the time. A comparison of some of the items contained in the *Maison de France* with the same items in the collected works brings to light variant readings and textual additions of greater or less value.

First, then, as to the table of contents of the two volumes which make up the *Maison de France*. The first volume contains, besides an "Avertissement" which deserves special attention, the following selections from Chateaubriand's writings: 1) extracts from the *Génie du Christianisme*; 2) extracts from the *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem*; 3) extracts from an article contributed to the *Mercure de France* for March 1806; 4) extracts from another article contributed to the *Mercure de France*, this one dated July 1807; 5) *De Buonaparte et des Bourbons*; 6) *Arrivée du roi à Compiègne*; 7) *Exhumation et translation des restes de Louis XVI et de la reine*; 8) *Rapport sur l'état de la France, fait au roi dans son conseil à Gand, le 4 octobre, 1814*; 9) *Rapport sur l'état de la France, au 12 mai, 1815, fait au roi dans son conseil à Gand*; 10) *Opinion sur la résolution de la Chambre des Députés, relative au deuil général du 21 janvier, prononcée à*

la Chambre des Pairs le 9 janvier 1816, et imprimée par ordre de la Chambre; 11) Discours prononcé à la Chambre des Pairs, dans la séance du 22 février 1816, à l'occasion des communications faites par M.le duc de Richelieu, imprimé par ordre de la Chambre; and 12) De la Vendée.

The second volume of the *Maison de France* is taken up almost entirely by the *Mémoires, Lettres et Pièces Authentiques Touchant la Vie et la Mort de S. A. R. Monseigneur Charles Ferdinand d'Artois, Fils de France, Duc de Berry*, to which is prefaced a brief "Avertissement." In addition, there are to be found in this volume three "Discours sur la Guerre d'Espagne," the first delivered in the Chamber of Deputies on February 25, 1823, and the second and third in the Chamber of Peers, on March 18 and April 30, respectively, of the same year; then follows an item bearing the caption: "Politique, -11 octobre, 1823;" and the two volumes are brought to a fitting close with the oration: "Le roi est mort: vive le roi!"

Coming now to the individual items in the *Maison de France*, we are attracted, first of all, by the "Avertissement" to volume I. This "Avertissement," having been written purely as a preface to the *Maison de France*, is not to be found anywhere in the editions of Chateaubriand's collected works.³ The author begins his preface with a statement as to the purposes of his *Génie du Christianisme*: he had attempted in this work, he tells us, first, to develop the religious principles upon which society is based; second, to counteract the ridicule heaped by Voltaire upon sacred things; third, to reproduce the memories of "la vieille France"; and, finally, to bring back the rising generation to the religion of the "rois très-chrétiens." With characteristic egotism, he then asserts that, through the *Génie*, he had probably been instrumental in paving the way for the Restoration. All this serves as preamble to a statement of

³ The edition used in this study and to which all references are made is the *Oeuvres Complètes*, Paris 1836-38 (Pourrat frères), 34 vols. It will be referred to as OC.

the contents and aim of the *Maison de France*. Here, Chateaubriand tells us, he had collected all that he had published on the subject of the legitimate royal line, in general, and, more particularly, on that family of the legitimacy which alone could assure a stable rule. He takes the occasion to state briefly his political system, which is: at the base of the government the altar; at its summit the throne; and, between these two, public liberties granted to all citizens. He is convinced that the state must rest upon the three fundamental principles of religion, royalty, and liberty. The aim of the *Maison de France* is to offset the evil effects of the Revolution and the Empire; it contains all that Chateaubriand had written concerning the royal house during the period extending from the return of Louis XVIII to the ascent of Charles X (1814-24). To serve as an introduction to these writings published since the Restoration, Chateaubriand included excerpts from the *Génie du Christianisme*, the *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem*, and the two *Mercur* articles (as a matter of fact, the pagination of these excerpts is in Roman numerals; it is only with "De Buonaparte et des Bourbons" that the Arabic numeration begins).

Of the *Génie du Christianisme*, there are eleven excerpts, separated from one another by dotted lines, and with no indication as to where they appear in the original. The excerpts vary in length from four or five lines to as many pages, and were not selected in accordance with any definitely preconceived plan, but were chosen merely to give the reader of the *Maison de France* a notion of the contents of the *Génie du Christianisme* and an insight into the point of view of its author. The context of the individual excerpts facilitates the matter of placing them in the original. Thus, the first excerpt is from the chapter on the "Hotel des Invalides" (Pt. III, Bk. 1, chap. 6, OC XV 223-24). Excerpt 2 is from the chapter on "Versailles" (Pt. III, Bk. 1, chap. 7, OC XV 225). Excerpt 3 is from "Des Eglises gothiques" (Pt. III, Bk. 1, chap. 8, OC XV 227). Excerpt 4 is from the chapter on "Bossuet orateur" (Pt. III, Bk. 4, chap. 4, OC XV 323).

Of Excerpt 5 a word will be said later. Excerpt 6 is taken from the "Funérailles—Pompes funèbres des grands" (Pt. IV, Bk. 1, chap. 10, OC XVI 78). Excerpt 7 is to be found in the chapter on "Saint-Denis" (Pt. IV, Bk. 2, chap. 9, OC XVI 108). Excerpts 8 and 9 are from the "Idées générales des missions" (Pt. IV, Bk. 4, chap. 1, OC XVI 162 and 163, respectively). Excerpt 10 occurs in the chapter on the "Vie et moeurs des chevaliers" (Pt. IV, Bk. 5, chap. 4, OC XVI 241-43). Finally, the eleventh excerpt is taken from the chapter on "Politique et gouvernement" (Pt. IV, Bk. 6, chap. 11, OC XVII 60-61).

As for excerpt 5, which is very brief, I have been unable to place it in the *Génie du Christianisme*, though I have consulted three editions of this work and four editions of the *Oeuvres complètes*,⁴ so that I give it here as it is printed in the Maison de France: "Je remarque qu'Horace, Virgile, Tibulle, Tite-Live, moururent tous avant Auguste, qui est en cela le sort de Louis XIV; notre grand prince survécut un peu à son siècle et il se coucha le dernier dans la tombe, comme pour s'assurer qu'il ne restait rien après lui." This passage would seem very clearly to belong to Pt. III, Bk. 4, chap. 5, of the *Génie* "Que l'incrédulité est la principale cause de la décadence du gout et du génie."—It might be noted that Chateaubriand is guilty, in this passage, of a historical error which he corrected in 1831 in the *Etudes historiques* (premier discours, première partie, OC IV 178) where he tells us that Livy died during the reign of Tiberius. This latter statement is the true one, inasmuch as Livy's death occurred three years after the accession of Tiberius to the throne. As the passage cited above, it might be added, is likewise not to be

⁴ The following editions have been used: *Génie du Christianisme*, première édition (Paris, Migneret, 1802, 5 vols.), seconde édition (Paris, Migneret, 1803), and that of the Firmin Didot frères (Paris, 1852, 2 vols.). For the *Oeuvres complètes*, the editions consulted were: that of the Pourrat frères (Paris 1836-38, 34 vols.); that of Furne et Cie., Charles Gosselin (Paris 1841, 25 vols.); that of the Garnier frères (Paris 1859-61, 12 vols.); and that of Furne, Jouvet et Cie. (Paris 1867-72, 10 vols.)

found in the first edition of the *Oeuvres complètes* (Paris 1826-31, 31 vols.), I am unable to state whether it belonged to the first draft of the *Génie* or whether Chateaubriand inserted it, as a sort of afterthought, into the *Maison de France*. A conjecture, however, as to the origin of the passage may here be ventured. At the end of the appendix to the first edition of the *Génie* (vol. 5), Chateaubriand writes: "Les notes, assez considérables, de mes premiers dépouillemens sont restées dans l'étranger: j'espère les recouvrer un jour." The passage in question, then, might have been one of these notes, which, recovered too late for inclusion in the early editions of the *Génie*, had been inserted by Chateaubriand into the *Maison de France*; since, however, the text of the *Génie* as published in the *Oeuvres complètes* was based, on the whole, upon that of the 1802 edition, the above-cited passage was omitted.

This brings us to the matter of text-variants. It is clear that variants in spelling and punctuation can not be considered here; several general statements may therefore be made with regard to such variants. In the first place, the *Maison de France* adheres to contemporaneous spellings, such as that in which the "t" following nasal vowels is omitted; thus, for instance, we have "mouvemens" and "frappans" in the first excerpt from the *Génie*. Secondly, though there is considerable variation in the matter of punctuation, it may be broadly stated that MF¹ punctuates more strictly than does OC. Finally, with regard to the excerpts from the *Génie*, it should be mentioned that MF occasionally omits entire sentences that appear in the original, without in any way indicating this fact.

The text-variants in the excerpts from the *Génie* are not exceedingly significant. As a general thing, the *Maison de France* preserves the text of the 1802 edition of the *Génie*, while the OC of 1836 prints that used for the first edition of the *Oeuvres complètes*, that of 1826; whatever variants appear

¹ For the sake of convenience, the *Maison de France* will henceforth be referred to as MF.

in the 1836 OC, therefore, were, as a rule, made by Chateaubriand some time in 1825 or 1826. In excerpt 6, for example, MF has the 1802 reading for the opening sentence: "A-t-elle à s'occuper (la religion) des funérailles—," whereas OC (XVI 78) prints the 1826 version: "La religion a-t-elle à s'occuper—etc." The same excerpts contains two other variants: 1) MF: "une longue et pénible jouissance d'une des plus *belles* couronnes de l'univers" (1802); OC: "d'une des plus *nobles* couronnes de l'univers" (1826); and 2) MF: "La rébellion long-temps retenue, à la fin *toute* maitresse" (1802); OC: "La rébellion—*tout à fait* maitresse" (1826). Finally, excerpt 10 contains a variant that should be noted. MF again prints the 1802 reading: "Car tous ceux de nostre *partie*," which is undoubtedly a misprint; beginning with 1826, the phrase appears, correctly: "car tous ceux de nostre *paarie*" (it occurs in a passage cited from an early French writer, apparently Froissart, where the word "*paarie*," Old French "tenure," clearly has the extended meaning of "rank.")

It may be seen from the foregoing that the *Maison de France*, though it differs in details from the text of OC, does not offer many important variants. For this reason, we shall, from now on, not pause over insignificant deviations, but discuss only such variants as may merit our attention.

From this point of view, then, the excerpts from the *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem* do not offer any particularly interesting material. We find variants in the spelling of names, as, for instance, *Jafa* (MF) and *Jaffa* (OC); other names are capitalized in MF and written small in OC, and vice-versa (cf. *Gétule*, *Tyrien*, *Latin*, *Vandale*, *Grec*, *Arabe*—all capitalized in MF and written small in OC). On page XXXII of MF, we read: "Je vous rend grâce"; in OC (X 62), the last word has the older form "grâces." However, the text of the excerpts from the *Itinéraire* is essentially that of OC. The excerpts are ten in number, and are to be found in OC as follows: excerpt 1 is from Pt. I of the *Itinéraire*, "Voyage de la Grèce" (OC IX 14); excerpts 2, 3, and 4 are from Pt. III, "Voyage de Rhodes, de Jaffa, de Bethleem,

et de la Mer Morte" (OC X 60, 61-62, and 85, respectively); excerpts 5, 6, 7, and 8 are all from Pt. IV, "Voyage de Jérusalem" (OC X 167-68, 203-04, 243, and 263, respectively); and the last two excerpts are from Pt. VI, "Voyage d'Egypte" (OC XI 14 and 106-17, respectively).

There are a few points worthy of note in a consideration of the MF excerpts from the two articles which were originally published in the *Mercure de France*. The first of these, "Sur les Mémoires de Louis XIV," (MF p. LII, OC VIII 218—*Mélanges littéraires*) was printed in the *Mercure* for March 1806, and contains a quotation from the deathbed counsel of Saint Louis to his son which had already been printed in MF in the excerpts from the *Itinéraire*. The second article, "Sur le voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Espagne, par M. Alexandre de Laborde" (MF p. LXIII, OC VIII 250) appeared in the *Mercure* for July 1807; this was the notorious article which so enraged Napoleon that he ordered the suppression of the *Mercure* and exposed Chateaubriand to persecution; it contains passages that Chateaubriand later transferred bodily into the *Itinéraire*, which was published shortly after the suppression of the *Mercure*. The OC version of the first article shows a curious misprint. We read (VIII 228): "Toute la terre tremblait au seul bruit *de nos Français* et de la grandeur impériale;" MF (p. LX) prints the correct version: "Toute la terre tremblait au seul bruit *du nom français* et de la grandeur impériale."

The essays in polemics entitled "De Buonaparte et des Bourbons" (OC XXVI 11-68—*Mélanges politiques*) are reprinted in full in MF. The two versions are virtually identical, except for the fact that there are several important foot-notes in MF which do not appear in OC and which are here reproduced verbatim. To the sentence in the text (OC XXVI 24): "Il [Napoléon] a dévoré en dix ans quinze milliards d'impôts," OC appends this footnote: "Tous ces calculs ne sont qu'approximatifs; je ne me pique nullement de donner des comptes rigoureux par francs et par centimes." To this, MF (p. 18) attaches an additional footnote: "Ces calculs qu'on appelle approximatifs *dans cette*

note des anciennes éditions, loin d'être portés trop hauts sont restés au-dessous de la vérité, comme l'ont prouvé les documents officiels. Il en est de même des cruautés et des malheurs de la guerre dont il est question ci-après. Tous les Mémoires historiques, tous les renseignements sur les hôpitaux et sur les opérations militaires publiés depuis l'impression de la brochure sur *Buonaparte et les Bourbons* font frémir d'horreur et vont bien au-delà de ce que j'avais avancé. Je ne fais cette remarque que pour répondre au reproche d'exagération que les buonapartistes voulaient faire d'abord à cet écrit. Ce qu'on l'on découvre encore tous les jours de la perversité des moyens employés par Buonaparte, de la corruption et de la scélératesse de sa police, passe les bornes de l'imagination."

Another highly-important foot-note, lacking in OC, is to be found in MF (p. 36). It reads as follows: "Qu'on lise l'ouvrage que M.le comte Philippe de Ségur vient de publier sur la campagne de Moscou, et l'on verra si ce que l'on dit ici de Buonaparte est exagéré. Pourtant, rien ne doit empêcher d'être juste. La brochure, *De Buonaparte et des Bourbons*, est écrite avec indignation, comme elle devait l'être, pour produire l'effet qu'elle a produit. Nous étions alors au milieu de nos malheurs, et nous les sentions vivement; les fautes et les crimes de Buonaparte sont retracés avec une vigoureuse vérité; mais telle est la force d'un gouvernement libre, telles sont les vertus de nos princes légitimes, que l'on peut reconnaître aujourd'hui sans péril dans Buonaparte une sorte de grandeur qu'il était prudent d'abord de passer sous silence. Les premiers navigateurs avaient découvert dans l'une des Açores une statue disproportionnée qui d'une main montrait l'Occident et qui appartenait à des peuples et des temps inconnus; assez juste image de ce que sera, dans l'avenir, la mémoire de Buonaparte sur le rocher de Sainte-Hélène." Now, when it is remembered that the Comte de Ségur's book, *La Retraite de Moscou*, was published in 1825, it will be seen that this footnote was written especially for the *Maison de France*.

The latter half of the brochure, entitled "Des Bourbons," also contains several footnotes that are not found in OC. The first (MF p. 58) reads: "On a découvert que Buonaparte s'était rajeuni d'un an. Il était né le 5 février 1768;⁶ et la réunion de la Corse à la France est du 15 mai de la même année: de sorte que, dans toute la rigueur de l'expression, Buonaparte est étranger aux Français." Again, on p. 61, we find the following footnote: "*Note de la nouvelle édition.*—Des critiques ont relevé cette expression" (Ces seigneurs des Fleurs de Lis) "comme si elle était celle de l'auteur. On invite ces critiques à lire l'histoire de France dans nos vieux historiens." And, finally, p. 62, MF prints this foot-note lacking in OC: "*Note de la nouvelle édition.*—L'auteur s'était-il trompé dans le tableau des malheurs que devait produire le retour de Buonaparte?"

With regard to the political article, "Arrivée du roi à Compiègne" (MF I 77, OC XXVI 67), nothing need be said here, inasmuch as there are no variants of importance. To the "Exhumation et translation des restes de Louis XVI et de la reine" (MF I 85, OC XXIX 336), we shall return, in another connection. This brings us to the "Rapport sur l'état de la France au 4 octobre 1814" (MF I 98, OC XXVI 75), in which we find MF again printing several foot-notes not contained in OC. The first of these (MF p. 104) reads: "*Note de la seconde édition.*—Et voilà tous les biens que le retour de Buonaparte nous a fait perdre." On p. 105, we have another such foot-note: "*Note de la seconde édition.*—Tout cela était vrai! et l'on excuserait encore les hommes qui nous ont fait perdre tant de biens!" And, finally, on pages 116 and 117, there is a long footnote, not to be found in OC, which is given here in its entirety: "*Note de la seconde*

⁶ This date is totally incorrect; Chateaubriand himself, in his *Mémoires d'outre-tombe* (I 23), makes a partial correction. He tells us there that he was born twenty days after Napoleon ("l'homme qui a mis fin à l'ancienne société"), and gives the latter's date as August 15, 1768. This, of itself, would make Chateaubriand's assertion that "Buonaparte est étranger aux Français" fall to the ground. As a matter of fact, it has since been established that Napoleon was born on August 15, 1769, that is to say, fifteen months after the union of Corsica and France.

édition:—Il faut l'avouer, je me montrais ici, pour rassurer les autres, plus rassuré que je ne l'étais en effet. Je gémissais intérieurement sur le singulier sommeil de l'administration. Je me suis plus d'une fois reproché depuis d'avoir encouragé par cet article du 4 octobre 1814, et par les *Réflexions politiques*, le penchant fatal que nous avions à nous endormir, lorsqu'il était si nécessaire de veiller. Mes opinions politiques, que je développais encore, mon inclination naturelle à l'indulgence, au pardon, à l'oubli des offenses, au sacrifice à tous les intérêts personnels, n'ont point changé ni ne changeront jamais. Mais qu'après la terrible leçon du 20 mars, je m'imagine encore que l'on puisse convertir des hommes incorrigibles, que je demande encore des fusions et des amalgames, que je croie que l'on puisse gouverner sans récompenser les bons et sans punir les méchants, que je croie à des serments si souvent trahis, à des principes si souvent violés, et que je me laisse aller à l'avenir sans vigilance et sans crainte, cela serait aussi trop stupide. Je signalerai aujourd'hui le péril avec autant de franchise que je mettais alors de soins à le dissimuler."

In the "Rapport fait au Roi dans son Conseil à Gand—12 mai, 1815" (MF I 119, OC XXVI 193) and in the "Discours prononcé à la Chambre des Pairs, 22 février, 1816" (MF I 193, OC XXX 1), there are minor differences in punctuation and capitalization, over which we may pass in order to glance at the "Opinion sur la Résolution de la Chambre des Députés relative au deuil général du 21 janvier" (MF I 183, OC XXIX 336). This speech is significant because it contains citations from the address delivered by Chateaubriand on the same occasion the year previous (1815). The 1815 speech is given in full in MF under the title of "Exhumation et translation des restes de Louis XVI et de la reine" (MF I 85); however, it was originally published by Le Normant as a brochure with the title: "Le 21 janvier 1815,"⁷ under which name it is included in the 1859 edition of the *Oeuvres complètes* of Chateaubriand,⁸ as well as in the

⁷ Cf. Thieme, *Guide bibliographique*, p. 71.

⁸ Paris, Garnier frères, vol. 7, p. 207.

Firmin Didot frères edition of the *Mélanges critiques et littéraires*.⁹

The last item in volume I of the *Maison de France*, "De la Vendée," contains several variants, for a consideration of which it may be well to pause. In MF (p. 221), we read: "Quelque temps après, cet homme" (M. de Lescure) "fut enterré au bord d'un grand chemin, dans un coin de terre inconnu"; this reading was preserved in the first edition of the *Oeuvres complètes* (1826-31). The OC reading (XXV 230) is: "sur un coin de terre inconnu." Again, MF 231: "Pendant le règne de l'usurpation"; OC (XXV 249): "de l'usurpateur." MF 243: "Faites votre métier, dit-il" (le prince de Talmont) "à ses juges"; OC (XXV 253): "Fais ton métier, dit-il au bourreau." In these two cases, it is OC that gives the reading of the 1826-31 edition. We find, in MF (p. 280), at the end of the decree with regard to the concealment of weapons by the Vendéans, the place of the signature of the decree, omitted in both the 1826-31 edition and OC (XXV 286): "A l'hôtel de la préfecture, à Niort, le 25 mai, 1819. Pour M. le préfet et par délégation, le conseiller de préfecture, Pastureau." But the most important of the differences is to be found in the fact that MF (232-33) contains about ten lines of text omitted in OC (XXV 249) and not found in 1826-31. These lines read: "La terre de la fidélité vit reparaitre encore Caillaud, de Bruc, de Goulaines, de Mauvilain, Benjamin de Mesnard, les frères Chabot, le Maignan de l'Ecorce, Desabbayes, Kersabiec, les frères Keremar, Puitesson, Barscher, Robert Chateigner, de la Barre" (to this name there is the following foot-note: "Le chevalier de la Barre a été assassiné sur la route de la Garnache à Chalon, après la pacification, en pleine paix"), de Saint-Hubert, Duchesne de la Gobretière, Blin, Sandit-David, de Lessert, les frères de Launay de Maulevrier, de la Bréteches, Cadi et tant d'autres."

The second volume of the *Maison de France* is, as we have already seen, devoted almost in its entirety to the *Mémoires, Lettres, et Pièces Authentiques Touchant la Vie et la Mort de*

⁹ Paris 1850, p. 155.

S. A. R. Monseigneur Charles-Ferdinand d'Artois, Fils de France, Duc de Berry (OC XXV—*Mélanges historiques*). Chateaubriand's purpose in preparing these *Mémoires*, as he tells us in the "Avertissement," was to show "ce que faisoient les Bourbons à une époque où la Révolution cherchait à justifier ses crimes par des calomnies, pour faire ensuite de ses calomnies le prétexte de ses crimes." A comparison of the texts of MF and OC reveals the presence of relatively unimportant variant readings. In MF (II 6), for instance, we read: "Par-delà le *poignard* de Ravallac," whereas, in OC (XXV 16), it is a question of the "*couteau* de Ravallac." It would be futile to attempt to assemble all the textual variants in these *Mémoires*. One or two interesting details however, may be indicated. Thus, chap. 2 of Bk. 1 of Pt. II, entitled "Le roi à Compiègne," is but a considerably abridged form of the article printed in MF under the title of "Arrivée du roi à Compiègne" (I 77), in 1826-31 under that of "Le roi à Compiègne," and in OC (XXVI 67) simply as "Compiègne, avril 1814." We find in MF a footnote that is missing in OC and which runs as follows: "Cette lettre" (one from the Duc de Berry to the Comte de la Ferronnays) "se trouvait à la fin de la première édition." A letter from the duc de Berry to the princess Caroline is dated in MF (p. 135) February 8, 1816, and in 1826-31 and OC February 18; this latter would seem to be the correct date. On p. 153 of MF, we read: "La lettre du 13 mai m'est parvenue avant qu'il m'ait été possible de finir ma réponse à celle du 26"; here, of course, MF is guilty of a misprint, OC giving the correct date, May 31.

The *Mémoires sur la vie du Duc de Berry* are followed in volume 2 of the *Maison de France* by three "Discours sur la Guerre d'Espagne" which are of importance because they are not to be found at all in OC. The only speech on the war with Spain that is printed in OC ("De la Guerre d'Espagne," OC XXVI 109) is also to be found in MF, here under the caption of "Politique—11 octobre, 1823." MF is at variance here in the matter of dates; for the various editions of the *Oeuvres complètes* give the date of this speech as Octo-

ber 12. For the three "Discours" contained in MF, we must go to Chateaubriand's *Congrès de Vérone et Guerre d'Espagne* (2 vols., Paris and Leipzig 1838). But here, too, we find only citations, and these only from the first and third of the "Discours;" the second seems to have been consigned to total oblivion. Moreover, it should be noted that MF gives the date of the session of the Chamber of Deputies at which the first discourse was uttered as February 25, 1823, whereas the *Congrès de Vérone* (I 211) gives the date as February 26. In this case, as in the preceding one, MF is probably correct; for in the *Congrès de Vérone*, Chateaubriand seems to have given the dates on which the speeches were printed in the *Moniteur*, that is to say, the day after those on which they were uttered. Only a few introductory paragraphs of the first "Discours" are cited in the *Congrès de Vérone*; at the end of the citation, however, we read the following statements: "Nous renvoyons le lecteur pour le reste aux documents imprimés; on les trouve partout." (They are probably now to be found only in the archives of the Chamber of Deputies and in the *Maison de France*.) "Ce discours fixa l'époque," continues the *Congrès de Vérone*, "de notre transformation d'écrivain et d'homme de théories en homme d'affaires et de pratique. En relisant les journaux du temps, on voit que l'effet de notre opinion fut considérable. Plusieurs la louèrent sans réserve; ceux qui la critiquèrent crurent devoir dire ce qu'ils y trouvaient de bien." This same "Discours" is quoted, rather freely, by the Marquis de Gabriac, in an article on "Chateaubriand et la Guerre d'Espagne, d'après des documens inédits," contributed to the *Revue des deux mondes* for November 1897 (pp. 61-91). The extracts given by the Marquis de Gabriac are taken from the body and the peroration of the "Discours"; so that they do not coincide with those contained in the *Congrès de Vérone*. M. de Gabriac's version omits words, phrases, and even sentences that are to be found in that printed in MF (undoubtedly a reprint of the original), and it would seem that the Marquis was quoting without any desire to cling closely to the original.

As for the second "Discours sur la Guerre d'Espagne," which is lacking in OC, neither the *Congrès de Vérone* nor the Marquis de Gabriac's account of the Spanish war contains any allusion to it. It is given in its entirety in the *Maison de France*, which is thus undoubtedly the only place in which it appears, outside of the archives. It was delivered before the Chamber of Peers on March 18, 1823.

A little more than a month later, Chateaubriand delivered before the Chamber of Peers his third "Discours sur la Guerre d'Espagne," which bears the date of April 30, 1823. Like its two predecessors, the "Discours" is not to be found in OC; nor does the Marquis de Gabriac refer to it in the course of his article. The *Congrès de Vérone* (I 326-29) gives extracts from the speech, the text of which is essentially the same as that printed in MF. It would seem that, with intervention in Spain a dead issue, Chateaubriand deemed it unwise to include these three "Discours" in his complete works.

With one of the most royalist of all his utterances, "Le roi est mort! vive le roi!" (MF II 323, OC XXV 201), Chateaubriand concludes the two volumes of selected writings and speeches that make up the *Maison de France*. And then, having had the work printed and, apparently, distributed privately, Chateaubriand seems to have proceeded to erase it from his memory. With the definitive downfall of the legitimate line in 1830, accentuated by the election of the Prince-President in the very year of Chateaubriand's death, a work like the *Maison de France*, which was frankly apologetic, was bound to disappear, together with the cause which it defended; it is principally for its historical and bibliographical interest that the work is of value to-day.¹⁰

AARON SCHAFFER

¹⁰ Sincerest thanks are due Professor Gilbert Chinard, of The Johns Hopkins University, who gave generously of his time and his counsel in assisting the present writer to arrive at his conclusions with regard to the *Maison de France*; the author wishes also to express his appreciation of the valuable suggestions received from Prof. H. C. Lancaster, of The Johns Hopkins University, Prof. H. P. Thieme, of the University of Michigan, Prof. Gustave van Roosbroeck, of the University of Minnesota, and Prof. E. J. Villavaso of the University of Texas.

IV. CHAUCER'S "MY MAISTRE BUKTON"

Scholars are not agreed as to the identity of the person addressed by Chaucer in his *Envoy a Bukton*. Tyrwhitt was the first to suggest that the individual warned in regard to the risks of matrimony was Sir Peter (de) Bukton of Yorkshire. Professor J. S. P. Tatlock¹ in 1907 questioned this identification, suggesting instead a Robert Bukton of Suffolk. Professor J. R. Hulbert,² independently of Tatlock, attempted to show that Robert of Suffolk was the more likely person. Inasmuch as considerable evidence, not observed hitherto, makes Peter the more probable candidate, a review of the arguments of Tatlock and Hulbert becomes necessary.

The former, noting some biographical details, calls attention to the fact that Queen Anne made a grant to her esquire, Robert Bukton, in 1391 for her lifetime; that Robert by 1394 was an esquire of Richard II. "But," adds Tatlock, "for our most valuable intelligence we must go to the *Calendar of Papal Registers* . . . March 14, 1397, indults were granted in Rome to 'Robert Bukton, donsel, nobleman, and Anne his wife, noble woman, of the diocese of Norwich,' in which Eye was, and is, situated, to have a portable altar and to have mass celebrated before daybreak. Obviously the young man cannot have been married later than January, 1397; nor earlier than October, 1396, since the *Envoy* was written not earlier than that time, and shows that he was still unmarried then."³ Tatlock here shows conclusively that Robert was connected at court. But the date of

¹ *Develop. and Chron.*, pp. 210f.

² *Chaucer's Official Life*, 1912, pp. 54f. Cf. *Mod. Phil.* X, 437.

³ *Papal Registers; Papal Letters*, V, 57, 63; Tatlock, *op. cit.* As to whether the poem antedates the expedition see discussion of Lowes, *infra*. Lowes (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXVII. 45 ff.) is not convinced by Tatlock's argument; MacCracken (*College Chaucer*, 1913, p. 597), on the other hand, favors Robert.

Robert's marriage still remains undetermined,⁴ and in the absence of definite information which will fix the date of either Robert or Peter Bukton's marriage, the solution of the problem from this point of approach appears to be impossible.

Professor Hulbert⁵ prefers Robert Bukton "on account of his constant connection with the court." This consideration, however, as we shall see presently, is likewise indecisive, for Peter Bukton was quite as much connected at court as was Robert. Indeed, it is not absolutely certain that Chaucer's "maistre Bukton" was either Robert or Peter, for there were other Buktons throughout England⁶ at that time.⁷ Nevertheless, inasmuch as these two appear to have been the only ones well-known in London, it is altogether probable that the choice lies between these two. Accordingly, in attempting to reach a decision between them, it will be well to review the lives of both men, and to add such material as has not already been presented.

Robert Bukton, as Professor Tatlock's investigations disclosed, was an esquire of Queen Anne in 1391, receiving at that time some lands in Suffolk from the queen; two years later this benefaction was increased; and in the following year Robert is mentioned as being an esquire of the king, at

⁴ Tatlock seems to assume that the request for a portable altar was made immediately after marriage (cf. his last two sentences to note 3). That does not necessarily follow. For example, in a list of those granted portable altars in July, 1397, occurs the names of "John Serjant, donsel, nobleman, and Elizabeth his wife, noble woman" (*Papal Regs.*, *op. cit.*, p. 59). But "S., donsel, nobleman" and Elizabeth, "his wife, noble woman" were granted plenary remission the previous November (*ibid.*, p. 30).

⁵ *Op. cit.*

⁶ Various spellings of the name occur.

⁷ Buktons were prominent in Northampton in the thirteenth century (*Ancient Deeds*, vols., I-IV, VI). For Buktons in general see *Feudal Aids*, vol. I; *Cal. of Close Rolls*, 1349-54. There was a Walter de Bukton of Yorkshire (*ibid.*, 1354-60, pp. 452f.). A John de Bukton, coroner of York, was prominent in Chaucer's day (*ibid.*, 1369-74, p. 236). In fact the names of John (de), Thomas (de), William (de) as well as Robert (de) and Peter (de) occur repeatedly in the *Cal. Pat. Rolls* from 1348 to 1477.

which time he was made constable (for life) of the castle of Eye.⁸ "He may have been the same Robert," says Tatlock, "who had been appointed in October, 1390 one of the four king's justices of South Wales."⁹ The queen's grant of 1391 was confirmed by Henry IV in 1399.¹⁰ In 1402-3 he was given a commission of array in his native county of Suffolk.¹¹ "but his militia glories seem not to have prevented his being sued for debts in 1402 or 1403."¹² Professor Hulbert,¹³ in addition to some of the entries noted by Professor Tatlock, found that Robert Bukton was armiger in 1379, and scutifer in 1390, 1391 and 1392 of Thomas de Percy,¹⁴ being frequently mentioned as transmitting money from the Exchequer to Percy,¹⁵ and in one case to Lewis Clifford;¹⁶ that Robert was also one of the conservators of truce in 1384;¹⁷ and a member of Parliament from Suffolk in 1393-4, 1396-7, 1397, 1397-8, 1400-1.¹⁸

To the above the following data may be added: In a will dated 1390 an armiger of Norfolk granted Robert some money and "my best zone but on of silver."¹⁹ In 1405 he became deputy in the ports of Ipswich and Colchester to Thomas Chaucer, the king's chief butler.²⁰ Robert Bukton

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 211 note. Cf. *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1391-6, pp. 324, 495; cf. Hulbert, p. 55. Both these scholars note that Robert was still constable in 1401 (cf. *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1399-1401, p. 540. I have found that Anne was patron of the priory of Eye (*Victoria Co. Hist., Suffolk*, II, 74).

⁹ Cf. *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1388-92, p. 435.

¹⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, 1399-1401, pp. 16, 540. Cf. Hulbert, *op. cit.*

¹¹ Tatlock, *op. cit.* Cf. *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1401-5, pp. 114, 149, 288, 291.

¹² On the improbability of Robert's having been an adventurous crusader see *infra*.

¹³ *Chaucer's Official Life*, pp. 54.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 55. In my search I have been unable to verify his references.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* ¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Cf. Rymer (*Syllabus*), p. 506.

¹⁸ Cf. *Parl. Returns*, I. pp. 248, 254, 256, 261.

¹⁹ *Collectanea Topog. et Geneal.*, III. 101.

²⁰ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1405-8, p. 84. The appointment was made by Thomas. Other references to Bukton are: *ibid.*, 1388-92, p. 308; 1396-9, pp. 158, 252, 531; 1399-1401, pp. 16, 428, 540; 1401-5, pp. 114, 149, 288, 291; 1405-8, p. 231.

is mentioned in *A Calendar of the Feet of Fines for Suffolk* (6 Henry IV).²¹ He died 17 Dec. 1408.²² In conclusion it may be said that Robert's varied career clearly indicates that he was known at the metropolis.

But so was Peter Bukton of Yorkshire, who was, as Tyrwhitt noted, a royal servant.²³ Moreover, the publication of many documents since that scholar's death enables us to follow the Yorkshireman's career more in detail. Fortunately, the year of his birth is definitely fixed by his own testimony at the Scrope-Grosvenour controversy in 1386, when he stated his age as thirty-six years.²⁴ At the age of nineteen (1369) he was in John of Gaunt's army which ravaged Paix de Caux;²⁵ and in the Earl of Buckingham's²⁶ expedition which landed at Calais in 1380.²⁷ By 1381 he was in the service of King Richard, and with others was required to make proclamations to prohibit uprisings in York.²⁸ Two years later he was a witness to the transfer of a manor (in York) by Henry de Percy.²⁹ He was with the Earl of Buckingham again in 1384, this time in Scotland.³⁰ In October (19th), 1386, he was examined at Westminster Abbey as a witness for Sir Richard Scrope;³¹ on the same day, as well as at the same place, Clifford and Clanvowe

²¹ Edited by W. Rye, *The Suffolk Inst. of Archaeol. and Nat. Hist.*, 1900, p. 277.

²² Weever, 1631, p. 781. Weever calls him "Lord and Patron of the towne of Ockley." He was buried in the church of Ockley.

²³ The king's escheator of Yorkshire (*op. cit.*). See *infra*.

²⁴ Ed. by Nicolas, I. 195f.; II. 466f. Cf. *The Earl of Derby's Expeditions*, ed. Lucy T. Smith (Camden Soc., 1894), p. 300.

²⁵ Nicolas, I. 195f.; II. 466.

²⁶ This was Thomas of Woodstock, later Duke of Gloucester. He was the youngest son of Edward III., and therefore brother of Gaunt.

²⁷ Nicolas, II. 466, who gives 1379. Cf. Walsingham, I. 434. Many famous warriors were with the earl.

²⁸ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1381-5, p. 74.

²⁹ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1381-5, pp. 403f., Percy was Earl of Northumberland.

³⁰ Nicolas (II. 466) gives 1383.

³¹ *Op. cit.*

also testified, as did Chaucer four days earlier. He is mentioned as being patron of a church in Norfolk in 1393.³² He was escheator of York in 1396, and again in 1397;³³ and a member of Parliament (York) in 1394-5, 1396-7, and 1404.³⁴

After 1390 his name appears upon official records with increasing frequency and importance. It was in this year that the Earl of Derby made his first famous expedition to Prussia, taking with him on the "Reysa" fewer than a dozen knights, of whom one was Peter Bukton.³⁵ This expedition returned in the spring 1391, but preparations were soon made for another, the equally well-known one of 1392-3.³⁶ At this time Bukton was one of the seven knights and officers who left England with the earl (one of them Otho de Granson), Peter himself holding the responsible office of steward of Derby's household.

His intimacy with the young Earl grew steadily. During Henry's exile in 1398-9, he was one of the two who managed that nobleman's estate.³⁷ He assisted Henry in landing on the coast of Yorkshire, whence the latter made his triumphal entry southward.³⁸ Peter at once, after the

³² Blomefield, I. 475.

³³ *Foedera*, 2nd ed., VII. 851; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1396-9, pp. 9, 67, 219; *Derby Accts.*, p. 300.

³⁴ *Parl. Returns*, I. 251, 254, 267.

³⁵ *Derby Accts.*, pp. xliii, li, xcii, 35, 126, 128, 133, 138, 201, 265. Cf. Cook *Conn. Acad. of Arts and Sciences*, XX. 190f. Bukton had letters of protection granted him on 4 May, a few days before Derby left for Prussia (Nicolas, II. 466; cf. *Derby Accts.*, p. 300). Bukton was in London in January, 1394, at which time he presented the king with a gift—a "piece of chamelot" (Wylie, IV. 165). It is interesting to note that Thomas Swynford was one of the knights on the Prussian journey.

³⁶ But three of the seven had been on the first trip. Cf. references in n. 35.

³⁷ Wylie, IV. 142, 184. He received (presumably for his services) a sum of money and the manor of Kilborn (York). Cf. *Foedera*, 2nd ed., VIII. 50.

³⁸ Wylie, IV. 142. The landing was near Ravenspur—Holderness. Cf. *Dict. Natl. Biog.*, XXVI. 35.

earl's coming to the throne, was given positions of trust. Immediately he became (for life) the chirographer of the common bench.³⁹ A few months later (May, 1400) he was made constable of Knaresborough castle (York), as well as steward and master forester;⁴⁰ and in August of the same year he accompanied the king on his expedition to Scotland.⁴¹

In 1401 the king "of special grace" granted Bukton (and his heirs) free warren in their manors, including the one of Bukton;⁴² another royal favor at about this time is of interest: he and his heirs were pardoned of all debts due the king.⁴³ These favors may have some connection with his appointment in this very year as one of the guardians of the king's son, Thomas de Lancastre.⁴⁴ Bukton was a member of the king's council in 1401, and again in 1404.⁴⁵ In 1403 Bukton became the King's standard-bearer, and was to have "£100 which the king lately granted to him for life by word of mouth."⁴⁶ Signal honor came to him in 1406 when he escorted the Queen of England to Denmark.⁴⁷ In 1410 he became a commissioner of array against the Scots for the East Riding (York).⁴⁸ The following year he is men-

³⁹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1399-1401, p. 16. *Rot. Parl.* III. 496 a.

⁴⁰ Wylie, *loc. cit.* "The men of the highest rank in the Duke's (Gaunt's) service were those who kept his castles and his forests" (S. Armitage-Smith, p. 216).

⁴¹ Wylie, IV. 142 note, 248, 249, 251. The king apparently passed through Holderness (p. 249).

⁴² *Cal. of Charter Rolls*, 1341-1417, p. 408. One of Bukton's manors was situated in Lincolnshire. He seems to have possessed considerable property. Cf. also the *Cal. of Roll of Bishop Skirlawe* (see *infra*), *The Thirty-third Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records* (1872), p. 77.

⁴³ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1399-1401, p. 379. This was 12 Nov., 1400.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 1401-5, p. 1; cf. *Foedera*, VIII. 227. One of the sons whom Scogan was later to tutor (see *infra*).

⁴⁵ *Proceedings of the Privy Council*, I. 157, 244.

⁴⁶ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1401-5, p. 248. "Word of mouth" is a touch that adds a fascination to the perusal of these documents.

⁴⁷ Wylie, II. p. 447; *ibid.*, IV. 142, 239, 241. Wylie states, incorrectly it seems (see *infra*), that Bukton took with him his son John.

⁴⁸ *Foedera*, VIII. 640; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1408-13, p. 223.

tioned as being mayor of Bordeaux;⁴⁹ he was reappointed mayor in 1412.⁵⁰ He died in 1414, before 4 March,⁵¹ and was buried, as he had requested, in the church at Swine.⁵²

The events in the lives of the two Buktons show that both men were known at London; and conclusive proof is furnished that Peter's standing at the metropolis was quite as good as was Robert's. Indeed, if one were to reason from the above records alone, there would even be no exaggeration in saying that the former actually had more connections at court,—at any rate in the group where Chaucer moved most freely.

In support of such a statement some outstanding facts in Peter's life bear witness. Not only was he a Yorkshireman, but he came from Holderness⁵³ where Chaucer set the

⁴⁹ *Foedera*, p. 707.

⁵⁰ Nicolas, *Scrope-Grosvenour*, *op. cit.*, II. 467, who cites Carte, *Gascon Rolls*

⁵¹ His will (*Test. Ebor.*, Surtees Soc., IV. 360) was proved on that day, having been made four days before. He was still alive 3 Feb. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1413-6, p. 153).

⁵² See his will (*op. cit.*); cf. Wylie, III. 99 note. A visit to the church at Swine made by the present writer in the summer of 1922 yielded some new evidence toward the identification of Bukton's burial place. The full length slab in the chancel pavement of this church has long been believed to mark the grave of Bukton (cf. T. Thompson, *A History of the Church and Priory of Swine*, Hull, 1822, p. 101). Partial confirmation of this tradition is to be found in the four words still legible of the almost obliterated inscription, which read: "qui obit . . . die Martis." Bukton died, as already mentioned, between the last day of Feb. and the 4th of March. The obvious age of the stone together with the fact that Bukton requested to be buried in the choir of this church add plausibility to this identification. The stone with its distinctly visible indents for the one-time brasses indicates that it was the grave of a person of distinction.

I may add that the vicar of Swine, the Rev. Wm. Cobby, accepted my reading of the inscription, and likewise believes that the stone is Bukton's. To the vicar I am under obligation, not only for his hospitality but for his generous and helpful assistance in many ways. Through him it became possible for me to get in touch with the present owner of the Bukton manor, and to make investigations at the Diocesan Registry at York (see further *infra*).

⁵³ The Bukton manor, as was pointed out to me by the Rev. Wm. Cobby, is just outside Holderness. Though the manor had apparently been the

scene of one of his tales. Sir Peter, as well as being a well-known figure at court, was also prominent locally: repeatedly he served as a justice of peace in East Riding (which contains Holderness);⁴⁴ and in 1395 Gaunt was a fellow justice.⁴⁵ Bukton was often, as was Chaucer in Kent, commissioner of dykes and ditches in "merrshy Holdernessee."⁴⁶ King Henry, very soon after coming to the throne in 1399, granted him for life the office of steward of the lordship of that district as well as the office of master forester.⁴⁷

home of the Bukton family for a century (cf. Thompson, p. 101), there is no proof that Sir Peter ever lived there. It may be significant that his first connection with the manor, as far as I can discover, was in 1401, when he and his heirs were given free warren there (see *supra*). At that same time, however, they were also given this privilege at three other manors, one of which, Benningholme, was in the parish of Swine. Benningholme, in fact, was but two or three miles n. w. of the village of Swine, and may well have been Sir Peter's home. This would account for his burial at Swine,—a fact that otherwise is surprising, particularly when one recalls that Bridlington priory (to which B. also made bequests) was but a short distance from the Bukton manor. The chief point, for our present purpose, is the fact that Bukton's name is closely identified with "merrshy Holdernessee" (as well as with Swine). Again and again, as noted, he was on important commissions in that district, often in the low lying regions (and towns) on the east coast that have long since disappeared beneath the sea.

It may be added that Bridlington priory, to which B. gave liberally in spite of a one-time dispute with the prior (cf. *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1408-13, p. 316), was Augustinian. But Swine, as we have already seen, was also remembered. This house was apparently not Cistercian (as stated by Thompson and Poulson) nor was it Gilbertine, though "its constitution . . . is something very like a G. house" (*Victoria, Co. Hist.* III, p. 179).

⁴⁴ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1391-6, p. 91; *ibid.*, 1399-1401, p. 566; *ibid.*, 1401-5, p. 521; *ibid.*, 1405-8, p. 499; *ibid.*, 1408-13, p. 486. Queen Anne and Thomas, Duke of Gloucester had in turn held Holderness.

⁴⁵ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1391-6, p. 727. He, of course, held such positions elsewhere.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 1381-5, p. 200; *ibid.*, 1385-9, p. 391; *ibid.*, 1401-5, p. 65; *ibid.*, 1405-8, p. 235. Bukton was on various other commissions in East Riding, including Holderness and elsewhere (*ibid.*, 1370-4, p. 103; *ibid.*, 1388-92, p. 141; *ibid.*, 1391-6, pp. 84, 91; *ibid.*, 1396-9, pp. 50, 90, 94, 372; *ibid.*, 1399-1401, pp. 85, 87, 213, 268, 461; *ibid.*, 1401-5, pp. 1, 129, 280, 284, 289, 291, 391, 441, 505; *ibid.*, 1408-13, pp. 223, 318. In passing cf. *ibid.*, 1401-5, p. 248; *ibid.*, 1405-8, pp. 52, 363, 439; cf. *Ancient Deeds*, I, A 707.

⁴⁷ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1399-1401, p. 73. As already stated he became constable of Knaresborough castle the following May.

But may it not be a coincidence that the *Sumner's Tale*⁵⁸ should have for its setting a place where lived a person known to have been in the poet's London circle? If the poet's method elsewhere is any clue, apparently not. Soler Hall (Cambridge), for example, the scene in part of the *Reve's Tale*, came into public prominence in 1388 when the members of Parliament (which met at Barnwell Abbey) were entertained at the college.⁵⁹ Moreover, the kind of story which Chaucer chose for this "north contree" setting—namely an exposure of the corrupt abuses of the church—strongly suggests that Chaucer worked with a purpose. For it so happens that Holderness and its vicinity were notorious for the benefices farmed out to members of the exchequer and chancery. And Professor Tatlock⁶⁰ has pointed out the interesting fact, that the writ *De excommunicato capiendo* was issued from chancery.

Again, many of these clerks and other officials of the chancery and exchequer were natives of Yorkshire, even of Holderness itself. Since the subject has been dealt with in detail elsewhere,⁶¹ one instance will suffice here. One of the ambassadors to France in 1377 apparently at the same time Chaucer was sent, certainly on the same mission, was Master Walter Skirlawe, bishop (at his death) of Durham.⁶² At London this ecclesiast was constantly thrown in with the poet's circle, and it seems impossible that the two should not have been acquainted. For example, Skirlawe held the responsible position of clerk of the chancery under Edward III and Richard II. He was also keeper

⁵⁸ Cf. also the Friar's.

⁵⁹ See my (unpublished) dissertation on *Illustrations of Chaucer in the Life of the Fourteenth Century* in the Harvard library, particularly the chapter on Richard Ronhale, master of Soler Hall. The setting of the *Miller's Tale* does not appear to be a chance one either (see forthcoming article).

⁶⁰ 'Chaucer and Wyclif,' *Modern Philology*, XIV. 261ff. Tatlock discusses the matter of excommunication in connection with the Sumner of the GP.

⁶¹ See in *Illustrations of Chaucer* (*op. cit.*) chapter on Skirlawe.

⁶² Cf. *Life Records*, p. 204 note.

of the privy seal, as well as a member of the king's council. Three times—in 1389, 1390, and 1391—he was on a commission to settle the dispute, alluded to in the *General Prologue*, over the staple ports. With Vache (Chaucer's friend) and Richard Stury he witnessed the will of Edward III.

Though well-known as an ecclesiast—being Dean of St. Martin's le Grand (London), and in turn Bishop of Coventry, Lichfield, Bath, Wells, and Durham—the most significant facts in his life (from our point of view) have to do with his ecclesiastical relations with Yorkshire.⁶³ In addition to being a canon and prebendary in various parts of Yorkshire, he was archdeacon of Holderness (cf. Friar-Summer Tales) as early as 1359, a position he still held in 1385.

Moreover, he must have known Peter Bukton. Both were from Holderness, and both were identified with the parish of Swine.⁶⁴ Skirlawe's sister, furthermore, was prioress of the monastery at Swine (where Bukton was buried)—very possibly at the time that Bukton died;⁶⁵ and Skirlawe himself was a substantial benefactor of the monastery. This priory was the mother church of the chapel at South Skirlawe (birthplace of S.) built—or possibly rebuilt—about the beginning of the reign of Henry IV by Skirlawe himself.⁶⁶ This ecclesiast, therefore, was closely associated with his native community, at the very time that Bukton was steward of that region. It is natural to assume, as a consequence, that these two men, for many years

⁶³ Curiously enough Bukton's name occurs on Skirlawe's Calendar of Roll. *The Thirty-Third Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records* (1872), p. 77. Cf. *supra*.

⁶⁴ Skirlawe came from the village bearing his name—"ubi originem duximus"—about two or three miles n. e. of the village of Swine, and until a few years ago in the same parish (Poulson, *Holderness*, 1840-41, II. 262).

⁶⁵ *Test. Ebor.*, I, 309, 314; *Victoria Co. Hist.*, III. 179.

⁶⁶ Skirlawe also founded a chantry at South S.; the chapel, according to Poulson, "for goodness of materials, and neatness of workmanship, far exceeds all in these parts." On feast days the inhabitants of South S. were required to attend church at Swine (*ibid.*).

intimately identified with the same parish as well as with the court circles at London, should know each other well.

When to these statements is added the fact that *every* archdeacon of Holderness in the poet's day was a prominent royal official at chancery or the exchequer—including Chaucer's successor as Comptroller of Customs—it is difficult to believe that the setting for the tales dealing with the corruption of the church is accidental.

But there are some other significant events in Peter's life which make him the preferable candidate. We have seen that he was attached to the Lancastrian household, serving in Gaunt's army as early as 1369; and that with this nobleman's son, Henry, his relations were of such a nature as to prove conclusively that the warmest friendship existed between the two: an intimacy that lasted from the days of Derby's youth to Bukton's death.

Now it is to be noted that, without exception, all other members of the poet's literary circle engaged in military affairs were attached to John of Gaunt, and to his son,⁸⁷ the Earl of Derby. And all, moreover, were knights.⁸⁸ Since the Frisian allusion in the *Envoy* is a military one, and since Derby's name—as we shall presently see—was associated with that expedition, this fact is not only interesting but extremely important. On the other hand, there is not known to have been any tie between Robert Bukton and the Lancasters. Nor was Robert ever a knight. Whether Chaucer knew Sir Peter Bukton or not, the fact remains that the two had warm friends in common. Let us look at the proofs of attachment between the Lancasters and the poet's military acquaintances.

All Chaucer students recall the graceful compliment the poet pays to Otho de Granson, the French nobleman—"flour of hem that make in Fraunce."⁸⁹ Granson 'chivaler' had

⁸⁷ On Clanvowe see *infra*.

⁸⁸ On the possibility of the poet's having been Sir Geoffrey see Cook, *Trans. Conn. Acad. Arts and Sciences*, XXIII, 38 f.

⁸⁹ *The Compleynt of Venus*.

been attached for life to John of Gaunt as early as 1374;⁷⁰ and the high esteem in which the retainer was held by the Duke may be seen from the fact that in 1377-8 the nobleman was given a magnificent grant of £33 6s. 8d.—an amount that was doubled in 1391-2.⁷¹ Gaunt's son, the Earl of Derby, also shared this intimacy, for like his father he too was opposed to insular prejudice when it came to chivalry. The most distinguished person on the young Earl's second expedition to Prussia in 1392-3 was this nobleman of Savoy.⁷² And (as we have seen) among the six other knights who accompanied Henry on this expedition was Sir Peter Bukton himself, steward at the time of the Earl's household.

Sir Lewis Clifford, a known friend of Chaucer, was also a dependant of the Lancasters: he had served with Gaunt in France in 1373 (Bukton we recall was with that nobleman in France in 1369),⁷³ and again in 1378.⁷⁴ Upon the Duke's death Clifford was to become one of the attorneys to manage the revenues of his estate.⁷⁵ Sir Lewis may have been the commander of the English contingent that took part in the Duke of Bourbon's expedition to Barbary in 1390, though Gaunt's eldest son was ostensibly the leader.⁷⁶ With Derby Sir Lewis was also on familiar footing: for example when the Earl was abroad Clifford was his attorney.⁷⁷ Evidence of his competency is apparently seen in the fact that this knight (as has just been said) was later to manage the estate of Derby's father. Definite proof of a peculiarly close rela-

⁷⁰ *John of Gaunt's Register*. Camden Soc. (Third series, 1911), XX-XXI. Vol. II. No. 866; cf. No. 1662.

⁷¹ *Derby Accounts*, p. 309; cf. Cook, *infra*.

⁷² *Derby Accounts*, pp. 264, 309. He received the highest salary, and with some others enjoyed a special cabin (*ibid.*, pp. 259, 309f.; cf. Cook, "The Historical Background of Chaucer's Knight." *Trans. Conn. Acad. of Arts and Sciences*, 1914, XX. 190).

⁷³ Froissart (ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove), VIII. 280, 284; cf. *Mod. Phil.*, I. 9, Waugh, *Scottish Hist. Review*, XI. 58.

⁷⁴ Waugh, *op. cit.*, pp. 58f.

⁷⁵ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1377-81, p. 262.

⁷⁶ Froissart, XIV. p. 156; cf. Kittredge, *Mod. Phil.*, I. 11, 17.

⁷⁷ Waugh, p. 60.

tionship between Henry and Clifford is found in the *Derby Accounts*. While on the Prussian expedition Henry made an offering "in die anniuersarii filii Lowys Clifford."⁷⁸ Granson and Bukton, we recall, were conspicuous persons on this expedition.

Clifford's son-in-law, Sir Philip de la Vache, now known to have been on intimate terms with the poet,⁷⁹ was also a follower of the Lancasters. A gift of fifty marks was given Vache in 1374 by John of Gaunt. Upon Gaunt's death in 1399 Vache was made knight of the Garter, and assigned the stall of the deceased nobleman. With Derby his relations were cordial and close. Henry soon after his accession bestowed favors upon Sir Philip, as he did upon Bukton, in the form of grants including the keepership of royal manors and parks.

Another person in this circle was Sir John Clanvowe, a disciple of Chaucer. When in 1373 Lancaster bestowed gifts upon various persons, including members of his own family, Clanvowe was remembered.⁸⁰ On the Barbary expedition (1390), ostensibly led by John Beaufort, young son of Gaunt and Katherine Swinford, he accompanied Clifford;⁸¹ but he died before the expedition returned.⁸²

Finally, we come to the last of this group—to Geoffrey Chaucer himself. It is no longer necessary to argue for evidence of warm association between the poet as well as

⁷⁸ *Derby Accounts*, p. 275; cf. Kittredge, *Mod. Phil.*, XIV. 514.

⁷⁹ For the fullest investigation of the biography of Vache, his record as a soldier, and his relations with Chaucer, see Edith Rickert, *Mod. Phil.* XI. 209ff.

⁸⁰ *Gaunt's Register*, No. 1342, p. 192.

⁸¹ See *supra*.

⁸² *Contin. Polychron.*, IX. 261; cf. Waugh, *op. cit.*, p. 77. He died Oct. 17, 1391, in a village outside of Constantinople. Derby had also planned to go (*Accounts*, pp. xxxviii ff.), but soon afterwards began the Prussian expedition instead. It will be observed that Clanvowe was not a retainer of the earl, doubtless because of the former's early death; there had been no opportunity for a military attachment. Clanvowe, it may be noted, was the age of Peter Bukton. It would be interesting to know which of the tales the poet was engaged upon during the time his friends were abroad. With

his wife and the Lancastrian household.⁸³ This union with Gaunt covered a long period of years; and it is undoubtedly true that the poet's prosperity was largely dependent on his literary patron. The various remunerative favors of Gaunt and the poet's elegy on the death of the Duchess⁸⁴ show conclusively that the bond between the two houses was very close indeed.⁸⁵ Nor is it necessary to dwell at length upon the friendship between the poet and the young Derby, dating from the time when the latter was still young. Evidence of this appears in the favors shown the poet before and after Henry's coronation, and in the poet's familiar lines on his empty purse addressed to the king.⁸⁶ In short, every shred of evidence supports the view that the poet was on most familiar terms with the Lancasters. Whether Bukton actually knew Chaucer or not, at least he knew *well* some of Chaucer's most intimate admirers, including the young Henry as well as his father, both of whom were patrons of the literary folk in London.

On the other hand, as already stated, no evidence exists that the individual proposed by Professors Hulbert and Tatlock was ever familiarly associated with any member of Chaucer's literary set; nor with either John of Gaunt or the Earl of Derby. If Robert of Suffolk is "my maistre Bukton" then he is the only person in the poet's close literary circle,

Clifford and Clanvowe off for Barbary, and Derby, Granson, and Bukton to Prussia the poet may well have had a lonesome time of it.

⁸³ Cf. however Hulbert's attempt (*op. cit.*). In a paper on *Chaucer and Aldgate*, I hope to point out further weaknesses in Hulbert's argument; also to show the strong probability that the poet in the spring of 1374 was indebted to his patron for his various pieces of good fortune.

⁸⁴ Cf. also Rickert, *Mod. Phil.*, XVIII. 1ff., who sees in the *Parl. F.* a connection between the poet and the Lancasters.

⁸⁵ Cf. also Kittredge on the advice to governesses in the *Phys. Tale* (*Mod. Phil.*, I. 5, note). See also my forthcoming article on "Was Chaucer Happily Married?" in the July number of the *Philological Quarterly*.

⁸⁶ Wylie, IV. 136 note 3, 170. Cf. *Life Records of Chaucer*, pp. 327f., 342. It was in 1395, we recall, that Henry was a member of the council which ruled England while Richard was in Ireland.

who, though more or less prominent in state affairs, was not a knight nor a follower of Gaunt or Derby.⁸⁷

The phrase in the *Envoy*, "to be take in Fryse," clearly applied to a person interested in military honors, and Chaucer was too much of an artist to make allusions which were inappropriate. But life on the edge of perilous battle was not, as we have seen, for Robert Bukton—at least no such evidence has as yet come to light. And the silence of the documents on this matter is reinforced by the omission of his name in the records of the Scrope-Grosvenour controversy. Accordingly, it is reasonably safe to conclude that pride, pomp and circumstance of glorious war did not, for Robert, make ambition virtue; for assuredly if ever there was an opportunity to satisfy longings of such a nature, the expeditions led by the Lancasters would have gratified those desires. And obviously if military glories did not excite him in his youth, it is extremely unlikely that the Frisian expedition—coming when he was either in or soon to enter the vale of years—would arouse his crusading spirit. In short, Robert, from the point of view of an appropriate allusion, is a most unsatisfactory candidate.

Peter, on the contrary, meets the requirements admirably. While yet a youth he was in the ranks of John of Gaunt. By 1382 he was a knight; and well enough known in military affairs by 1386 to be called to testify at the Scrope-Grosvenour controversy; and so distinguished a little later as to be made one of a handful of knights to accompany the Earl of Derby on the two Prussian expeditions. And, as we have seen, his adventurous and warlike spirit was to show itself in one way or other until his death.

But he answers all demands peculiarly well. Professor Lowes⁸⁸ has shown that the allusion to Fryse undoubtedly

⁸⁷ The fact, as I pointed out above, that Robert became deputy to Thomas Chaucer, in 1405 might at first thought seem of great significance. However, the nature and the date of this association (as well as the uncertain connection between Thomas and Geoffrey) do not hint at any importance.

⁸⁸ *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXVII. 45-8. He dates the poem between the middle or end of 1393 and August, 1396.

refers to a forthcoming event, rather than to one just past; to one moreover that had been of interest to many Englishmen for some time before the expedition (August, 1396). It is at this juncture that a passage from Froissart⁸⁹ is illuminating:

At this period, the duke of Gueldres came to England to visit the king and his uncles. . . . The duke of Gueldres had many conversations with the duke of Lancaster respecting the intended expedition of the counts of Hainault and of Ostrevant against Friesland;⁹⁰ for *at this moment* Fier-a-bras de Vertain was in England, having been sent thither by the count d'Ostrevant to seek men at arms and archers. *The earl of Derby had been requested to accompany his cousins of Hainault and Ostrevant, to which he was well inclined, and had told Fier-a-bras that he should be well pleased to go to Friesland, if it met the approbation of the king and his father.*⁹¹

In other words, the one person especially asked for to give aid was Henry, Earl of Derby—Peter Bukton's military leader and friend. The historical allusion in the *Envoy* now becomes appropriate to a high degree.

In conclusion, therefore, surveying the evidence which has been assembled, one feels that, although not decisive, it favors Tyrwhitt's candidate. Peter Bukton came from a community not unknown to the poet as well as to a considerable body of Londoners; that he too like Chaucer and his circle was in the Lancastrian retinue, and an intimate friend and favorite of Henry, the Earl of Derby; and that consequently in view of this close tie between the Earl and the Yorkshireman the Frisian reference is more appropriate to

⁸⁹ Translated by Johnes, II. 609f. Because of the great danger (cf. Lowes) Gaunt refused to give his consent, though his son was willing to go. Derby, it seems, had already made some arrangements to go (cf. Johnes, p. 610).

⁹⁰ For details see Lowes further.

⁹¹ Italics mine. Is it possible that the *Envoy* was not composed until after Derby's interest in the expedition? This appears not to have been before late winter or early spring of 1396 (cf. Johnes, pp. 609ff., 613). The tone of the poem, as discussed in the closing of this paper, suggests that the verses were intended for a friendly group. Naturally at such a gathering Derby would be expected to be present. To place the composition of the poem sometime between Derby's interest in the expedition and August would not be inconsistent with Lowes's conclusions.

Sir Peter the crusader than to the (seemingly) unadventurous Robert.

Peter Bukton and Chaucer shared the same friends. Indeed, if the *Envoy* circulated among a group of admirers—and the reference in that poem to the Wife of Bath suggests such a possibility—Peter Bukton may actually have seen it; and if the verses were read at a jovial gathering—a supposition that is not at all improbable⁹²—the Yorkshireman may well have been present on that occasion.⁹³

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⁹² Cf. Kittredge, *Chaucer and his Poetry*, p. 34. In this connection one must also recall Scogan's well-known relations with Henry and his sons, as well as the Earl's interest in literary persons including the French.

⁹³ References to the families of the two men favor, to a certain degree, Peter. He had several children, though it seems impossible to find definite evidence as to their exact ages. In his will made 1413 (*op. cit.*) besides his wife he mentions three sons,—Ralph, William (the heir) and Peter. He may have had another, at least Wylie (II. 447) states that Peter, when he went to Denmark in 1406, took with him his son John (for discussion of this point see *infra*). A little light is thrown on the ages of two of the sons mentioned in the will: both appear to have been young at the time of their father's death. At any rate there does not seem to be any reference to them before 1430. In this year Peter Bukton, esquire, and Margaret his wife of the diocese of York were granted permission to have a portable altar (*Papal Letters*, VIII. 188). This presumably was shortly after marriage. After 1436 the name of Peter Bukton of East Riding appears constantly in the records, and may be traced for thirty years or so. Since his name disappears about 1470 he may well have been born about 1400. The case of William, the heir, also fits, for a William Bukton, knight of Yorkshire, died in 1461 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1461-7, p. 3). I find no mention of Ralph. John's connection is rather disconcerting, for Wylie states that he was a knight. Unless this is a slip—and of course there are many errors in that historian—he must have been a son by a former marriage (provided, of course, Peter is the man wanted). Wylie may have misread the name; but on the other hand I find two references to a John Bukton (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1401-5, p. 125; *ibid.*, 1416-22, p. 191), though it is impossible to identify him with Yorkshire. The earliest mention of him that I find is in 1402 when he, a knight, is commanded to go "toward Ireland." Since he was in the king's employ there is of course the possibility that he accompanied Peter, and that Wylie inferred he was a son. The evidence on the other hand is against Wylie since, as has been said, John is not mentioned in the will; though naturally he could have died in the interim. Finally, it may be repeated that the other two sons of whom mention is made in the

records not only do not offer contradictory evidence, but actually favor—though to be sure not greatly—the Yorkshireman as the poet's friend.

This conclusion is favored by the facts that I have been able to glean concerning Robert's family. His wife, Phillipa, was the daughter of Sir John Braham; the latter who died in 1375 (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 1374-7, p. 354; Copinger, *Manors of Suffolk*, 7 vols., 1905-11. VI. 23), had married Margery, daughter of Sir Robert Tye (d. 1383) (Copinger, IV. 239). They were married by 1364 (*ibid.*, VI. 23), though I am not able to find the exact year. Margery had been married before—to Sir John Mountenay (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 1374-7, p. 106). Braham's only other child besides Phillipa Bukton was a son and heir, John, who died in 1420 (Copinger, VI. 23). Margery was still living with her husband in 1374 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1374-7, p. 106), though, as stated, her husband died the next year. These dates just given would seem to suggest an earlier union between Robert Bukton and Phillipa than the date of the *Envoy*. Data about their descendants, moreover, supports such a view. They had two children, Ann (about whom I have been able to learn practically nothing) and Phillipa, the heir. The latter married Sir John Cornwallis, whose father died in 1384 (*The Visitations of Suffolk, made by Hervey, et al.*, ed. by W. C. Metcalf, Exeter, 1882, p. 21). Sir John himself is mentioned in records as early as 1406 (*Letter-Book I*. 49; cf. *Ancient Deeds*, VI, C. 4236), and would therefore seem to have been more than a youth. The son and heir of this union, Thomas, d. 1447 (*Muskett, Suffolk Manorial Families*, II, 268). One more bit of evidence is interesting because of its annoying ambiguity. Sir. Rich. Gipps is often quoted as stating (cf. Copinger, III. 239; *Suffolk Inst. of Archaeol.*, VIII. 138): Sir John Braham dying c. 49 Edw. III "left his sole daughter and heir married to Robert Bukton." In conclusion it may be said that the data on Robert's family connections suggest an earlier marriage date than 1393-6; this information coupled with the facts on Peter's family, together with the considerable body of proof presented in the body of this paper, carries with it more weight than otherwise. Finally, the vicar of Ockley, Surrey (where R. B. lies buried) in answer to my query whether Robert's name appears on the Register, replied: "John Buckton was Rector here from 1386 to 1398 but the name Bukton does not appear in the Registers." Of course, he could have been, probably was, married elsewhere.

It is doubtful if any data on Sir Peter's marriage will be forthcoming. Mr. A. V. Hudson, of the Diocesan Registry in the city of York, informed me that marriage records were not kept in Yorkshire until at a much later date. The present lord of the manor at Bukton, the Hon. Joseph Jackson (who was kind enough to lend me some brief notes on the history of the manor and its occupants) could give no further information. It may be of sufficient importance to add that the present building at Bukton, partially destroyed by fire recently, was, the owner thinks, "built about five centuries ago." Apparently, however, no documents of that time which might throw light either on the manor or its owners have been preserved.

V. BALLADS FROM ADDITIONAL MS. 38,599

Additional MS. 38,599 was purchased by the British Museum in 1912. It consists of 154 leaves about eight by eleven inches in size, and is a valuable diary and commonplace book relating to the Roman Catholic Shanne family, of Methley, Yorkshire, compiled chiefly by Richard Shanne. ✓ Among items of interest is the following notice (fol. 71) of a play in which the Shannes and their friends filled the rôles:—

This yeare 1614, A verie fyne Historie or Stage Plaie called "Cannimore and Lionley" was Ackted by xviijth men & boyes vpon Monday, Twesdaie, Wednesdaie, and Thursdaie in whit-sonne weeke; the names of the plaiers was these:

- [1] Richard dickonsonne: the Kinges parte { Gramay.
Padamon.
- [2] francis Shanne: the kynges sonne.
- 3. Robert Shanne: the kynges daughter, called Lionley.
- 4. Richard Shanne: the maid to lionley, called Meldina.
- 5. Thomas Shanne: A knight called Brocadon.
- 6. Thomas Shanne: A Duke called duke Gurdon.
- 7. Thomas Burton: Earle Carthagan.
- 8. Thomas Scofeild: Earle Edios.
- 9. Francis Burton: kinge Padamon sonne, called Canimore.
- 10. Thomas Jobsonne: the first Venterus knight.
- 11. Thomas Shann: de hungait, the second Ventrus knight.
- 12. Robert Marshall: A knight, & y^e sword bearer.
- 13. William Burton: the Cuntri man & the Geote [?].
- 14. William Burton his sonne: Invention, the paracite.
- 15. Richard Burton [no part given].
- 16. Thobie Burton: A page.
- 17. Gilberte Roberte: one of the Commans parte.

This plaie was Acted by these men in A Barne belonginge to the Pocoke place, hard by the parsonage, wher vnto resorted A multitude of people to se the same; the greatest daie was vpon Tewesdaie in whit-sonne weeke; the tent[h] parte of the people could not se it vpon that daie.

There are, furthermore, numerous accounts of marvelous happenings, summarized from news-tracts and ballads,—of the Wandering Jew, the battle of starlings over the city of Cork that was in the next year followed by the burning of that city (1621–22), direful prophecies found in the Abbey of St. Denis, France, and the like. At the end of the MS.

(fols. 133-145) fourteen ballads, several with the musical score pricked, are added. They are prefaced, on fol. 133, with the title "Certaine pretie songes hereafter followinge, Drawn together by Richard Shanne, 1611," but this date is too early for most of the ballads, which, instead, were probably copied about 1624. Seven of these are printed below. The other seven may now be described:—

1. A two-part song with music (fols. 133), beginning "O christis crosse by my good Speed." Only a few lines of the song are given.

2. "A verie pretie songe of an ould man" (fols. 134^v-135), beginning "I loath y^e I did love, in youth that I thought sweete" (6 four-line stanzas and one two-line stanza). This ballad, attributed to Lord Vaux, appears in *Tottel's Miscellany* (ed. Edward Arber, p. 173) under the title of "The aged louer renounceth loue."

3. A ballad without title ["Troy Town"], fols. 138^v-139^v, beginning "When as Troy towne for ten yeares space," consisting of 11 six-line stanzas and musical score. Shanne copied here only the first part of the ballad: there are twelve stanzas in the second part of the printed texts (see *Roxburghe Ballads*, VI, 548). William Chappell, in his *Popular Music of the Olden Time*, I, 372, printed the tune of *Troy Town* from a very late composition by Dr. Wilson (d. 1673). Shanne's music, older by some fifty years, clearly represents the original Elizabethan air and should be consulted by those who are interested in ballad tunes.

4. "A verie pretie Songe of yonge Palmus and faire Sheldra" (fols. 139^v-140), beginning "Younge Palmus was A fery man." Only the first stanza (cf. *Roxburghe Ballads*, III, 6) and the music for it are given. Here again is preserved a tune of great interest, a copy of the original air that was composed about 1613. In *Popular Music*, I, 367, the tune is given solely from a MS. of the reign of Charles I.

5. "A verie pretie psalme [*sic*] in foure partes" (fol. 141), beginning "Judge and revenge my cause, O lord. psalme 106."

6. "A Songe bewailinge the tyme of Christmas, So much decayed in Englande" (fols. 142-143). I have printed this in my *Old English Ballads, 1553-1625* (Cambridge University Press, 1920), pp. 372-375.

7. "Times Alteration," etc. (fols. 143-144^v), beginning "When this ould Cap was newe," a copy of Martin Parker's ballad that has only the most trivial of variations from the printed version in the *Roxburghe Ballads*, II, 582.

The texts given below are reproduced exactly except for the punctuation. The capitalization of the MS. is strictly followed; expanded contractions are indicated by the use of italics; and notes and emendations are given sparingly, be-

cause the meaning—and the errors—of the texts will be obvious to everybody who is familiar with Elizabethan poetry. The music has been arranged by E. van der Straeten, Esquire, of the British Museum.

I

[Fols. 133^v-134^v. The first four stanzas are arranged in eight lines; the remainder, in four long lines. A version of this ballad, no doubt identical with that Shanne followed, was licensed for publication on December 14, 1624. Other copies of the ballad occur in Andrew Clark's *Shirburn Ballads*, p. 170, Additional MS. 15, 225, fol. 36, and in the Rawlinson collection of ballads (566, fol. 167). For a general discussion of the ballad the reader may be referred to the reprint of the version from Additional MS. 15, 225 in my *Old English Ballads, 1553-1625*, pp. 163-164. A line of music, preceded by the words "this is the tune," follows the title in the MS. (cf. the *London Times Literary Supplement*, January 10, 1920, November 3 and December 22, 1921); but as the music can be seen in a facsimile reproduction in Miss Eleanor M. Brougham's anthology, *Corn from Olde Fieldes*, it is not reprinted here. In the *Old English Ballads* I showed that "Jerusalem, my happy home" was to be sung to the tune of *Diana and her darlings dear* = *O man in desperation* (cf. especially the *Times Literary Supplement* for December 22, 1921). In the *Roxburghe Ballads* (II, 520) is printed a "Diana" that is to be sung "To a New Tune" (i.e., its own of *Diana and her darlings dear*); but recently I have found at Manchester another copy of "Diana" which is to be sung "to the tune of *Rogero*." Obviously, then, *Rogero* (which is given in *Popular Music*, I, 94, and which fits the metre of "Jerusalem, my happy home" exactly) is equivalent to *Diana and her darlings dear*, and it may also have been the tune to which the lost ballad of "O Man in Desperation" was sung.]

The Queristers song of yorke in praise of heaven

Jerusalem, my happie home,
 when shall I come to the?
 When shall my sorrowes have an end,
 thy Joyes when shall I se?
 wheree happie herbour is of saintes,
 with sweet & pleasant Soyle.
 In the no sorrowes ere was found,
 no greef, no care, nor toyle.
 In the no dampish mistes are scene,
 No could nor darksom night.

In the all soules for ever singe,
 there god allwaies gives light.
 heaven is *the* springe where waters flowe
 to quench our heate of sinn;
 There is *the* tree where trueth doth growe
 to lead our lives therein.

There Christe is Judge that stintes all strife,
 when mens devises fayle;
 There is the bread that feedes the life
 that death can not assaile.
 The tidinges of Salvation dere¹
 comes to our eares from thence;
 The fortresse of our faith is there,
 and sheeld of our defence.

Jerusalem, Jerusalem,
 god graunt once I may see;
 Those endlesse Joyes, with the, O christ,
 partaker for to be.
 Thy walls are mayd of precious stons;
 thy bulwarkes, Diamondes square;
 Thy gates are of right orient pearles,
 excedinge rich and rare.

There ruste nor lucre cannot dwell, [Fol. 134]
 there envie beares no sway;
 In thes non² hunger, heat, nor could,
 but pleasure night & daie;
 for daie & night to the are one,
 no darkenesse may appeare.
 O god, in christ to vs make knowne
 those sightes *that* are more cleare

Then anie man could ever see
 or mortall eye behould
 That ever yet, since Adam fyrst
 in blisse he was inrould,

¹ dere: *MS. substitutes for there.*

² *Read no.*

Within the gates of paradise
 to have free witt and will
 To do eyther good or evill, *which*
 his mynd was bent vntill.

When god in christ Adam beheld,
 he saide, in love so free:
 "O man, thou shalt not live alone,
 A helper Ile give the."
 Then, Adam, thou didst through one sinn,
 at counsell of *the* wife,
 Throwe downe thy selfe, & allso vs,
 from that fayre Citie of life.

Till Christ himselfe from heaven came
 to save vs one & all,
 Redeminge vs from death & sinn,
 as well the great as small.
 Then be not like the hogg that haith
 A pearle at his desyre,
 And takes more pleasure in the trough
 and wallowing in the myre.

for Christe saith, "come, all youe that will
 In heaven me behould,
 where Carbuncles &³ turrites faire,
 And streetes are paved with gould!"
 Theyr howses all of Ivorie,
 and windowes christall cleere,
 And tyles of⁴ bright redd gould,—
 O christ, *that* I weere there.

Within thy gates nothinge can come
 that is not verie cleere;
 No spiders well⁵ nor filthie thinge
 In *the* may once appeere.
 Thy Saintes are cround with glorie great,

³ Read are.

⁴ Read of burnisht.

⁵ Read web.

they se god face to face;
 They tryvmph all, & still reioyce,—
 most happie is theyr case.

¶ **The Seconde parte**

We *that* are heere in banishment,
 we sobb, we sigh, we groone;
 We weepe & waile both night & daie,
 continually we mone.
 Our sweet is mixt with bitter gall,
 our pleasures are but paine,
 Our Joyes do Scarslie last one hower,
 our Sorrowes aye remaine.

But theree they live in such delight,
 such pleasure, & such Joye,
 As that to them A thowsand yeares
 do seeme but as one daie.
 Where^e vineyardes & theyr Orchardes are
 most bewtifull & faire,
 Well furnisht trees of pleasant fruites,
 most wonderfull & rare.

Thy gardens & thy gallant walkes
 continually are greene;
 Theree growes such sweet & pleasant flowers
 as nowheere else are seene.
 That is *that* nector & Ambrose,
 with muske & Civit sweete;
 The greatest ioyes on earth belowe
 are trod vnder theyr feete.

Theyr Cinamon & Suger growes; [Fol. 134v]
 theree nard & balme abound.
 No tongue can tell, nor harte can thinke,
 what Joyes in *the* are found.

^e *Read Their.*

Quit through thy streetes are siluer sound,
 where flood of life doth flow;
 Vpon whose bankes the wood of lyfe
 for-ever there doth growe.

As allso trees, both more & lesse,
 which evermore do springe.
 Theere evermore *the* Angells sitt
 and evermore do singe.
 Where¹ David standes, with harpe in hande,
 as maister of the Queere.
 Ten thowsand times all those are blist
 that might his musick heere.

Godes praises theere allwaise are sung
 with hermony most sweet;
 Ould Simeon & Zacary
 have not theyr songes to seeke.
 Theere magdalen have² left hir mone
 & cheerefully do³ singe
 With blessed Saintes, whose hermony
 in heaven sweet do³ ringe.

Ould men & wyves, yonge men & maides,
 and all *that* heerse this songe,
 print well & beare this in your hartes,—
 thinke not your tyme to longe;
 And do not reed these godlie lines
 but with A Single eye:
 Reed not, but fyrst desyre godes grace
 to vnderstand theereby.

Pray still in faith, with this respect,
 this heaven for to win,
 That knowledge may bringe good effect
 to mortefie your sinn;

¹ Read There.

² Read hath.

³ Read doth.

Then happie youe in all youre life,
 what so to youe befallēs;
 Yea, double happie shall youe be
 when god by death youe calls.

God still preserve oure royall kinge,
 our Queene good lord defend;
 Theyr proginie, good lord, I praie,
 keepe aye, would without end!¹⁰
 Thus to conclude, I ende my songe,
 wishinge health, welth, & peace;
 And all that wish the commans good,
 good lord theyr Joyes increase.

Finis.

II

[Fols. 135^v-136. An interesting specimen of Jacobean macaronic versæ in ballad style.]

A Christmas Carrol maid by Sir Richard Shanne,
 priest; to be soung at the same tyme



¹⁰ The printed (Rawlinson) copy, of the reign of Charles II, naturally enough changes these two lines so as to read:

And many happy joyful days,
 Good Lord unto them send.

Come, love we god of might is most—
 the father, the sonne, the holie goest,
 Regnante Jam in Ethera;
 Which mayd man, both more and lesse,
 And creat him to his licknesse,
 O quanta sunt hec opera.

The father sent downe his onelie sonne,
 Which of A maide was man becum,
 cum pura continentia.
 In Bethlem, Juide, two beast betweene,
 This child was borne, *that* I of meane,
 O nova stella lumina.

The hirde men come with theyr offring,
 for to present *that* pretie thing
 cum summa Reverentia.
 They offred theyr giftes that child vntill,
 They weere received with full good will,
 quam grata sunt hec munera.

These kynges came from the east cuntrie,
 Which knewe then, by Astronomie
 et balam vaticenia,
 That then was borne the kynge of blisse;
 his mother A maid both was and is,
 O dei mirabilia.¹¹

To seeke that babe they tooke the waie.
 They had good speede in theyr Jurney,
 Stella micanta par via.
 When they came wheere as herod leay,
 The starr was hid that ledd the way,
 obtetra regis crimina.

Hee questioned them of theyr cuminge:
 "What novells," he said, "or what tydinge
 vos fertis?"

¹¹ MS. originally had O nova stella lumina.

They said was borne both god and man—
 "We will him worshipp as Sovereigne,
Cum Digna Deo Latria."

"Come heare away," herod did saie; [Fol. 136]
 "howe that ye speede in youre Jurney,
mihi fiat notitia.
 I will him worshipp:" he though[t] not so;
 he ment with fravd them for to sloo,
O ficta Amicitia.

They past the towne; they sawe *the* starne
 Which ledd them till they found the barne,
Sugentem matris vbera.
 They offred him gould, mirr, & Sence;
 he tooke them with great diligence,
quam Digna est Infancia.

They tooke theyr leeve of that sweet thinge,
 And thought to come by herod kynge.
Apperante voce Angelica:
 "Turne home," he saith, "leave herodes will,
 he thinkes with fravd youe for to kyll,
per-cavta homicidia."

They turnd againe full merilie,
 Ich one into his owne cuntrie,
Alacri terra tenera.
 They had heavens blisse at theyr endinge,
 The *which* god graunt vs ould and younge,
In clara poliregia.

[*Finis.*]

III

[Fol. 136^v. Written in double columns. This may have been the work of Richard Shanne, or perhaps he copied it from some broadside issue of a Christmas carol.]



We happie hirdes men heere
maye singe and eke reioice,
for Angells bright & cleare
we sawe, and harde A voice.

Gladd tidinges they vs toulde:
"the kynge of all mankynde
Newe borne & in clothes fould"
(they saie) "we shall him fynde

"At Bethlem in A staull,
And eke his mother free."
Great comforth to vs all.
Oh blissed maie he be!

Nowe let vs with much Joie
 In haist to Bethlem trudge,
 To se that blissed boie
 That once must be our Judge.

When we to Bethlem came,
 we sawe as it was saide:
 That child of glorious fame
 In maunger he was laide.

We sheperdes downe did fall,
 And songe with voice on hie.
 The Angells said, "we shall
 Singe glorie in excelsie."

All haile, O christ, O kynge,
 All haile, O virgins sonnel
 we praie the vs to bringe
 In heaven with the to woon;

Where we the father may
 See, with the holye goest;
 him magnifie all waie,
 with all the heavenlie hoste.

[*Finis.*]

IV

[Fols. 137-138. The refrain, which I have printed only in the first stanza, is to be sung throughout the ballad. Shanne's directions for singing (clear enough to those who know music) must be observed carefully. It seems probable that there was a second part to the ballad, dealing with the death of Adonis, which Shanne omitted. In any case, the song possesses considerable interest, as it was without question suggested by Shakespeare's poem. "Venus and Adonis" was entered in the Stationers' Register on April 16, 1656.]

TREBLE.

CONTRALTO.

TENOR.

BASS.



Venus (that faire lovelie queene),
 hey doune, doune, doune-A, A,
 Was sportinge in A forest greene,
 hey doune, doune, done, doune-A;
 Where younge Adones she did see,
 As he ley slepinge, slepinge, slepinge by A tree.

Swifte as thought to him she hies,
 Fast she pursewes, but still he flies.
 "O stay, stay, stay, sweet boie," quoth shee,
 "And comesitt downe, doune, doune, sitt dow[n]e by me."

Still she wooes him for A kisse.
 "Sweet, skant not that which plentie is;
 To speeke," quoth she, "let pittie moove the."
 But he said, "no, no, no, I can not love the!"

"Stay," quoth she, "my onelie Joye."
 Then in hir armes she caught the boie.
 In hir faire twines she held him fast,
 Which mayd him yeeld, yeeld, yeeld to love at last.

Her roobes, as fresh as fresh could be, [Fol. 138]
 This goddis was¹³ tuckt aboue the knee;

¹³ Read has.

her selfe into his armes she flunge,
But he cries, "fye, fye, fye, I am to younge."

"Was ever ladie thus disgrast?
Arte thoue A god and be shame faste?"
Then, Blushing, downe his heade he flunge,
And still cries, "fye, fye, fye, I am to younge."

Though he was younge, yet (stubburne harte)
from her he flunge and so departe;
hir redd Rose cheekes, fayre ladie then,
with sorrowe lookes, lookes, lookes, both paile and wan.

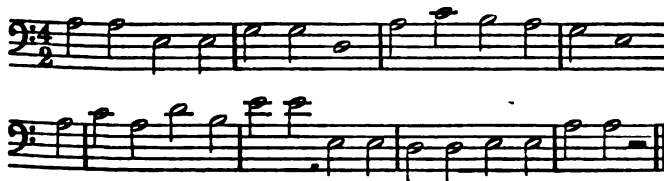
"Well for thy sake, sweet boie," quoth she,
"Loves god is blynde, and so shall be."
Then sight¹³ she did with manie A groone,
And stil satt wepinge, wepinge,¹⁴ all A lone.

Ye maye, if ye please, let the triplex singe the dittie by
him selfe, and let the three other partes allwaies take hould
at "hey downe," and likewise when the last voice begineth,
and so to the ende.

V

[Fols. 139^v-140^r. On January 10, 1605, Simon Stafford licensed a ballad
called "The Seconde parte of the Quene of Loue," which may have been
identical with Shanne's version. Certainly this song in praise of the beauty
of nature lacks neither attractiveness nor interest.]

A Pretie Songe in Comendation of the Springe,
called the Queene of Love



¹³ *I.e.* sigh.

¹⁴ *Read* weeping, weeping, weeping.

In the Wanton Seasonn
 When birdes, on braunches sittinge,
 Make musicke to the welcome Springe
 And Solace to theyr gretinge,—
 Maie, adornèd in hir pride,
 hir sweetest love laye kyssinge,
 And with A garland cround hir heade,
 Wherin no flowers weere missinge.

Flora fayre vntwynes hir heaire
 yonge tellus brest to cover,
 And Leaves could winters loathèd bedd [Fol. 140]
 to meete hir longèd Lover.

In A morne, fairest manie,
 Such as maie haith manie,
 furth I walkèd all Alone,
 vnknownen or seene of anie.

The gaye appereled meadowes
 So featlie I past over;
 Then did springe vp newe leveries,
 Vnto myne eyes discover;
 Till to A christall fountaine,
 In A Vallowe placèd
 like to A diamonde sett with goulde,
 The earth['s] brave bosome gracèd,

I Attainèd, where I ganèd
 Such exchaunge of pleasure,
 Such happie sightes, such rare delights,
 As did excell wourldes treasure;
 where I laie all the daie,
 Vewing heavens woonder.

A rout of willowe was my pillowe,
 whose braunches I laie vnder.

At whose Joies Celestiall
 yonge tellus fell on Skypinge;
 The hirdes of Goates, the does & lambs,

Stood still and lefte theyr trippinge.

The Christall Brooke, whose streames by course
did never cease theyr runinge,

Suffered the wanton pebbles stones
To staie and rest theyr cuminge.

The birdes, like bees, vpon the trees
Satt singinge sweete as maie be;

Then did the springe come dauncinge in
To meet the Sommers Ladie.

The kydd, the fawne, within the Lawne, [Fol. 140^v]
The grove beneth the mountaine,
Stood ever Joyenge at the sight
Of this faire, heavenlie fountaine.

Thus admirèd, I retirèd;
my sences weare well easèd.

But to be spedd within hir bedd
My thoughtes weare better pleasèd.

Yf the verses will not agree with the tune, ye may breake A
sembreefe into two minnems, or otherwise, as ye thinke good.

VI

[Fol. 141^v. This ballad has a curiously modern note. Complaints of
the rapacity of landlords, of rent-profiters, were almost as common in the
days of James I as now.]

Two pretie Songs of Landlordes and Tennantes

Almost all	Behould the fall of almost All
is ment by	and his posteritie.
pore ten-	Out at the dore bethrust the pore,
nantes.	through manie with out pittie.
Manie is	
ment by	Pore men have spent, of dubled rent,
the Land-	their Substance quicke and deade;
lordes.	And almost all A begging shall,
	that manie one hath ffedd.

The Plowe A-syde is easilie spied,
 the ffarmer fledd and gone;
 Where men were bredd now Sheepe be fedd,
 And Comforth there is none.

This is the ffaull of allmost all,
 that somtyme livèd well,
 And now is fledd to begg their bread,
 as manie doth compell.

The Second parte

Now almost all may weepe,
 And wringe their handes ech daie;
 For they must sell their Corne & Shepe
 their dubled rentes to paie.

The house paide for, the rente
 to passe shall come in haste;
 When all their goodes is gone and spent,
 an other shalbe plast.

The plowe A-syde shall lie,
 that here-tofore did go;
 And almost all shall weepe & Crie,
 that manie vsed them soo.

Now almost All take paines
 to worke both Night and daie:
 The Landlorde allwise hath the gaines
 and Sweppeth all Away.

[*Finis.*]

VII

[Fol. 145. There are but 10 stanzas in this ballad as compared with the 13 (and a fragment of a fourteenth) in MS. Cotton Vesp. A. XXV, fols. 144-144^v, and the 13 in the *Roxburghe Ballads*, VII, 783. Its appearance in the Cotton MS. shows that the ballad dates from before 1575. On all the

printed sheets it is accompanied by the ballad of "Joseph and Mary" that was licensed on December 14, 1624. From this 1624 issue Shanne probably made his abbreviated copy.]

A Verie pretie Songe

As I lay musinge all Alone,
I harde A voice that loud did crie:
"Come give account of everie thinge,
even in the twinklinge of an eye."

With that I harde A Trumpett blowe,
and one did call with voice so hie:
"Distroie all thinges, both hie and Lowe,
even in the twinklinge of an Eye.

"Destroy all Parkes, pallas, and gam,
Castels and towers that bene so hye,
To all thinges livinge do the same,
even in the twinkling of an Eye.

"The Seas and Fludes shall not endure,
Neither the Heavens that be so hie;
Destroie them all with burninge fyre,
even in the twinklinge of an Eye."

With that I saw A Cloude downe bent,
and one did stand in it so hie,
Prepared for to give Judgment,
even in the twinklinge of an Eye.

The good on Godes right hand did stande,
they praisinge him most Joifully,
with palmes of victorie in their handes,
even in the twinklinge of an Eye.

The Ill on his left hande did stande,
wailinge them selves most wofully,
Discendinge to the fyrie brande,
even in the twinklinge of an Eie.

Vnto the good the Lorde did saye,
 Speakinge these wordes most Joiffully:
"take you my kingdome, that lasteth Aye,
 even in the twinklinge of an Eye."

Vnto the evill the Lord did saie,
 Speakinge these wordes most pittifully:
"Go to the fyre that burneth Aye,
 even in the twin[k]linge of an Eye."

O Lorde, for Christ his sake, we praie,
 which shedd his bloud vpon A tree,
defende vs from that fyre alwaie,
 even in the twinkling of an Eye.

[*Finis.*]

HYDER E. ROLLINS

VI. GOVERNMENTAL ATTEMPTS TO REGULATE THE STAGE AFTER THE JEREMY COLLIER CONTROVERSY

Although Jeremy Collier's attack on the drama of his time and the subsequent "reform" of the stage in the direction of propriety and dullness have been regarded ever since as commonplaces of literary history, the relation between them has never been adequately investigated, and about this the greatest difference of opinion still exists. Ward declares: "In truth the position in which he [Collier] stood . . . had been proved impregnable. From this time forward a marked change became visible in the attitude of the Court, the Government, and a section at least of the ruling classes, towards the stage, and its own consciousness of the purposes and restrictions proper to the exercise of its art."¹ On the other hand, Mr. Whibley asserts: "The poets bowed their knee not an inch in obedience to Collier. They replied to him, they abused him, and they went their way. . . . The pages of Genest . . . make evidence the complete failure of Collier's attack."²

Before estimating justly the importance of Collier in the history of the stage, it is obviously necessary to determine to what extent a reformation actually took place, and also to what extent there was a reform movement unconnected with Collier. Moreover, as a preliminary to this inquiry, it is important to know what legal steps were taken toward exercising a stricter control of the stage. It is with this last matter that the present paper deals. The manuscript documents here quoted have never before been printed, and many of them seem never to have been examined by historians of the stage.

The Societies for the Reformation of Manners, which are mentioned by Burnet, included among their rules for members the requirements that they should "wholly avoid lewd play-

¹ A. W. Ward, *History of English Dramatic Poetry*, III, 514.

² *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, VIII, 191.

houses." These Societies published many accounts of their activity in causing the arrest of swearers, sabbath-breakers and the like, and in the earliest of their preserved publications³ it was proposed to "supplicate their majesties, that the public play-houses may be suppressed" on the ground that all agree that "in these houses, piety is strongly ridiculed, the holy, reverend, and dreadful name of God profaned, and his glory and interest rendered contemptible or vile." Since the Societies believed in proving their doctrine orthodox by apostolic blows and knocks, it is probable that they were responsible for the arrest of certain of the actors.

Such an arrest did take place, and is referred to by Gildon in his *Comparison of the Two Stages* and by nearly all subsequent historians of the stage, although no one seems to have taken the trouble to investigate, and little more than a vague tradition has been known. Owing to the incomplete and confused state of the legal records of the time, it is impossible to give a full history of the affair, but I have collected considerable information, and shall present those points which are of some interest.

There are many difficulties and pitfalls. Mr. Gosse⁴ quotes Narcissus Luttrell (May 12, 1698): "The Justices of Middlesex did not only prosecute the play-houses, but also Mr. Congreve for writing the 'Double Dealer,' D'Urfey for 'Don Quixote' and Tonson and Brisco, booksellers, for printing them." Now although this is interesting as an illustration of feeling against the persons mentioned, it is likely to be misunderstood. An actual legal action involving Congreve and D'Urfey would be very important, and of this the records would probably have been preserved, but it is extremely unlikely that any such legal action was taken. A note in Dawkes' *News-Letter* No. 297 (May 12, 1698) presents the matter in a clearer light. It reads simply: "Last day of

³ *Proposal for a National Reformation of Manners*, etc. London, 1674. Collier's *A Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage* was not published until 1698.

⁴ Congreve, *English Men of Letters*, p. 118.

the session, at the Old Baily, the grand jury of London delivered a presentment against all stage-plays and lotteries (which tend so much to the corruption and debauchery of youth) and the Bench were pleased to say they would take the same into consideration." The identity of dates makes it certain that Luttrell and the news letter refer to the same event, but a presentment to the grand jury is not a legal prosecution. Congreve and D'Urfey probably were not prosecuted, for if they had been it would most likely have been noted in Dawkes' *News-Letter*. The presentment of the grand jury means simply that certain citizens exhibited the popular prejudice against the stage, and that they mentioned it to the judge. He evidently let the matter drop.

However, there were cases of actual trial and arrest. One of the many controversial pamphlets concerning the stage⁴ mentions three alleged trials. It states, first, that in 1699 several players were prosecuted in the Court of Common Pleas upon a statute of 3 Jac. I, for profanely using the name of God on the stage, and that verdicts were obtained against them; second, that in the Easter Term of 1701 the players of one house were indicted at the King's Bench Bar before the Right Honorable the Lord Chief Justice Holt, for certain speeches contained in *The Provok'd Wife*; and third, that the players of the other house were indicted in the same term for expressions in *The Humour of the Age*, and *Sir Courtly Nice*, but that owing to a technical error they were acquitted.

Of the first of these trials I have been able to find no record. There is perhaps some error in the statement, since it is hard to see how a criminal charge could be considered by the Court of Common Pleas. The offense was a statutory one, and consequently this case should have been considered, like the others, by the Court of the King's Bench.

In regard to the second of these alleged trials, however, I have succeeded in discovering documentary evidence. In

⁴ *A Representation of the Impiety and Immorality of the English Stage, etc.* (1704).

the Coram Rege Roll No. 2147 for Michaelmas Term 13 William III⁶ one may read, if he has the patience to decipher the obsolete handwriting and translate the barbarous Latin, that in October of the 12th year of the reign of William III, Thomas Betterton, Thomas Doggett, John Bowman, Cave Underhill, Elizabeth Barry, George Bright, Elizabeth Bowman, and Abigail Lawson, were charged in the Court of the King's Bench with having set up a common play-house in Little Lincoln's Inn Fields, in which the said Thomas Doggett did on the 25th day of December in 1700 "several times profanely and jestingly used the sacred name of God upon the public stage in the said theater—in the hearing of divers persons being then and there present in these words viz: 'E God there isn't more fear of his head aching than my heart. 'E God I wou'd be hanged first before I wou'd be your husband. 'E God take care of your own helm 'E God I shall stick like pitch, God! I'll tell you one thing," and that the said Cave Underhill did on the said five and twentieth day of December in the year aforesaid jestingly and profanely use the sacred name of God upon the public stage in the said theatre. Cave Underhill and Abigail Lawson are similarly charged, and the indictment sets forth, in addition, that daily, Sundays excepted, between the 24th day of June and the 12th day of February the players acted irreligious and immodest spectacles tending to excite to fornication and adultery, on account of which there resulted many evil deeds and the shedding of blood, besides the corruption of youths and virgins to the great sorrow of their parents and friends. To all this, the actors pleaded not guilty.

In another part of the same roll it is charged that Thomas Betterton, Thomas Doggett, Cave Underhill, Elizabeth Barry, Ann Bracegirdle, George Bright, George Pack, and John Hodgson did between the 24th day of June and the 7th day of March in the 13th year of William's reign present a certain obscene, profane and pernicious comedy entitled *The*

⁶ Preserved in the Public Records Office, London.

Anatomist or Sham Doctor in which were contained the following obscene and profane words: "*I'me sure he left his breeches long ago the devil take him, a curse on his systol and dyastol with a pox to him, the devil fly away with him, the devil pick his bones.*" The actors are further charged with having presented *The Provok'd Wife* from which a number of quotations are given, including the following: "But more than all that, you must know I was afraid of being damn'd in those days for I kept sneaking cowardly company, fellows that went to church and said grace to their meat, and had not the least tincture of quality about 'em—woman tempted me lust weaken'd and so the devil overcame me, as fell Adam so fell I." To this, as to the other indictments, the actors pleaded, through their attorney Simon Hartcourt, not guilty.

The actors would seem to have adopted a policy of delay, to judge from further records of the case in the Rule Book,⁷ where we read under the heading of Friday next after Michaelmas 13th William III, that in the case of the King vs. Betterton and others a decree of "*nihil dicunt*" (i. e. judgment by default) will be entered unless the several defendants separately answer sufficiently by the following Wednesday. Then on the Thursday after the Morrow of All Souls of the same year, it is entered that unless sufficient answer be made by Monday next, the decree "*nihil dicunt*" shall be entered. On that Monday there is another entry stating that unless sufficient answer is made by the following day, the decree shall be entered peremptorily against them. The next entry occurs on Saturday after Christmas in the first year of the reign of Ann, and orders that separate recognisances of the defendants be estreated into the Exchequer. On the following Monday it is ordered that upon the payment of such costs as shall be taxed, and upon the withdrawing of the indictment at the first session of the next term, the estreat of the recognisance of the defendants shall cease, and on Wednesday in the Morrow of the Purification of the Virgin it is ordered that the estreat of the recognisances of

⁷ Public Records Office, King's Bench 21-26.

Thomas Betterton and Elizabeth Verbruggen shall cease until next term.⁸

These records inform us merely that the case dragged on into the reign of Anne, and that the actors had considerable success in securing postponements. I have not been able to find any further reference to the case in the court records themselves, but fortunately further information is afforded by two letters preserved among the records of the Lord Chamberlain's office.⁹ Since these letters have never been published, and are very interesting, I give them in full.

The first is particularly interesting since it refers to Betterton, though it was overlooked by Mr. Lowe in his interesting life of that actor:

To the Queens most Excell^t Maj:^{ties}
The humble Petition of Thomas
Betterton Elizabeth Barry Ann Brace-
girdle & others Your Maj:^{ties} Come-
ians Acting in the New Theatre in
Little Lincoln's Inn—fields.

Sheweth

That ever since the happy Restauration of your Royal Uncle King Charles the second (of ever blessed memory) for prevention of any indecent expressions in any plays which might be Acted, The Lord Chamberlaine of the Household for the time being hath constantly restrained the acting of all new plays until they were first perused by the Ma:^{ties} of the Revells who used to Expunge whatever he thought unfitt to be acted. And your Petition:^{ers} ever since they have had the hono:^r to serve your Maj:^{ties} and your Royal predecessors in that quality have constantly given all due obedience to the said order and have not been till very lately disturbed for acting any plays that had passed such Examinations, and always thought they might safely act any play so perused & approv'd by the Ma:^{ties} of the Revells—

Notwithstanding which your Petition:^{ers} have been lately prosecuted by Indictm^t for acting plays perused & approved as aforesaid in which were (as is alleged) divers expressions not lawful to be used and the petition:^{ers} have been put to great expenses and are yet prosecuted on such Indictment.

⁸ In this case a recognisance is an agreement to appear in court at a certain time. The estreat of a recognisance is a process by which a recognisance, forfeited by a failure to appear, is made the basis of a plea for judgment by default. The stopping of an estreat of a recognisance is a blocking of this attempt to gain a judgment by default.

⁹ Public Records Office. L. C., 7-3.

To the end therefore since the prosecutors of such Indictments are not satisfied with the method that hath soe long been used to prevent the Imorality of the Stage that your petition:^{rs} may be quiet for the future.

May it please your Maj:^{ty} to give such orders and directions as in your princely wisdom you shall think fitt for perusing & correcting plays prepared to be Acted, that your petition:^{rs} may not be misled to act any plays wherein may be contained any expressions that may give just occasion of offence and that the prosecution on such Indictment against your petition:^{rs} may be stayed.

And yo:^r Pet:^{rs} (as in all Duty bound shall ever pray etc.)

The second, which also has not been printed, is as follows:

The Case of Geo: Bright.

Comoe'd: at y^e Theatre in Lincolns Inn fields.

That some time since, y^e saide Bright was playing his part, in y^e play called S^r Fopling Flutter, & in y^e Conclusion of his part, these words are Exprest (Please you Sir to Commission a young couple to go bed together a—Gods name) w^{ch} being Lyconced & permitted, y^e said Bright did humbly conceive, y^t there was neither imorality or prophainese therein, y^e said Bright as well as sev^l others, having often Exprest y^e said words publicly on y^e stage, & no notice ever before taken thereof; But some maliciously buissey person or psons informing agst ye said Bright have taken hold of y^e Law, prosecuted him unknowingly, & have surreptitiously obtained a verdict against him for 10£ besides Cost & Charges w^{ch} amounts to as much more, so y^t the s. Bright is in Continual danger of being taken up for y^e s^d: 10£: & Cost & committed to Gaol.

The said Bright therefore humbly Begs yo^e Honor to consider the hardness of this his case, & hopes y^t since the whole company are equally concerned in this matter, That you will be Pleased to Order it so, That y^e s^d Company may be Equall shares in y^e payment of y^e s^d 10£ w^{ch} cost of suit, since by Law it is ordered to be paid, or y^t you would be pleased to protect him. Otherwise the s^d Bright & family must suffer.

This [i.e. the law against profanity on the stage] was Enacted in y^e 3d year of King Jeams 1st as appears by Keebles Collections & Statuts.

These petitions are interesting in several respects. They bring up the whole question of the licensing of plays, which will be discussed presently, but are quoted here only to show that in at least one case a large fine was actually assessed against an actor.

The statement made by the author of *A Representation of the Impiety and Profaneness of the English Stage* concerning the unsuccessful prosecution of the actors at the other theater, may also be given documentary support, but is less interesting. Among a collection of very much battered documents,¹⁰ may be found an indictment charging John Powell, John Mille, Robert Wilkes, Elizabeth Verbruggen, Mariah Olfield, Benjamin Johnson, William Pinkman, William Bullock, Philip Griffin, Colly Cibber, and Jane Rogers, with having acted, and continued to act after public notice, obscene and profane comedies in the theater called Drury Lane between the 24th day of June in the 12th year of the reign of William III and the 24th day of February in the 13th year of the reign of William III. The specific passages on which the charge is based are taken from *Volpone, or the Fox*, *The Humor of the Age*, and *Sir Courtly Nice*. These actors also pursued the method of delay and they were finally dismissed *sine die*.¹¹

Strangely enough I have not been able to find in any contemporary source a definite statement concerning the conclusions of these attempts on the part of certain people to invoke the law against the actors. We do read however in *The Laureat: or, The Right Side of the Colly Cibber* (Anon. 1740) that Anne stopped the prosecution by a *noli prosequi*. This seems extremely probable, for though Anne promised to take the state of the stage under consideration, and certainly made efforts to reform it, the arrest of the actors was obviously unfair, and those who resorted to such methods showed only the intemperate zeal of reformers who can see no wrong except that against which they are incensed. Poor Bright was but a subordinate, and to send him to jail for performing a play which his superiors, under the license of the Crown, had ordered him to act, was a manifest injustice. Moreover the Crown, as he pointed out, was morally bound to protect him since the speeches for which he was convicted

¹⁰ Public Records Office. King's Bench 10-11.

¹¹ Public Records Office, Coram Rege Roll. 2-147.

had been licensed by the Master of the Revels. As will be seen later, Anne made an effort to deal with the situation through the instrumentality of that officer and so, no doubt, in fairness, stopped the prosecution of the actors.

An illustration of the widespread interest among the official class in the regulation of the stage is afforded by the following "Proposal" drawn up by Nahum Tate, Poet Laureate and preserved in the library of Lambeth Palace.¹²

A Proposal for Regulating the Stage & Stage-Players.

All Endeavors for a National Reformation being likely to prove Ineffectual without a Regulation of the Stage, the following is humbly offered to Consideration.

First, that supervisors of Plays be appointed by the Government. Secondly, that all Plays (capable of being reform'd) be rectify'd by their Authors if Living—and proper Persons appointed to Alter and reform Those of Deceased Authors and neither old or modern Plays permitted to be Acted till reform'd to thee satisfaction of the S^d supervisors. Thirdly, that sufficient Encouragement be for such Persons a make y^e Aforesaid Alterations &c as likewise for supervisors, and Penalties upon Default in Either. And this Matter so adjusted as to have due Effect, as long as any Stage shall be Permitted. Fourthly, the Theatres & Actors to be Under Strict Discipline & Orders, that no gentlemen be suffered to come behind the Scenes, nor Women in Vizard-Masques admitted to see a Play &c. Such Regulation of Plays and Play-houses will not only be a publique Benefitt, but also Beneficial to the Stage itself—if Continued: for whether the present stages be Reform'd or Silenc'd is left to the Government, but the one or Other is Absolutely necessary, (Endorsement.) Mr. Tate's Proposal for Regulating the stage, Rec'd Feb. 6, 1698-99.

Particularly worthy of note is the fact that Tate speaks of his suggestion as valuable only in case it is decided not to suppress the theaters entirely. So great, indeed, was the outcry that this was evidently actually considered, for Dennis in his *Person of Quality Answer etc.* (1721) tells us that "there

¹² Lambeth MSS. 933, Art. 57. This is from the miscellaneous collection belonging to Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London, to whom it was perhaps sent, but in the opinion of the Reverend Claude Jenkins, Librarian at Lambeth Palace, the endorsement is in the handwriting of Archbishop Tenison. There is another manuscript in the Lambeth Palace (MSS. 953, Art. 131) which is a sort of memorandum or petition, addressed apparently to the Archbishop, and setting forth the evils of the stage.

was warm report about town, that it had been twice debated in council, whether the theater should be shut up or continued." Moderate councils, however, prevailed. The documents quoted earlier show how earnest Anne, at least was in her desire to regulate the stage, but she was not averse to plays herself and had no intention of listening too seriously to the fanatic. The orders which were sent out by the Lord Chamberlain show the method which she intended to pursue.

Since the court was on the side of reformed plays, it may well be asked why such reform could not have been easily brought about through the control nominally exercised by the Master of the Revels. There were two difficulties. In the first place, the custom of actually censoring plays had fallen more or less into disuse, and in the second place, as the letter from Bright shows, plays which had been licensed in looser days no longer seemed excusable, though they had legal sanction. For some reason, the records of the Lord Chamberlain's office covering this period have never been published. An examination of them shows, however, that the Crown was extremely anxious to gain control over the drama on the ethical side, but that it found it difficult to do so. Since these records have not been published, and this phase of the subject not fully studied by historians of the stage, I shall print some of the most interesting documents.

There had never been such a thing as a technically free stage in London. In Elizabeth's time the drama came, of course, under the control of the Master of the Revels, and there are recorded instances of the prohibition of certain plays, but though the Master had considerable power, it is not likely that he influenced to any great extent the development of the Elizabethan drama.¹³ When the theaters were reopened after the Restoration, Sir Henry Herbert, who had been Master of the Revels under Charles I, eagerly reassumed his supposed right to what he evidently looked upon as a profitable sinecure. The published records of his

¹³ Gildersleeve, *Government Regulation of the Elizabethan Drama*.

office show how assiduous he was in demanding tribute for the licensing of every sort of popular spectacle down to the exhibition of a "monster," but do not reveal any particular desire to regulate the stage, except in so far as it was financially profitable to do so.¹⁴ When he died in 1673, and the office was handed over to Killegrew, the latter apparently continued Herbert's tradition, and so the office continued to be regarded chiefly as a source of revenue.¹⁵

From the order to be quoted below, it is evident that plays were sometimes performed without having been licensed. Probably the fee was paid, and no more said on the subject. Cibber states that this was the censor's practice later. Now when the crown had undertaken to reform society, and turned its attention to the stage, it discovered that it had lost the power of controlling the drama, and the records of the Lord Chamberlain's office show a long and unsuccessful effort to regain this authority. On the 24th of January 1695-6 the Earl of Dorsett, Lord Chamberlain, sent out the following order:

Whereas Several Playes &c are Acted & prologue Spoken wherein many things ought to be struck out and corrected, And y^e plays approved and Licensed by y^e Master of the Revells according to y^e Antient Custome of His place and upon the Examination of the said Master I find that he complanes that of Late several new & Revived plays have been Acted at y^e Theater of Drury Lane & Dorsett Gardens without any License And that of Late y^e Managers of that Company have refused to send such play^{es} to be pursued Corrected & allowed by y^e Master of y^e Revels We therefore Order and Command that for y^e future noe playes shall be Acted but such as shall first be sent (and that in due time) to Charles Killegrew Esq. Master of y^e Reveles by him to be pursued and diligently Corrected & Licensed And I Order all Persons concerned in the Management of both Companys to take notis hereof on y^e Penalty of being Silenced according to ye Antient Custom of His place for such default. And I Order all y^e said parties to pay to ye said Master His Antient Fees for such new & revived plays soe Licensed And Doe further Order & Command the said Master to be very careful in Correcting all Obsenitys & other Scandalous matters & such as any ways Offend

¹⁴ Joseph Quincy Adams, *The Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert*. These extend to 1673 only.

¹⁵ Chambers, *Apology for Believers in the Shakespeare Papers*.

against y^e Laws of God Good Manners or the Knowne Statutes of this Kingdome as hee will answer y^e same to me Given under my hand & seal this 24th day of Janu 1695/6 in the seventh year of His Ma^{ties} Reigne.

DORSETT (i. e. Lord Chamberlaine.)¹⁶

This order seems to indicate a desire for a general tightening up. It is directed not only against the negligence of the players, but also against the Master of the Revels himself, who is ordered to take his office seriously. The phrase "and that in due time" seems to indicate that copies of new plays had sometimes been submitted at the last moment, under the assumption that only the payment of fees was required for licensing.

Evidently all this did not have the desired effect, for on the 4th of June 1697 we find Sunderland, then Lord Chamberlain, sending out the following order:

Order to the Comedians in
Lincolns Inn fields.

Wheras I am informed that many of the new plays acted by both companys of his Maj^{ty} Comedians are Scandalously lew'd and Prophane, and contain Reflections against his Maj^{ty} Government. For Preventing therefore so notorious abuses for the time to Come I do hereby strictly order that you do not presume to Act any new Play till you shall have first brought it to my Secretary, and Receive my directions from him therein as you shall answer the Contrary att your Perill. Given under my hand and seal this 4th day of June, 1697. In the Ninth year of his Maj^{ty} Reign.

SUNDERLAND

To Mr. Thomas Betterton and the rest of his Majesties
Comedians Acting in Lincolns Inn Fields.

The like order verbatim as above to the Pattentees for his Maj^{ty} Company of Comedians acting in Dorsett Garden and Drury Lane.¹⁷

Two years later we have two more orders as follows:

Whereas I am informed that not wth Standing an order lately made for the better regulating of the Stage: Severall new Plays have been since Acted containing expressions contrary to Religion and good manners. These are therefore to Signify his Maj^{ty} Pleasure, that you take great care not to License any plays, wherein there are any such expressions, and if you

¹⁶ Public Records Office. L. C. 7-1.

¹⁷ Warrant Books of Lord Chamberlain. Public Records Office. L. C. 5-152.

shal find that at any time, either company of his Maj. Comedians do presume to Act any thing which you have though fitt to strike out, that you immediately give notice thereof. Given under my hand this 18th of Februry In the Eleventh year of his Maj^e Reign.

PERE: BERTIE (i. e. Peregrine Bertie,
Vice-Chamberlain.)

To Charles Killegrew Esq.
Master of the Revels.

Whereas I am informed that notwithstanding an Order made the 4th of June 1697 by the Earl of Sunderland then Lord Chamberlain of his Maj. Household to prevent the Profaness of the stage Several new Plays have lately been Acted, containing expressions contrary to Religion and good manners. And whereas the Master of the Revells has Represented to me; that in contempt of the Said Order, the Actors do often neglect to leave out such prophane expressions, as he has struck out. These are therefore to Signify his Majesties Pleasure, that you do not hereafter presume to act any thing in any new play, which the Master of the Revells shall think fitt to be left out; as you shall answer it att your utmost perill. Given under my hand 10th of February. In the Eleventh year of his Mat^e Reign.

PERE: BERTIE

To Mr. Thomas Betterton &
the rest of his Mat^e Comedians
acting in Lincolns—Inn Fields.

The like order verbatim to the Patenties for his Majesties Company of Comedians acting in Dorsett Garden or Drury lane. 18th of Feb. 1698/9th

Queen Anne inherited the difficulty from her predecessor, and her Lord Chamberlain made similar orders as the following will show:

Whereas Complaint has been made y^t notwithstanding y^e severall orders lately made for y^e regulation of ye Stage, many of y^e Old as well as New Plays are still acted wth out due Care taken to leve out such Expressions as are contrary to Religion & Good Manners. And whereas I am informed that this Abuse is in great Measure owing to y^e Neglect of both Companys, by not sending Plays to y^e Master of y^e Revels, to be Licens'd but all y^e Parts are got up, & ye play ready to be acted, by which Means his Censure & License cannot be so well observed And also that Prologues, Epilogues, & Songs w^{ch} are often indecent, are brought upon y^e Stage wth out his License. These are therefore to Signify her Majesty's Special Command that you do not Presume to Act upon the Stage any Play New, or Old, containing Profane or Indecent Expressions which may give Offense. And that you hereafter bring

¹⁵ Lord Chamberlains Warrant Books. Public Records Office. L. C. 5-152.

to y^e Master of y^e Revels fair Copys to be Licens'd of all Plays, Songs, Prologues, & Epilogues before they be given out in Parts to be study'd, & Acted, which copys so Licens'd shall be kept safe by you for your Justification—And you are hereby Requir'd not to fail in Observing these Orders upon pain of her Ma:^{ty} high Displeasure and being silenc'd from further Acting. Given under my hand, this 15th day of January in y^e second year of her Majesty's Reign.

To y^e Company of her Ma:^{ty} Sworn Comedians Acting in Little—Lincoln's Inn—Fields.

The like Warrant Verbatim was sent to the Company of Comedians Acting in Drury Lane:¹⁹

Whereas I am inform'd that the orders hitherto made for Reformation of the Stage are yet ineffectual thro' the Neglect of both Companies of Comedians in not sending Plays to you for your Inspection and License till they are ready to be acted, by which means, what you strike out as indecent, is often spoke upon the Stage and also that of late Several Prologues, Epilogues and Songs have not been brought to you for your License.

I do therefore hereby Order you to take special Care not to License anything that is not Strictly agreeable to Religion and good Manners And to give Notice to both the Companies of Comedians acting in Lincolns Inn Fields and Drury Lane that they do not presume to give out any new Play into parts before they have brought you a fair Copy thereof to be Licens'd; nor do presume to bring upon the Stage any Prologue, Epilogue or Song without your License, and if you shall at any time know that either Company do act any thing which you have thought fitt to strik out that you immediately give me notice there of. Given under my hand this 17th day of Jan^{ry} in the second year of her Majesties Reign.

To Charles Killebrew Esq. Master of the Revells to her Majesty.²⁰

In these last orders two new features may be observed. First great stress is laid on songs and epilogues (especially attacked in Collier's book which had by this time made its impression) and second, that a play containing "profane and indecent expressions" is not to be permitted even though it has been formerly licensed. The phrase "which copies so Licens'd shall be kept safe by you for your justification" is evidently a reference to the arrest of the actors and no doubt a reply to Bright's appeal for some means of security. Per-

¹⁹ Warrants of Several Sorts. Public Records Office. L. C. 5-153.

²⁰ Jersey. Public Records Office. L. C. 5-153.

haps it coincides with the suspension of prosecution against the actors.

Unfortunately no records of the censor's excisions seem to have been kept, but Cibber tells us that he became much more strict. His activity however was founded only on tradition and since that tradition had been allowed to lapse it could not be effectively revived. Finally Cibber²¹ flatly defied him and there was an end of an effective authority although the office continued to exist. This defiance, however, did not take place until after George I had granted a patent to Steele and his assigns. Meanwhile, in 1709 an elaborate set of rules was formulated for the Haymarket Theater which include the following sentences: "That you forthwith prepare and transmit to me an exact list of all such Comedies you propose to act the next year that were Lisenc'd before her Majestys accession to the Crown, in Order to their being more carefully revis'd and new licens'd by the Master of the Revells and that from and after Lady Day next you shall not suffer or permit any such play to be acted until it has received new license." From what Cibber says, however, the managers may have now began considering that the right of final judgment rested with them, and this fact lent especial force to the plea of Steele, to be mentioned later, who asked to be made manager in order that he might undertake the reform of the stage.

Anne was evidently anxious to satisfy, in some measure, the reformers, but she did not desire, as they did, the complete suppression of the stage. Nor did she show any inclination to take its management out of the hands of those men to whom the Reformers especially objected. Bedford in the *Evil and Danger of Stage Plays* (1706) notes triumphantly that her Majesty has been graciously pleased by letters patent, dated 14th of December 1705, to authorize Sir John Vanbrugh and William Congreve to inspect into plays, for the better reforming of abuses and immoralities. At first

²¹ *An Apology for His Life*. Chapter VIII.

sight this looks like the establishment of a new sort of censorship, which indeed, Bedford took it to be. But such was not Anne's intention. Bedford himself probably did not know just what he was referring to, or he would not have been so pleased, for the patent to which he refers provided for the establishment of a new theatrical company which was established in the Haymarket. The warrant does, indeed, read as follows:

Whereas We have thought fitt for the reforming the abuses, and Immorality of the Stage That a New Company of Comedians should be Established for our Service, under stricter Government and Regulations than have been formerly.

We therefore reposing especial trust, and confidence in our trusty and welbeloved John Vanbrugh & Will^m Congreve Esq. for the due Execution, and performance of this our Will and Pleasure, do Give and Grant unto them the s^d John Vanbrugh and Will^m Congreve full power and authority to form, Constitute and Establish for us, a Company of Comedians with full and free License to Act & Represent in any Convenient Place, during Our Pleasure all Comedys, Tragedies, Plays, Interludes, Operas, and to perform all other Theatricall and Musicall Entertainments Whatsoever and to Settle such Rules and Orders for the good Govern^{mt} of the said Company, as the Chamberlain of our Household shall from time to time direct and approve of. Given at our Court of St. James this 14th day of December in the third year of our Reign.

By her Majestys Command

KENT.²²

But if Anne thought that this new project would conciliate the Reformers, she must have been greatly disappointed. Vanbrugh was, no doubt, a very suitable person to manage a new theater, but the choice of him was not likely to please the party which had taken speeches from his plays as a basis for securing the arrest of the actors. Before the theater was opened, his appointment brought a protest from the Societies for the Reformation of Manners in an impudent pamphlet called "A Letter . . . To the Most Reverend Father in God, Thomas [Tenison] . . . Arch Bishop of Canterbury" (1704).

²² Warrant Books. Public Records Office. L.C. 5-154. Congreve resigned his share in the management of the Company the same year. See Gosse *Congreve*, in the Great Writers series.

In it Vanbrugh is denounced as having debauched the stage "to a degree beyond the looseness of all former times," and the Archbishop is called upon to use his influence to prevent the confirmation of Vanbrugh's appointment. The Society has, it says, been less active of late in attacking the theater because of confidence in the Queen's promise that she had given special orders to the Master of the Revels for the correction of irregularities, but that it has learned the general report that the management of the new theater in the Haymarket is to be intrusted to Vanbrugh "the known character of which gentleman has very much alarmed us, and a full consideration of which, has given us so warm a concern of Her Majesty's honor, as to inform Your Grace, whose post and degree in the church and state give you so happy an opportunity of giving Her Majesty an account of these reports, Tho' this [Vanbrugh's appointment] be given out both by him and his friends, yet we must suspect the truth, because 'tis impossible that Her Majesty, who has declared against immorality and profaneness, and against these crimes on the stage, should act so directly contrary to the end she proposed, as to commit the management of the stage to that very man, who debauch'd it to a degree beyond the looseness of all former times. Both the present houses were indicted and found guilty by the court of Queen's Bench, for the several obscene and profane expressions in the *Relapse*, *Provok'd Wife*, *False Friend* and the rest of his plays, in which he is not satisfied to reflect on the teachers of the Christian religion, but carries his impious fury as far as the church, morality, and religion itself."

The Reformers were certainly not won over by the opening of the new theater. Defoe, a good index of bourgeois opinion, devoted a whole number of his *Review* (Vol. II, No. 26, 1705) to the event. Speaking ironically of the unfilled promise of reform, he falls into verse thus:

The fabrick's finish'd, and the builder's part,
Has shown the reformation of his art,
Bless'd with success, thus have their first essays,

Reform'd their buildings, not reform'd their plays.

Never was charity so ill employ'd
Vice so encourag'd, virtue so destroy'd.

The new theater had made a brave bid for popularity with the moderate element by beginning with Shirley's *The Gamester*, which had some claims to be considered as a moral play. They were however, indiscreet with their prologue which contains the lines:

The architect must on dull order wait,
But 'tis the poet only can create.

In the good age of ghostly ignorance,
How did cathedrals rise, and zeal advance!

But, now that pious pageantry's no more,
And the stages thrive, as churches did before.²²

The sentiment expressed in the last four of these lines was obviously not calculated to conciliate the clerical parties, and experience with the vagaries of the reformers should have warned the managers of the new theater that some one would find, as indeed Defoe did find, blasphemy even in the apparently innocent reference to the poet as the only creator. Bedford²⁴ finds this first performance at the Haymarket such "That the horrid blasphemy is so rash, as to raise the blood at the reading thereof."

The reformers, were, indeed, determined not to be satisfied under any circumstances, and did not wish it to be thought that any progress had been made towards a reformation. Thus, Bedford in his *Evil and Danger of Stage Plays* is careful to note that the two thousand instances of corruption which he has gathered are taken from the plays of the last two years "against all the methods lately used for their reform," and to analyze *The Gamester* in order to show how bad a supposedly moral play can be. He, and his tribe, wished the complete destruction of the stage.

²² By Dr. Garth.

²⁴ *Evil and Danger of Stage Plays* (1706).

A study of the plays written about this time shows that the movement of reform was having a very definite effect, but this was produced to a considerable extent from within, and at no time during the period under consideration did the Crown succeed in gaining quite the power which it wished over the theaters. George I inherited Anne's difficulties, but power seemed to slip from his hands rather than accrue to him. Steele, in conjunction with Wilks, Cibber, Doggett, and Booth, received a theatrical patent signed October 18th 1704. He replied with a petition,²⁵ in which he showed "That the use of the theater has for many years last past been much perverted to the great scandal of religion and good government," and protested that since the reformation would be an arduous task, he should be given power for the term of his natural life, and for three years thereafter. This petition was referred to the attorney general who replied with more about the need for reforming the stage and with an expression of the opinion that such power might be given to Steele "subject to such regulations as have been usual in grants of the like nature." But on October 25th, 1718, we find a letter to the attorney general²⁶ in which it is stated that the managers of Drury Lane refused to obey orders and regulations from the Lord Chamberlain. And on the 23rd of January, 1719, Steele's license was revoked.

Throughout this attempt to establish the authority of the Lord Chamberlain, the government had been animated by variety of motives, by no means all of which were connected with a desire to improve the moral state of the stage, but in the case of Anne at least, the wish to exercise a moral censorship was strong. The passage of the Licensing Act in 1737 ends the struggle, but falls without our period, and has, besides, been treated fully by other writers.²⁷ It is sufficient

²⁵ Public Records Office. L. C. 5-156. I do not print this and the remaining documents referred to as they have already been published in Aitken's *Life of Richard Steele*.

²⁶ Public Records Office. L. C. 5-157.

²⁷ See Watson Nicholson. *The Struggle for a Free Stage in London*. Also Cross's *The History of Henry Fielding*.

here to point out that though the law was partially political in purpose, it was nevertheless passed under the guise of a moral measure, and that when Sir John Barnard brought in the bill, he made a considerable point of the mischief which had been done in the City of London by the theaters which had corrupted the youth and encouraged vice.²⁸ Accordingly, the bill may be regarded as, to some extent, one of the results of the government's interest in the movement against the stage which we have been considering. It is also, in one sense, the end of the story. From that time on the morals of the theater were under the control of a government censor whose decisions have so often aroused feelings of anger or amusement according to the temper of the observer.

As was stated at the beginning, this paper attempts simply to gather some information necessary as a preliminary to a study of the effect of Jeremy Collier on the English drama. The present writer has continued the investigation in all the directions which seemed likely to prove fruitful, and it may be proper for him to state his conclusions, although lack of space forbids more than a statement of results.

1. With regard to the difference of opinion between Whibley and Ward, an examination of the comedies written from 1630 to 1685 shows the development and firm establishment of a distinct tradition of comedy marked by sophistication and a cynical morality. This tradition seems to have continued without change until Cibber's *Love's Last Shift* (1696), which appears rightly to be regarded as the first play to introduce a distinctly sentimental and moralizing note. An examination of all the comedies written during a series of years taken at five year intervals from this time until 1725, shows a gradual growth in the popularity of the play which was both "clean" and sentimental, so that by the latter date the play of the Restoration type had practically ceased to be written and afterward enjoyed, as with Fielding for example, only sporadic revival.

²⁸ Cobbett. *The Parliamentary History of England*.

2. A search for controversial literature concerning the stage resulted in augmenting the bibliography of the Collier controversy and in bringing to light several attacks upon the stage previous to the publication of *A Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage*, but showed that Collier continued during twenty-five years the acknowledged inspiration of a movement against the stage.

3. A study of the social life of the time tends to emphasize the importance of the general interest in the reform of manners, which began during the last decade of the seventeenth century and led the early eighteenth century to think and speak of itself as a "reforming age." Account must be taken not only of the various royal proclamations and the Societies for the Reformation of Manners, but also of the general spirit which expressed itself in Steele and Addison as well as in men like Sir Richard Blackmore, who devoted some of his works to a specific attack upon the Restoration opinion that "wit" justified all things.

4. From a study of all available dramatic criticism written between 1660 and 1725 two particular observations may be made. First, that during those years there was a marked increase in popular interest in criticism and a growing *rapprochement* between critical theory and dramatic practice; and second, that orthodox critical theory tended to the opinion that the teaching of morality was the proper function of the stage.

By examining the drama itself, the social life which it reflects, the movement for general reform, specific attacks on the stage, and the development of criticism, we get a truer idea of the phenomena than is possible by confining attention to any one of these departments. We can see at least what happened. As the reaction produced by the Restoration died away and life returned to something more like normal conditions, comedy continued for a time to picture the social life of the time which had given it birth, rather than expressing the ideas of the new generation which had grown up and taken its place in the theater.

In the closing years of the Seventeenth Century a general movement for reform predisposed the public to receive favorably the violent but pointed attacks of an able fanatic, and it awoke violently to the realization that popular comedy did not express the ideals of its age. Finally, criticism, just establishing a *rapport* with popular literature, evolved a set of critical theories, based partly on old and partly on new ideas, which encouraged, and, to some extent, directed the development of a new sentimental and moralizing comic tradition more closely suited than the old to the taste of its generation.

Thus the question with which was started, "To what extent was Collier responsible for the development of sentimental comedy?" is seen to be an extremely complicated one, and one which is perhaps unanswerable. Since all the characteristics of the movement were discernible before Collier wrote, he cannot be said to be responsible for it. On the other hand, since it became accentuated considerably immediately after the appearance of his book, and since Steele, the principal protagonist of the New Comedy acknowledged himself as Collier's follower, the latter must have been at least the most effective mouthpiece of the opposition. He formulated the argument which was the result of the opinion of his time, and he led the people where they were ready to go. Without him restoration comedy would inevitably have died, but he hastened its death. He no more produced sentimental comedy than Rousseau produced the French Revolution, but like Rousseau he gave a movement articulation. And as Rousseau's is the name most closely associated with the French Revolution, so justly enough that of Collier is the one most closely associated with the literary triumph of morality and dullness.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

VII. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF SHAFTESBURY IN ENGLISH SPECULATION

It has been repeatedly pointed out that Shaftesbury derived many, if not the most, of his philosophical ideas from his immediate and more remote predecessors. Nevertheless, the recognition of this fact does not detract from the originality and power of Shaftesbury himself. The ideas gleaned from a wide reading and companionship passed through the medium of his keen and generous mind and emerged a new intellectual compound.

It will be remembered that as a lad of seven the precocious Ashley could read Latin and Greek with ease. Little wonder it is, therefore, that we find him extremely familiar with the doctrines of the principal ancients. Park, in speaking of his "real system and opinions," remarks that "they may be proved in every part to be in fact no other than the concurring sentiments of the best writers among the ancients."¹ Similarly Toland observed: "Perhaps no modern ever turned the Ancients into sap and blood, as they say, than he. Their doctrines he understood as well as themselves, and their virtues he practiced better."² A remark in his life in the *General Dictionary* is illuminating in this connection. "Among the writers that he admired, and carried always with him, were the moral works of Xenophon, Horace, the *Commentaries* and *Enchiridion* of Epictetus as published by Arrian, and Marcus Antoninus. These authors are now extant in his library, filled throughout with marginal notes, references, and explanations, all written with his own hand." Strangely this list omits the one ancient to whom he undoubtedly owed most, namely Plato. Warburton, having paid him the compliment of "many excellent qualities, both as a man and as a writer," continues: "In his writings he hath shown how largely he hath

¹ Walpole, *Royal and Noble Authors*, London, 1806, IV, 55.

² Introduction to *Letters from the Late Earl of Shaftesbury to Robert Molesworth, Esq.*, 1721.

imbibed the deep sense, and how naturally he could copy the gracious manner of Plato."³ His relationship to the Cambridge Platonists⁴ is also noteworthy, his first venture into print being the *Preface* to the *Sermons* of Dr. Whichcote, one of their number. Striking similarities are also found in Cudworth and Cumberland.⁵

A less common view is that of Roberston, who admitting some of the ideas of Shaftesbury to be similar, unconsciously, to those of Cumberland's *De Legibus Naturae*, some similar to those in the ethic of the ancients—Platonic, Stoic, and Epicurean,—and others like to those in Charron and Locke, builds up an elaborate parallelism between Spinoza and the Third Earl.⁶ This "novel view" is "unconvincing" when it is accompanied by the admission that Shaftesbury may not have learned of Spinoza until a date as late as 1698. Again, though the similarity between the doctrines of Leibnitz's *Theodicee* and *The Moralists* (1709) is striking, the former did not appear until 1710.

Shaftesbury seems to have written rather to controvert current opinions and practices than to enunciate wholly new ideas on obscure subjects. The *Letter concerning Enthusiasm* (1708) and the *Essay on the Freedom of Wit and Humor* (1709) were directed against the actual practices of the French Prophets. Warton makes *The Moralists* (1709) "a direct confutation of the opinions of Bayle" with whom he "had many conversations and disputes . . . on the Manichaen controversy."⁸ All of his ethical and theological teachings have an immediate historical significance. Viewed in the light of the philosophy of Hobbes and Locke, and of

³ Dedication to Free-Thinkers of *Divine Legation*, 1738, London, 1811, I, p. 163. For further light concerning Shaftesbury's relationship to the ancients see Fowler, *Shaftesbury and Hutcheson*, New York, 1883, pp. 97-99.

⁴ See E. T. Campagnac, *The Cambridge Platonists*, 1901.

⁵ See C. F. Sharp, *Mind*, XXXVII, 387; Lyons, *Shaftesbury's Ethical Principles of Adaptation to Universal Harmony*, New York, 1900, pp. 32-34.

⁶ Robertson's *Characteristics*, London, 1900, I, p. xxxii *et seq.*

⁷ C. A. Moore, *P. M. L. A.*, XXXI, 267 note.

⁸ *Works of Pope*, Bowles Edition, London, 1806, III, 58.

the Deistical controversy, then raging, their *raison d'être* becomes apparent.

Deferring for the present any elaborate discussion of Shaftesbury's doctrines, we can hint at his ethical moment by epitomizing the salient points of the philosophy of Hobbes and Locke.

To the former the state of nature was a state of war. In the beginning there was a constant clash of opinion and desire. So long as men relatively equal to each other in body and mind stood opposed there could be no progress; consequently a supreme power with authority was set up as a necessary expedient. Thus "civil society is based on a contract." "Justice is the keeping of valid covenants, injustice the non-performance of them." But the covenants, it must be remembered, are man-made, the results of man's own desires,—and *they* are right. This makes the individual inclination the ethical norm, and exalts pure self-interest to a place of legitimate authority. Conscience of divine guidance in the orthodox sense passes away, and in its place is set up a purely empirical guide, synonymous with desire, interest, and custom. This egoistic philosophy was especially obnoxious to the virtue-loving, optimistic Shaftesbury. Although he skilfully avoids personal mention of Hobbes in his works, the implications are obvious. The reference is apparent when he says, "'Tis ridiculous to say that there is any obligation on man to act sociably or honestly in a formal government, and not in that which is commonly called the state of nature. . . . Thus faith, justice, honesty, and virtue, must have been as early as the state of nature, or they could never have been at all. The civil union, or confederacy, could never make right or wrong, if they subsisted not before."⁹ And again he brands as "extraordinary" that "known way of reasoning on self-interest" which would lead us to suppress "kindness of every sort, indulgence, tenderness, compassion, and, in short, all natural affection

⁹ *Sensus Communis: An Essay on the Freedom of Wit and Humor*, Part III, section 1.

. . . that by this means there might be nothing remaining in us which was contrary to a direct self-end."¹⁰ To Shaftesbury morality was not a human makeshift but a perfectible endowment. Right and evil were not equivalent to personal whims, but were eternal and immutable by the very nature of the universe. Not the individual, but the general good was the aim of virtue; not the accomplishment of human desire with its accompanying satisfaction, but an internal consciousness of harmony with the universe was the coveted reward.

With Locke, whom he styles his "friend and foster-father" and whom he credits with having had "absolute direction of my education," we should expect to find Shaftesbury more in harmony; but such is hardly the case. Although he respects him as a man, and admits that "No one had done more towards the recalling of philosophy from barbarity into use and practice in the world," and although he pays him the compliment of having "opened a clearer and better way to reason" than any one else,¹¹ he takes exception to his ethical principles. The burden of Locke's ethic was that "the true ground of morality can only be the Will and Law of God, who sees men in the dark, has in his hands rewards and punishments, and power enough to call to account the proudest offender."¹² This "Rule prescribed by God is the true and only measure of virtue." Apropos of this doctrine, Shaftesbury warns young Ainsworth that "'Twas Locke that struck at all fundamentals, threw all order and virtue out of the world, and made the very ideas of these (which are the same as those of God) *unnatural*, and without foundation in our minds."¹³ "If the mere will, decree, or law of God be said absolutely to constitute right and wrong, then are these

¹⁰ *Inquiry concerning Virtue*, Bk. II, Pt. 1, section 1. See also *Wil and Humor*, Pt. II, section 1; Pt. III, section 3.

¹¹ First Letter in *Several letters Written by a Noble Lord to a young Man at the University*.

¹² *Essay concerning Human Understanding*, Bk. I, Ch. 3, section 6.

¹³ *Several Letters*, No. 8, p. 59.

latter words of no significance at all. For thus, if each part of a contradiction were affirmed for truth by the Supreme Power, they would consequently become true."¹⁴ "So that to bid me judge authority by morals, whilst the rule of morals is supposed dependent on mere authority and will, is the same in reality as to bid me see with my eyes shut, measure without a standard, and count without arithmetic."¹⁵ "They who live under tyranny, and have learnt to admire its power as sacred and divine, are debauched as much in their religion as in their morals. Public good, according to their apprehension, is as little the measure or rule of government in the universe as in the state. They have scarce a notion of what is good or just, other than as mere will and power have determined. Omnipotence, they think, would hardly be itself, were it not at liberty to dispense with the laws of equity, and change at pleasure the standard of moral rectitude."¹⁶

Both Shaftesbury and Locke were in accord, and opposed to Hobbes, in their contention that public good rather than private interest was the criterion of right action; but they were widely opposed to each other, and each in turn to Hobbes, in accounting for the origin of the moral guide. Hobbes held it to be a manufactured expedient, the result of experimentation and contract; Locke made it synonymous with the "Law and Will of God," ascertainable by the exercise of reason; Shaftesbury regarded it as a delicate, innate sense, as intuitive and as operative as man's sense of Beauty. Hobbes made personal pleasure the incentive to conformity; Locke placed stress on public opinion and the fear of punishment and the hope of reward; Shaftesbury believed virtue to be its own reward. } Hobbes and Shaftesbury agree in transferring the criterion of morality from the Supreme Will to the man himself, and in so doing made a valuable contribution to the science of ethics. Shaftesbury, however, went far

¹⁴ *Inquiry concerning Virtue*, Pt. III, section 1.

¹⁵ *Advice to an Author*, Pt. III, section 1.

¹⁶ *Freedom of Wit and Humor*, Pt. III, section 1.

beyond either of his opponents in giving dignity to the virtues, in that he made God himself subject to their standards. "For whoever thinks there is a God, and pretends formally to believe that he is just and good, must suppose that there is independently such a thing as justice and injustice, truth and falsehood, right and wrong, according to which he pronounces that God is just, righteous, and true."¹⁷

This rejection of "the Will and Law of God" as the measure of moral fitness leads us logically to another related matter in which Shaftesbury stands apart from the orthodoxy of his times. His theology and his ethics are so closely interwoven and interdependent, however, that it is difficult to discuss the one without trespassing upon the other. The strict orthodoxy of the Commonwealth never questioned the anthropomorphic Deity. The Supreme One was judge and jury, capable of indignation, anger, wrath, and arbitrary decisions. Milton's vain, autocratic God is not an unfair example of the current conception of the Maker and Ruler of all. The will of the judicator constituted the right, and conformity to his dictates was the acme of virtue. The volitions of the Almighty One were known to man only through the miracle of revelation. Predestination and free-will were harmonized, and "the ways of God to man" were justified by "the Mediatorial scheme of Jesus Christ."

By strict adherence to a belief in the freedom of speculation as to all things human and divine, Shaftesbury was led counter to all this. His unorthodoxy, however, was directed against the machinery of religion, rather than against religion itself. He tells us that he was "fully assured of his own orthodoxy, resignation, and entire submission to the truly Christian and Catholic doctrine of the Holy Church, as by Law established."¹⁸ The Fourth Earl speaks of his father as "very constant in his attendance at church and in receiving Communion when his asthma would permit."¹⁹ That he was

¹⁷ *Inquiry concerning Virtue*, Pt. III, section 2.

¹⁸ Cited by Fowler, p. 60.

¹⁹ Rand, *Life, Letters, and Philosophical Regimen*, London, 1900, p. xxvii.

religious in nature, if not orthodox according to any creed, is apparent in a letter to his brother Maurice,²⁰ wherein he rejoices in the fact that reason and education had placed them "in a religion and church where in respect to the moderate party and far greater part the principle of charity was really more extensive than in any Christian or Protestant Church besides in the world." He hated "impure and horrid superstitions," "monstrous enthusiasms," and "wild fanaticisms;" and believed in "prayer and devotion not rage and fits of loose extravagance," "religious discourses not cant and unintelligible nonsense." Warton quotes Bishop Butler as having said that "if Shaftesbury had lived to see the candor and moderation of the present times in discussing religious subjects, he would have been a good Christian."²¹ He might have added that the sight of the increased sanity and rationalism that had come into religion would have given him great personal satisfaction because of the part that he had most certainly played in bringing about "candor and moderation."

Naturally Shaftesbury's religious nature could not extenuate his sceptical utterances. The acrimony of Berkeley, Warburton, and Leland was directed against him, and Christian apologists everywhere charged him openly with atheism, and allied him, rightly, among the Deists as an enemy of revealed religion.²²

By giving special stress to the adequacy of natural religion and the consequent futility of revelation, to man's natural goodness, to his possession of a "moral sense," to the fitness of all things in the universe, and to Benevolence as the acme of virtue, Shaftesbury gave vogue and authority to ideas that were to be far reaching in their effect on the intellectual

²⁰ Rand, *Ibid.*, p. xxvii.

²¹ Warton *Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope*, London, 1806, II, 97.

²² See Skelton, *Deism Revealed*, I, 34-35, for a succinct statement of the Deistical Creed. Leland in *The Principal Deistical Writers*, London, 1754, I, 77 ff., classes Shaftesbury among the Deists. Hefelbower (*The Relation of John Locke to English Deism*, Chicago, 1918, pp. 177-178), holds a contrary view.

temper and social constitution of the decades immediately to follow. Despite the grimaces of such men as Addison, Swift, Steele, Defoe, Fielding, Johnson, Burke, and a host of other litterateurs, at the scepticism of the age, Shaftesbury gradually battered his way into narrow orthodoxy, and, by his open-mindedness and fairness, caused its expansion. The churchmen, while looking askance at his abolition of supernaturalism and future rewards, were inevitably drawn to the chaste and exalted picture of virtue which he presented. Although they were invariably convinced that many of his teachings were too flimsy and inadequate to effect the regeneration of corrupt mankind, the strongest of them were too sensible to be other than rationalists. It would be far from the truth to maintain that Shaftesbury was the sole force operative in the rationalization of an antiquated theology. The heaven was already at work before he began his publications, and continued, independent of as well as because of his influence, long after his death. What can be said with all candor and fairness, however, is that he gave special poignancy and thrust to many an idea already struggling for an adequate enunciator, and that in the decades following his death his name became synonymous, in the public and philosophical mind, with certain doctrines variously regarded as God-born or pernicious.

In some matters he may be safely credited with standing wholly apart from all of his immediate predecessors. To him is generally awarded the first use of the term "moral sense," which so frequently finds place in the aesthetic theories of his disciple Hutcheson. Shaftesbury's name has become the shibboleth for the Benevolent Theory of Morals. His God lost all of the vengeance of the Hebrew Deity, and became a Benevolent Ruler; and the outstanding characteristic of his virtuous man became his Benevolence. To him more than to any other English writer was due the nadir of Hobbes's egoistic theories, and the elevation of man's natural goodness. The optimistic theory that regarded the world as an harmonious whole, and taught, in the words of *Rope*, that

"Whatever is, is right," was planted ineradicably throughout the pages of his works, and therein effectively sheltered from the attacking rays of an adverse philosophy.

The times themselves concurred to the advantage of Shaftesbury. It is likely that philosophical speculation preceded the outward show of change, but the new doctrines were well timed. The religious restraint of the preceding decades, the formalism in art and literature, the drama of the Restoration so uncomplimentary to human nature, the egoism of Hobbes, and the humiliating acrimony of Mandeville, all helped to discount and render repulsive a certain body of intellectual rationale. The old orthodoxy found in the egoism of Hobbes one of its most hated enemies, but the new rationalism could not but realize the justice in Shaftesbury's characterization of the time-honored doctrines of rewards and punishments as the "rod and sweetmeat" method. The age itself was coming to have a hearty distrust for scholastic traditions, and the Deists, the Cambridge Platonists, the rational theologians, and Locke²³ were but coördinate parts of the same movement. All of them were rationalists, but their insistence upon reason did not lead them to the same conclusions. In certain of their principles the Latitudinarians and the Deists were as divergent from Locke on the one hand as they were from Hobbes on the other.

This dissimilitude amidst similitude suggests a further comparison which, strangely enough, seems not to have been made with any definitiveness. Shaftesbury's first venture into print—as has often been casually noted—was his *Preface* to a volume of sermons by Benjamin Whichcote which he edited and had published in 1698.²⁴ Perhaps the scarcity of the *Preface* and the still greater scarcity of the *Sermons* has led to their neglect. Wishart, reprinting the *Sermons* in 1742, remarks: "There never was before but one Impression of them

²³ See Hefelbower, *op. cit.*, pp. 172-184, for a fuller discussion of this point.

²⁴ *Select Sermons of Dr. Whichcot*, in two parts, London, 1698.

that I know of; which is now exceedingly scarce."²⁵ "The first Publication of this book we owe to a late Noble Author [Shaftesbury] pretty well known for his own Performances; who having very providentially met with the Manuscript, was so much taken with it, that he revis'd it, put it to the Press, and wrote the following *Preface* to it."²⁶ Then follows²⁷ Shaftesbury's *Preface* which had not been reprinted up to that time and which has appeared but once since.²⁸

Benjamin Whichcote (1609–1683), "being disgusted with the dry systematical ways of those times,"²⁹ made so substantial a contribution to the rationalization of thought that "the Testimony which the late Arch-bishop Tillotson has given of him, tho' it be in a Funeral Sermon, is known to be in nothing superior to his Desert."³⁰ Wishart characterized his sermons as "a Mine, out of which you may dig," "a *Model*, by which you may improve," "a Piece of Rich Ore."³¹

Whichcote was preëminently rationalistic. To him the way of reason was "the way most accomodate to Humane Nature."³² "To act contrary to the Reason of *one's* own Mind, is to do a thing most *unnatural* and *cruel*: it is to offer *Violence to a Man's self*."³³ "Men are wanting to themselves, if they do not see with their own Eyes; if they do not search and use a Judgment of discerning."³⁴ Indeed "the Perfection and Happiness of Humane Nature consists in the right Use of our Rational Faculties, and in the Vigor and Intense Exercise of them, about their *proper* and *proportionable* Object."³⁵ God, the most proportionable of all objects,

²⁵ Wishart's *Preface to the Select Sermons of Dr. Whichcot*, Edinburgh, 1742, p. iii.

²⁶ *Select Sermons*, 1742, p. xviii.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, xxi-xxiv.

²⁸ This *Preface* was reprinted in *Letters of the Earl of Shaftesbury*, 1758.

²⁹ Burnet, *History of his Own Times*, London, 1850, p. 127.

³⁰ *Preface to Select Sermons*, 1698.

³¹ *Preface to Select Sermons*, 1742.

³² *Select Sermons*, 1698, p. 100.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 352.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 451.

"is knowable by the Use of Reason and Understanding."³⁶ "The Natural Knowledge of God is the Product of Reason."³⁷ Men will never be brought to a comprehension of Him by putting out their eyes and disbelieving their senses,³⁸ but rather by apprehending "*the Fitness and Proportion* of one thing to another."³⁹

By the rationalistic approach, Locke and Whichcote arrive at various conceptions of ethics and deity. The doctrine of the former was alluded to above. To the latter "the Will and Law of God," if it is arbitrary and variable, is without reason. To those who "think that God uses *Arbitrary* Power; and that they might escape Punishment, if he *would*; and that there is nothing but his Will and Pleasure"⁴⁰ his answer is that "the Reasons of things are Eternal: they are not subject to any power,"⁴¹ and that God, neither "by Power and Privilege" cannot do that which is not just.⁴² "Neither the Evil of *Sin*, nor the Evil of *Punishment* can be attributed to God;" rather they are "*Consequential, Necessary, Fatal*."⁴³ Such a God is to be loved not for "what he is to us," but for "what he is in himself;" not "because he may be good to us," but "because he is the most lovely Object in himself, *the first and chiefest Goodness*;" not because "he is necessary to our Happiness," but "because of his own Loveliness, Excellency, and Beauty."⁴⁴

With Hobbes he is equally at variance. Although he does not mention his name, the allusion is unquestionable when he says, "Wherefore we may detest and reject that Doctrine which saith, that God made Man *in a State of War*."⁴⁵

³⁶ *Select Sermons*, p. 106.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 109. See also pp. 69, 72.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 95.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 164.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 213.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 382.

"Man by Nature, is Sociable; and wishes well to them in whose Company he takes delight."⁴⁶ Our condition is such in this world "that we stand in need of one another's Help."⁴⁷ In fact, "there is in Man, a secret *Genius* to Humanity; a Bias that inclines him to a Regard for all his own Kind."⁴⁸ "To do Good, to relieve, to compassionate" is God-like; "to destroy, to grieve, to oppress" is diabolical.⁴⁹

This complimentary conception of human nature is insisted upon throughout the *Sermons*. "The Truth of first Inscription is Connatural to Man."⁵⁰ "Natural Religion was the very Temper and Complexion of Man's Soul, in the Moment of his Creation."⁵¹ "Virtue, in every kind, is according to the Sense of Humane Nature, the Dictates of Reason and Understanding, and the Sense of a Man's Mind."⁵² "*What Health and Strength* are to the Body, *that Truth* is to the Mind and Understanding."⁵³ It would not be more "Monstrous, Prodigious, and Unnatural for the Sun to give over shining, for heavy things to ascend, for light things to descend, for Fire not to burn" than for an intelligent agent not to comply with the reason of things.⁵⁴ It is just as natural for a man to act virtuously as "for a Beast to be guided by his Senses, or for the Sun to give Light."⁵⁵ "All things must work according to their *natural Principles* (nor *can* they do otherwise) as heavy bodies must tend downwards."⁵⁶ Because of the kind of impressions that were originally stamped on the nature of man, because of the services to which he was designed, because of the acts that it is necessary for him to perform, it must be that "VERTUE

⁴⁶ *Select Sermons*, p. 181.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 363.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 381.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 92.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 59-60.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 39. See also pp. 40, 93, 156, 350.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 215.

is antecedent to Happiness,"⁵⁷ and that it "hath Reward arising out of itself."⁵⁸

If sobriety, moderation, justice, and kindred virtues "are Connatural to Man,"⁵⁹ if natural truth agrees with "Man's Constitution, in the State of Innocency,"⁶⁰ it must follow that man originally had an ethical norm within himself. "Things of Natural Knowledge or of first Inscription in the Heart of Man by God, these are known to be true as soon as ever they are proposed."⁶¹ "No sooner doth the Truth of God come to our Souls sight, but our Soul knows her, as her first and old Acquaintance."⁶² "Man by his Nature and Constitution, as God made him at first, being an intelligent Agent, hath *Sense of Good and Evil, upon a Moral account*. All inferior Beings have *Sense of Convenience or Inconvenience in a natural Way*. And, accordingly, all inferior Creatures do chuse and refuse. For, you cannot get a meer Animal, either to eat or drink that which is not agreeable to its Nature. And, whereas we call this *Instinct*; it is most certain that, in intelligent Agents this *other* is INSTINCT, at least."⁶³ This, certainly, is no other than Shaftesbury's "moral sense!"

With this cursory mosaic of a certain portion of Whichcote's views before us,⁶⁴ certain further deductions may be drawn concerning Shaftesbury's relation to his predecessors and contemporaries. The very fact that he took the pains to

⁵⁷ *Select Sermons*, p. 448.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 167. Cf. pp. 359, 398.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 355.

⁶⁴ No attempt has been made to reproduce all of the tenets of Whichcote. What he taught concerning the "Suitableness of the Principles of revealed Religion, and the Discoveries of the Gospel, to the lapsed and fallen Condition of Man," to use one of Wishart's phrases, has been omitted. A succinct statement of his doctrines may be found in *Select Sermons*, 1742, pp. v, vi. See also Rufus M. Jones, *Spiritual Reformers in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, London, 1914, pp. 288-304.

edit and to have published the sermons of Whichcote is the strongest evidence possible of a close bond of intellectual kinship between them. Shaftesbury's *Preface* attests this relationship. With Whichcote he is at odds with Hobbes, whom he accuses of having done "but very ill Service to the Moral World" and of having spread the poison of immoral and atheistical principles. His special quarrel with him was that he in "reckoning up the Passions or Affections, by which Men are held together in Society, live in Peace, or have any Correspondence one with another, forgot to mention Kindness, Friendship, Sociableness, Love of Company and Converse, Natural Affection, or anything of this kind. . . . So much less Good-nature has he left with Mankind, than he allows to the worst of beasts." Having referred to Whichcote's counter doctrine, he continues, in real affection, "Thus speaks our excellent Divine, and truly Christian Philosopher; whom, for his appearing thus in Defense of Natural Goodness, we may call *the Preacher of Good-nature*. This is what he insists on every-where; and, to make this evident, is, in a Manner, the Scope of all his Discourses."

Inasmuch as the *Characteristics* of Shaftesbury have been so frequently published as to be readily accessible, further resemblances need not be pointed out here. Suffice it to say that a critical comparison of the ideas of Shaftesbury's complete works with those of Whichcote's sermons will fail to reveal in the former few of importance that are not more than implied in the latter. A beneficent God, an harmonious universe, optimism, natural religion, man's natural goodness, moral sense, benevolence, the inevitable reward of virtue,—these and other characteristic subjects with Shaftesbury are definitely foreshadowed or openly supported by Whichcote. A meticulous comparison will reveal, also, striking similarities of manner, phrase, and figure.

One is not to conclude from this that Shaftesbury is indebted to Whichcote alone; quite the contrary. What is clear, however, is that at least by, and in all probability before 1698 (the year in which the *Sermons* were actually

published) Shaftesbury's thoughts were flowing in congenial and well defined channels. As time went on, the course deepened, the waters broadened, and the contributory streams doubtless multiplied, but the system remained essentially the same. This, obviously, is to be taken into serious account when Spinoza and Leibnitz are urged as the direct intellectual parents of Shaftesbury.⁶⁵

It is only fair to Shaftesbury, however, to insist that he, and not Whichcote, was responsible for the spread of certain sentimental and deistic doctrines that fastened themselves upon the thought of his century. Whereas the sermons of Whichcote appeared in print only twice, prefaces, separate essays, letters, and the collected works of Shaftesbury were printed and reprinted twenty-five times in English between 1698 and 1790. One edition of the *Characteristics* followed another, and each had a ready sale.⁶⁶ Attacks and counter attacks sprang up, and defenses were not wanting. The controversial furor which his works provoked marks one of the battles royal of the century. He was more than an imitator; he was a sincere and vigorous propagandist, whose writings, by reason of their manner and matter, became immediately popular and affected deeply the speculations of the time. The discipleship of a noble company of English thinkers is both immediate and unmistakable. That Pope, Thomson, Brooke, Cooper, Akenside, and their literary successors bear a close consanguinity to Shaftesbury has been shown elsewhere.⁶⁷ By the middle of the century his doctrines were indigenous to the English soil.

⁶⁵ It is quite probable that he did not become acquainted with the writings of Spinoza until 1698. Leibnitz's *Theodice* was not published until 1710.

⁶⁶ The dates of the English editions are: 1711, 1714, 1723, 1727, 1732, 1733, 1737, 1744, 1749, 1773, 1790. Editions also appeared in France and Germany.

⁶⁷ See *The Influence of the Writings of the Third Earl of Shaftesbury on the Literature of the Eighteenth Century*, by the present writer, in MS. in the library of the University of Wisconsin; *The Style of Shaftesbury*, also by the present writer, *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. XXXVIII; *Shaftesbury and the Ethical Poets* by C. A. Moore, *P. M. L. A.* XXXI, 264-325.

Beyond 1760, roundly speaking, the problem has been made much more complex by the advent of Rousseauism. Its brilliancy and its intensity were irresistible, and English morality and literature, without doubt, felt its pulse strongly. But it found the ground already fertilized for and much of it already sown with seeds like unto its own. How large the sentimental harvest would have been, or how delayed it would have been, had not the impetus been given by Rousseau, is problematical; but certain it is that there would have been a harvest, and no meager one at that.

By way of approach to this problem, one can only state here, without tracing them, the conclusions and practices to which the sentimental tenets of Shaftesbury led.⁶⁸

The acceptance of the theory of an intuitive sense of right and wrong, and a belief in the essential goodness of human nature, despite the struggles of the orthodox and the heroic efforts of certain moralists, did, without the least shadow of doubt, tend to lessen the austerity with which morality had been regarded. If man's instincts were to be trusted, the need for internal warfare and eternal resistance was greatly lessened, and action according to inclination became legalized.

This enfranchisement of the feelings was further accentuated by an insistence upon the exercise of the benevolent affections. While ameliorating the distress of others, the sentimentalist became conscious of the deliciousness of the feeling of compassion on the one hand, and of self-approbation on the other. Thus a flabby emotionalism came into being which considered the thrill to be the end rather than the accompaniment of virtuous action. The volume of tears shed and the robustness of the heart throb became the standards of happiness. In the next place this namby-pamby drift was augmented by a similar tendency in connection with the enjoyment of nature. While many continued their contemplation of her for purely moral ends, others sought her

⁶⁸ For a study of the spread and development of Shaftesbury's ideas, see the studies by Moore and by the present writer referred to in the note immediately preceding.

because of the flaccid sensuousness which her mysteries, her prospects, and her beauty excited. The return to nature was also based on a postulated age in the dim past when man's life was ideal.

The political effects of such hazardous doctrines were not long in coming to the surface. The exaltation of the swain and the savage above their educated leaders led to class hatreds and a desire for equality. The belief in a Golden Age in the past naturally aroused a desire for the recurrence of such an age in the unsatisfactory present. The political discontent that imperiled the government is an historical fact that needs only to be mentioned to be remembered. When, in 1770, Burke thundered out against *present discontents*, he was actually decrying a radicalism that had been born of sentimental idealism.

With these facts in mind, the reader can readily comprehend the statement that the Englishman of 1760-1770 was already familiar with "beautiful souls," a truce from moral struggle, a "return to nature," a primitive Golden Age, a hearty discontent with the present, man's natural goodness, the infallibility of the feelings, and all their kin, when the French example and influence came to encourage and to cheer. The seeds of radicalism were already sown broadcast in minds that had been under cultivation since the early part of the century; the ferment of discontent had already worked to a point where the mother was easily discernible. The foreign brew, therefore, came to supplement and to hasten rather than to create. In some cases, the new seeds, because of their virulence, took root and grew where formerly similar life had been choked out by the more vigorous plants of rationalism; in other cases, the French influence was simply the sunshine and the showers which hastened the maturity and fruition of a tropical growth of emotionalism, individualism, and radicalism.

It is to be understood that no attempt is being made to disparage the emphasis that has been placed upon the potency of Jacobinism. The debt which William Godwin, Mary

Wollstonecraft, Thomas Paine, Richard Price, and a score of others owe to the French Revolution is clearly in mind. What is being insisted upon, however, is that the citadel of English conservatism was not taken by storm or by surprise; its keepers had long since been reduced in number, and many of those who remained were far less vigilant than were their predecessors. A specious incrustation had covered its walls, while within disintegrating processes had been silently at work. Defoe, Swift, Butler, Fielding, Burke, and Dr. Johnson were sufficient to scotch but not to kill the serpents of sentimentalism and scepticism, sprung respectively from Shaftesbury and his opponent Mandeville.

When viewed with these facts in mind, sentimental education as advocated first by Brooke in *The Fool of Quality*, William Blake's desire for the marriage of Heaven and Hell, the "return to Nature" movement, typified by Burns and Cowper, the calculated overflow of powerful emotions that appears not always to have been absent from the mind of Wordsworth when he wrote the *Lyrical Ballads*, the revolutionary tendencies in Shelley, the pantisocratic scheme of Coleridge and Southey, and the sentimentality which culminated in Byron, are all seen to be the possible offspring of English progenitors. Certainly Collins's world of *Pity*, *Mercy*, and *Liberty* is peopled with sentimental ideals. If Phelps is right in making a fondness for "ivy-mantled towers and moonlit water" and "a passion for the unnatural and the horrible" spring from the same state of mind,⁶⁹ and if Neilson is correct in making sentimentalism and sensationalism in art "parallel tendencies,"⁷⁰ what is to be said of the Gothic novels characterized by ghosts, enchanted swords, dark passages, secret apartments, uninhabited galleries, haunting spirits, howling winds, and similar phenomena equally emotional? Beers makes the sentimentalism of Mrs. Radcliffe akin to that of Richardson, Rousseau, Sterne, and Mackenzie, and remarks, among other

⁶⁹ *English Romantic Movement*, pp. 4-5.

⁷⁰ *Essentials of Poetry*, p. 240.

things, that "Emily, in the "Mysteries of Udolpho" cannot see the moon or hear a guitar or an organ or the murmur of the pines, without weeping. Every page is bedewed with the tear of sensibility. . . Mrs. Radcliffe's characters are all descendants of Pamela and Clarissa Harlowe, but under more romantic circumstances."⁷¹ Walpole made the union of the chivalric and the Richardsonian romance the purpose of his *Castle of Otranto*,⁷² and certainly the trials of his characters and the characters themselves are eminently sentimental. Again, it would be interesting to speculate with regard to the color which Wesley and his followers may have reflected from the emotionalism of the time. Wesley was more like Shaftesbury than like Law in his ideas of benevolence and reform. When he grants that the "traditional evidence of Christianity might be destroyed without injuring the faith," that "the ultimate and incontrovertible evidence is the evidence of the believer's heart," and that Christianity is not founded upon argument, but upon sentiment interpreted as God's voice speaking to the soul,⁷³ he sounds dangerously like that which it would have pained him to have consciously imitated.

Much that appears in the nineteenth century might, similarly, be traced with reasonable certainty to Shaftesbury. Robertson remarks that "it may well have been by lineal literary descent from him that Browning drew his creed; for we find it accepted, apparently from the *Characteristics*, by Priestley, who passed it on to the Unitarian Cogan and to W. J. Fox, from whose preaching in South Palace Chapel Browning would seem to have partly derived it."⁷⁴ A

⁷¹ *A History of English Romanticism in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 252.

⁷² *Preface* to Second Edition.

⁷³ Quoted from Stephen's summary in *English Thought in the Eighteenth Century*, II, 415.

⁷⁴ *Characteristics*, p. xxxvi, where he cites *Essay on the First Principles of Government*, 2nd ed. 1771, pp. 257-261 and Dr. Conway's *Centenary of the South Place Society*, 1894, pp. 80, 89 as sources of information.

similar patrimony may have come to Tennyson through Frederick Denison Maurice and his precursors.⁷⁵

Two other subjects in which Shaftesbury influenced the speculation and literature of the time deserve a much more extended consideration than can be given to them in this study. Leslie Stephen remarks that "a hatred for enthusiasm was as strongly impressed upon the whole character of contemporary thought as a hatred for scepticism."⁷⁶ The connection of Shaftesbury with this subject will be made clear by a review of the titles of his earlier treatises and of those written in defense of and in opposition to him.⁷⁷ A related controversy was that which sprang from Shaftesbury's proposed panacea of ridicule and good humor, raillery and wit. In this much ink was spilled. Warburton, naturally, objected to it, if for no other reason than that it was fostered by the Third Earl,⁷⁸ and Fielding gave it extended notice in his preface to *Joseph Andrews*, where, in discussing burlesque, the Ridiculous, Caricatura, and the like, he says: "And I apprehend my Lord Shaftesbury's opinion of mere burlesque agrees with mine when he asserts, There is no such thing to be found in the writings of the ancients."

So much has been said of the deleterious effects of Shaftesbury's writings that their uplifting tendency is likely to be forgotten. Smollett attributed the downfall of Miss Williams largely to the ways of free-thinking that had been engendered in her by the reading of three authors,—and one of these was Shaftesbury.⁷⁹ This was by no means an unusual charge; but whatever may have been the noxious results of his doctrines, certainly his intentions were venial and many of his effects have been salutary.

⁷⁵ This interesting suggestion was made to the author by Professor Arthur Beatty of the University of Wisconsin.

⁷⁶ *English Thought in the Eighteenth Century*, II, 370.

⁷⁷ See also the essay on *Enthusiasm* by J. E. V. Croftes in *An Oxford Miscellany*, Clarendon Press, 1909, pp. 127-151.

⁷⁸ See *Works*, London, 1811, I, 150.

⁷⁹ *Roderick Random*, Ch. XXII.

To have played an important rôle in the liberation of English ethical speculation, to have accentuated that purer humanitarianism which freed slaves and renovated foul prisons, to have contributed powerfully to the widening of theological speculations, to have liberated a century from the discouraging cynicism of Hobbes and of Mandeville, to have stimulated a study of nature not unlike the pure worship of Wordsworth, and to have charmed a whole train of illustrious readers and imitators,—to have done all of these things is to have accomplished what few men can hope for.

We must judge the sheer force of any man not more by the direction from which he has brought us or by the place to which he has brought us, than by the distance which he has brought us and by the number of ambushes that he has encountered along the way. Whether Shaftesbury led us from light to darkness or from darkness to light—and he did both—may, in connection with certain specific points, be a matter of opinion; but that he was a bold originator and an intrepid leader who stamped his ideas upon the thought and literature of his century can never be gainsaid.

WILLIAM E. ALDERMAN

VIII. THE BIOGRAPHICAL ELEMENT IN THE NOVELS OF MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT SHELLEY

Readers of Shelley's poetry must regret the lack of a biography of the poet by his gifted second wife, Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley. More keenly than any other of those among whom his life was lived, she apprehended the presence of the "divine fire" in his work. For it she endured public ignominy, poverty, exile, and more—the occasional wavering of his affections toward her—with unexampled patience. For it she set aside her own literary aspirations, themselves neither slight nor groundless, until that blow which stilled forever the voice of her beloved numbed also her genius and left her desolate. Afterwards, when that which the sea gave up had vanished in mist or been resolved to dust on the sands of Spezzia, and when that dust had been laid away near the pyramid of Caius Cestius at Rome,¹ there remained the memory of him to be cherished, and his fame to be kept pure to succeeding ages.

" 'Thus to honour him,' " she writes in one of the novels of which this essay is a study, " 'is the sacred duty of his survivors. To make his name even as an holy spot of ground, enclosing it from all hostile attacks by our praise, shedding on it the blossoms of love and regret, guarding it from decay, and bequeathing it untainted to posterity. Such is the duty of his friends.' " ² How Mary Shelley discharged that trust in her painstaking editorship of the *Posthumous Poems* of 1824, the *Poetical Works* of 1839, and the *Essays, Letters from Abroad, and Fragments* of 1840 all students of Shelley know. To the invaluable prefaces and notes from her own hand in these publications, Shelley biographers and critics must turn if they would understand Shelley himself, and the circumstances out of which his works arose. In the mention of these facts is nothing new.

¹ The cemetery is described. *The Last Man*. ii. 93-95.

² *Ibid.*, ii. 85-86.

But it is perhaps not altogether common knowledge that on five occasions Mary Shelley drew full-length portraits in prose of her husband, and his intimate friends, in sketches but little regarded by the later biographers of these persons; and that these not only serve to verify known data but afford new information of real value concerning Shelley and his circle.

Professor Dowden has summarized the plot of *Lodore*, the last of these, and indicated the bearing of the novel on the lives of Mary herself, Harriet Shelley, Lord Byron, Emilia Viviani, and others into whose orbits the Shelleyan meteor swung and flamed for its brief hour.³ But as much has never been done for Mary's earlier novels: *Valperga, or the Life and Adventures of Castruccio, Prince of Lucca* (3 vols., 1823); *The Last Man* (3 vols., 1826); and *The Fortunes of Perkin Warbeck* (3 vols., 1830); all published earlier than *Lodore*, and while the memory of Shelley was more vivid in her recollection. Nor has the wealth of biographical material hidden away in Mary's last novel, *Falkner* (3 vols. 1837) been utilized. This neglect is the more remarkable, as casual references to it are made by several Shelley scholars.⁴ Mary herself confessed her intention in writing *The Last Man* as follows:

I have endeavoured, but how inadequately, to give some idea of him (Shelley) in my last published book—the sketch has pleased some of those who best loved him—I might have made more of it but there are feelings which one recoils from unveiling to the public eye—⁵

Of the four novels thus strangely neglected, *Valperga* deals chiefly with the life of the Shelleys in Italy; *The Last Man*, with their life in England; *Falkner*, about equally with their

³ *Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley* (1886). i. 436-8.

⁴ W. M. Rossetti, art. on Mary Shelley in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*; Richard Garnett, Introduction to *Tales and Stories by Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley* (1891); H. Buxton Forman, Introduction to Shelley Society facsimile of Shelley's MS. of *The Mask of Anarchy* (1887) pg. 43.

⁵ Letter to Sir John Bowring, Feb. 25, 1826, published in *Appendix to Shelley Society facsimile of Shelley's MS. of The Mask of Anarchy*.

life in England and in Italy, and also with Mary's later life in England after 1823; *The Fortunes of Perkin Warbeck*, with Scotland (visited by Mary in 1812) and their Italian experiences. In these tales we meet Shelley under five disguises;⁶ Mary⁷ and Claire Clairmont⁸ each behind three masks; and on at least one side of the biographical square, these: Lord Byron,⁹ Emilia Viviani,¹⁰ Harriet Shelley,¹¹ William Godwin,¹² Edward Trelawny,¹³ Fanny Godwin,¹⁴ and the Shelley children (Clara,¹⁵ William,¹⁶ and Percy Florence¹⁷). Often Mary changes the sex of the prototype, and even attaches to one character certain traits or acts of another character already personated in the story. The changes were managed so cleverly that for a century these mines of biography have attracted no prospectors.

To understand Mary's purposes in thus concealing the trail we need to recall that, being, through most of her widowhood, a dependent of Sir Timothy Shelley, she was obliged to yield to his insistent condition that she must not bring the name of his outcast son before the public in any way. So stern was Sir Timothy in pressing this demand that in

⁶ As Adrian, Earl of Windsor, in *The Last Man*; as Euthanasia in *Valperga*; as Richard, Duke of York, in *The Fortunes of Perkin Warbeck*; as Gerard Neville and John Falkner in *Falkner*.

⁷ As Lionel in *The Last Man*; as Monina (and occasionally also as Katherine) in the *Fortunes of Perkin Warbeck*; and as Mrs. Raby and Elizabeth Raby in *Falkner*.

⁸ As Perdita in *The Last Man*; in the early stages of Castruccio's infatuation, as Beatrice in *Valperga*; and as Miss Jervis in *Falkner*.

⁹ As Lord Raymond in *The Last Man*.

¹⁰ As Beatrice in *Valperga* (vols. ii and iii.).

¹¹ As Evadne in *The Last Man*. i. 59-60, 73-80, 82, 84-5.

¹² As the Countess of Windsor in *The Last Man*.

¹³ As the mariner Hernan de Faro in *The Fortunes of Perkin Warbeck*.

¹⁴ Her suicide is glanced at, *The Last Man*. i. 280-2.

¹⁵ As the second child of Lionel and Idris, *The Last Man*. ii. 134-135.

¹⁶ As the "dying brother" of Euthanasia, *Valperga* i. 205-6.

¹⁷ As Alfred in *The Last Man*. i. 135; perhaps also as Edward in *The Fortunes of Perkin Warbeck*. i. 78-80, 91-92; in the second chapter of vol. i. as Elizabeth Raby in *Falkner*.

August, 1824, that part of the edition of the *Posthumous Poems* then remaining unsold (190 copies) was suppressed,¹⁸ and Mary was informed that she might retain her allowance of £100 *per annum* only if she should engage "not to bring—Shelley's name before the public again during Sir Timothy's life."¹⁹ Two years later, the publication of *The Last Man* was succeeded by Sir Timothy's fulfilment of his threat, and Mary suffered the loss of her allowance for a season.²⁰ It is not difficult to comprehend her reasons for enveloping her contributions to Shelley biography in a cloud of mystery.

The first two chapters of *Falkner* cover a wide range of time, and many incidents in the lives of diverse persons. They are reminiscent of Mary Wollstonecraft, her death (dated August 10th in the novel, it actually occurred September 10th, 1797), the orphan childhood of Mary Godwin, her treatment by the second Mrs. Godwin ("Mrs. Baker" in the novel) as an object of charity, her loneliness, her flights from the Godwin home to the spiritual companionship she found at her mother's grave in Old St. Pancras churchyard, her gratitude to Shelley for rescuing her from a situation of unhappiness and dependence, their early married life in London (1814–15) in "dingy lodgings, near the courts of law," her grief at Shelley's death, her letter sent afterward to Whitton, the Shelley family attorney, and his reply stating the proposal of Sir Timothy Shelley to educate Percy Florence Shelley if she would "abstain from all intercourse" with the boy, and, last, her proud refusal of such aid on such terms.

Of Shelley's personal appearance, Mary, in the same story, gives us the following record:

He was wondrously handsome; large, deep-set hazel eyes, shaded by long dark lashes—full at once of fire and softness; a brow of extreme beauty, over which clustered a profusion of chestnut-coloured hair; an oval face; a

¹⁸ Ingpen, *Shelley in England* (1917) pg. 583.

¹⁹ Letter of Mary Shelley to Leigh Hunt, August 22, 1824. *Life and Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley* (1889) ii. 121.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, ii. 150.

person, light and graceful as a sculptured image—all—formed a study a painter would have selected for a kind of ideal poetic sort of bandit strippling.²¹

The high-strung, sensitive boy who labored under the delusion that he was being persecuted by the malign and selfish forces of an evil world is further portrayed in this passage:

In person, he was a model of beauty and grace—his mind seemed formed with equal perfection; a quick apprehension, a sensibility, all alive to every touch; but these were nursed in anguish and wrong, and strained from their true conclusions into resentment, suspicion, and a fierce disdain of all who injured, which seemed to his morbid feelings all who named or approached him. . . . There was something heart-breaking to see a youth, nobly gifted by nature and fortune, delivered over to a sullen resentment . . . to dejection, if not to despair. An uninterested observer must deeply compassionate him; Elizabeth had done so, child as she was—with a pity almost painful from its excess.²²

Yet, of the spell born of his personality, and the breadth and depth of his reading, Mary says:

. . . His sensibility and courtesy fascinated every one. His vivacity, intelligence, and active spirit of benevolence, completed the conquest. Even at this early age, he was deep-read and imbued with the spirit of high philosophy. This spirit gave a tone of irresistible persuasion to his intercourse with others, so that he seemed like an inspired musician, who struck, with unerring skill, the 'lyre of mind' and produced thence divine harmony. In person, he hardly appeared of this world; his slight frame was overinformed by the soul that dwelt within; he was all mind; 'Man but a rush against' his breast. . . . He talked of general subjects, and gave me ideas I had never before conceived. We sat in his library, and he spoke of the old Greek sages, and of the power which they had acquired over the minds of men, through the force of love and wisdom only. The room was decorated with the busts of many of them, and he described their characters to me. As he spoke, I felt subject to him; and all my boasted pride and strength were subdued by the honeyed accents of this blue-eyed boy.²³

From a letter²⁴ of Harriet Shelley to Catherine Nugent we know that one rendezvous of the unlawful love that sprang up

²¹ *Falkner*, i. 133. Shelley's eyes were not deep-set but inclined to be protuberant.

²² *Ibid.*, i. 136-7, 145.

²³ *The Last Man*. i. 41-43.

²⁴ *Letters of Harriet Shelley to Catherine Nugent* (1889), pg. 58. In this letter she emphasizes the effect which Mary's weeping had upon Shelley.

between her husband and Mary Godwin was in Old St. Pancras' burial ground, at the tomb of Mary Wollstonecraft. Those who have made a pilgrimage to the old cemetery (now a part of a public recreation ground) in London will have no difficulty in identifying the scene, or the lonely little girl of the following description:

A little girl, unnoticed and alone, was wont, each evening, to trip over the sands—to scale, with light steps, the cliff, which was of no gigantic height, and then, unlatching the low, white gate of the church yard, to repair to one corner, where the boughs of the near trees shadowed over two graves. This tomb was inscribed to the memory of Edwin Raby, but the neighboring and less honoured grave claimed more of the child's attention—for her mother lay beneath the unrecorded turf.

Beside this grassy hillock she would sit and talk to herself, and play, till, warned home by the twilight, she knelt and said her little prayer, and, with a "Good night, Mamma," took leave of a spot with which was associated the being whose caresses and love she called to mind, hoping that one day she might again enjoy them.²⁶

When Mary had attained to young womanhood it was in the same scene that romance began for her. In *The Fortunes of Perkin Warbeck* we read:

Elizabeth sat on a low tomb, Richard knelt before her; one kiss she imprinted on his young brow, while endeavouring to still the beating of her heart, and to command the trembling of her voice. She was silent for a few moments. Richard looked up to her with mingled love and awe; wisdom seemed to beam from her eyes, and the agitation that quivered on her lips gave solemnity to the tone with which she addressed her young auditor.²⁶

Looking forward to the time when they may meet "not as now, like skulking guilt, but in the open sight of day," Elizabeth

. . . pressed him passionately to her heart, covering him with her kisses, while the poor boy besought her not to weep; yet, infected by her sorrow, tears streamed from his eyes, and his heart swelled with insupportable emotion.²⁷

In the following passage we face the problem created by the author's trick of disguising identity by crossing the strains

²⁶ *Falkner*. i. 6-7.

²⁶ *The Fortunes of Perkin Warbeck*, i. 104.

²⁷ *Ibid.* i. 106.

of two characters of the Shelley circle so that we can not be absolutely certain at every moment of the real personality that lurks behind the mask. Mr. H. Buxton Forman has stated his belief that in the unhappiness exhibited by Perdita over the secret visits of Lord Raymond to the "beautiful Greek," Evadne, Mary Shelley had in fact given a most valuable revelation of her real attitude toward Shelley's philosophy of divided love, addressed in the *Epipsychidion* to the fair Italian, Emilia Viviani.²⁸ In other situations in the novel, Evadne appears to be the prototype of Harriet Shelley, whom Shelley deserted in 1814 for Mary Godwin. Lionel's (i. e., Mary's) view of Evadne as a mate for Adrian (Shelley) is no more complimentary than are many passages relating to Harriet in Mary's journal. Of Evadne's letters, Lionel reports:

I did not accuse Evadne of hypocrisy or a wish to deceive her lover; but the first letter that I saw of hers convinced me that she did not love him; it was written with elegance, and—with great command of language. The hand-writing itself was exquisitely beautiful; there was something in her very paper and its folds, which even I, who did not love, and was withal unskilled in such matters, could discern as being tasteful. There was much kindness, gratitude, and sweetness in her expression, but no love. Evadne was two years older than Adrian, and who, at eighteen, ever loved one so much their junior? I compared her placid epistles with the burning ones of Adrian. His soul seemed to distil itself into the words he wrote; and they breathed on the paper, bearing with them a portion of the life of love, which was his life. The very writing used to exhaust him; and he would weep over them; merely from the excess of emotion they awakened in his heart.²⁹

Evadne becomes the repository of Adrian's lofty aspirations:

He entrusted to her keeping the treasures of his soul, his aspirations after excellence, and his plans for the improvement of mankind. As manhood dawned upon him, his schemes and theories, far from being changed by personal and prudential motives, acquired new strength from the powers he felt arise within him; and his love for Evadne became deep-rooted, as he

²⁸ Introduction to Shelley Society facsimile of Shelley's MS. of *The Mask of Anarchy* (1887) p. 43.

²⁹ *The Last Man*. i. 59-60.

each day became more certain that the path he pursued was full of difficulty, and that he must seek his reward, not in the applause or gratitude of his fellow creatures, hardly in the success of his plans, but in the approbation of his own heart, and in her love and sympathy which was to lighten every toil and recompence every sacrifice.³⁰

The heart of Evadne does not throb in sympathy with these schemes of the philanthropist.

Evadne entered but coldly into his systems. She thought he did well to assert his own will, but she wished that will to have been more intelligible to the multitude. She had none of the spirit of a martyr, and did not incline to share the shame and defeat of a fallen patriot.³¹

Evadne (as Godwin charged, but never proved, that Harriet Shelley had done) now falls in love with another—Lord Raymond; and her attitude toward Adrian changes.

She grew capricious; her gentle conduct toward him was exchanged for asperity and repulsive coldness.³²

Adrian is deeply moved, and we learn that

these fluctuations shook to its depths the soul of the sensitive youth; he no longer deemed the world subject to him, because he possessed Evadne's love; he felt in every nerve that the dire storms of the mental universe were about to attack his fragile being, which quivered at the expectation of its advent.³³

The comfort which Perdita gives to Adrian in this crisis³⁴ is certainly reminiscent of that which Mary extended to Shelley when in 1813-14 he felt (whether justifiably or not) that Harriet was growing cold toward him.

Godwin, on the strength of certain entries in his diary during July 1814, is thought to have opposed Shelley's

³⁰ *The Last Man*, i. 79-80.

³¹ This may be one of Mary's own views, arbitrarily attached to Harriet. It is known that both Godwin and Mary rejoiced that in *The Cenci* Shelley had produced a work less unearthly than most of his productions. Cf. Mary's note on *The Witch of Atlas*, in *Poetical Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, (1839) iv. 51-3, and Kegan Paul, *William Godwin: His Friends and Contemporaries* (1876) ii. 272.

³² *The Last Man*, i. 82.

³³ *Ibid.* i. 84.

³⁴ *Ibid.* i. 84-5. Cf. Peacock's description of Shelley in 1814. *Works of Thomas Love Peacock* (1875) iii. 417.

romance with Mary.³⁵ This probably furnished Mary with the episode in *The Last Man* in which "the Countess of Windsor"

. . . suspecting our meetings, taxed her children with them; taxed her fair daughter with deceit, and an unbecoming attachment.³⁶

The Countess endeavored to put a temporary ban on the intercourse of the lovers, requesting Idris not to "see this upstart during the interval of one month." When Idris, declining to promise this, flies to the defence of her beloved, the Countess still requires a pledge that she will not marry him within the same period. This Idris promises; but events drive her at last to break her promise, and there is an escape by coach at night to London not unlike that which took place on July 28, 1814 *from* that city.³⁷ Immediately after the elopement the Countess, enraged at the fugitives, "positively declined any communication with them."³⁸ This Godwin also did, after the efforts of Mrs. Godwin to bring Claire Clairmont back to London from Calais, had failed. Mary, of course, would not and did not introduce into the story Godwin's back-stairs communications with Shelley, 1814-16, whenever he needed funds which the long-suffering Shelley could supply.

The route of Shelley and Mary to the Continent was *via* Dover and Calais. At Dover they looked for the first time upon those "cliffs which—beetle so fearfully over the tremendous deep;"³⁹ and there securing a small ship, they embarked for France. From Shelley's journal entry for July 28 we learn that in a rough passage of the Channel "Mary did not know our danger; she was resting between my knees—

³⁵ Kegan Paul, *William Godwin, His Friends and Contemporaries* (1876) ii. 215.

³⁶ *The Last Man*, i. 168.

³⁷ *Ibid.* i. 178 seq. and cf. *Falkner*, ii. 38-40 for a description fitting Mary's flight from the Godwin establishment on that momentous morning of 1814.

³⁸ *The Last Man*, i. 184.

³⁹ *The Fortunes of Perkin Warbeck*, ii. 160.

she did not speak or look, but I felt that she was there."⁴⁰ So in the *Fortunes of Perkin Warbeck* the Duke of York and Katherine set sail from Scotland:

In Richard's eyes, the kingdom of his inheritance dwindled into a mere speck; the land of her nativity became but a name to Katherine. It sufficed for their full hearts that they were together on the dark wide sea; the bright sky above, and calm upon the bosom of the deep. They could ill discern each other in the shadowy twilight; a dream-like veil was cast over their features, as sleep curtains out the soul, so that we look on the beloved slumberer, and say "He is there, though the mystery of repose wraps me from him; so now darkness blinded and divided them; but hand clasped hand; he felt that one existed who was his own, his faithful; and she rejoiced in the accomplishment of the master-sentiment of her soul, the desire of self-devotion, self-annihilation, for one who loved her."⁴¹

Of their observation of war-devastated France I find but one echo in the novels. In *The Fortunes of Perkin Warbeck* we are told that

War, held in leash . . . was now let loose; swift and barbarous he tore forward on his way; a thousand destructions waited on him; his track was marked by ruin. . . The English marched on; they dared not eye the ravagers; shame and hate contended . . . They entered the ruins of another village; the desolation here was even more complete, although more recent; the flame was hardly spent upon the blackened rafters; the piles which the day before had been smiling dwellings, still smoked; a few domestic animals were skulking about.⁴²

When Shelley and Mary found their funds running low after a short stay in Switzerland, in the autumn of 1814, they hastened back to England, travelling to the Atlantic in a light canoe, by way of the Reuss and the Rhine. So, in *Falkner*, we learn that Falkner and Elizabeth "proceeded down the Rhine to Rotterdam, and crossing the sea, returned at last to England."⁴³

⁴⁰ Dowden, *Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, i. 442. Cf. also *Laon and Cythna*, VI. xxiv. 1-3; and *Falkner*, i. 154.

⁴¹ *The Fortunes of Perkin Warbeck*, iii. 23.

⁴² *Ibid.*, ii. 300, 302. But Mayence, which they saw on this trip, is mentioned in *Falkner*, i. 141.

⁴³ *Falkner*, i. 234.

From August 1815 to May 1816 the Shelleys were at Bishopgate Heath, near Windsor, and many scenes⁴⁴ in *The Last Man* undoubtedly owe their origin to Mary's stay in that region with Shelley. In this novel Adrian, says Lionel, "——often left us, and wandered by himself in the woods, or sailed in his little skiff, his books his only companions."⁴⁵

The escape of Falkner from the tyranny of a hated school (probably Eton) to a cottage in the country (Bishopgate Heath) near the town (Windsor) in which that school was located is thus described:

We quitted the town in which the school was situated, and the dreary dusty roads I was accustomed to perambulate under the superintendence of the ushers. We entered shady lanes and umbrageous groves; we perceived extensive prospects, and saw the winding of romantic streams; a curtain seemed drawn from before the scenes of nature; and my spirits rose as I gazed on new objects, and saw earth spread wide and free around. . . . The skylarks winged up to heaven, and the swallows skimmed the green earth; I felt happy because nature was gay, and all things free and at peace. We turned from a lane redolent with honeysuckle into a little wood, whose short, thick turf was interspersed with moss, and starred with flowers. Just as we emerged, I saw a little railing, a rustic green gate, and a cottage; [an] embowered cot, near which a clear stream murmured—which was clustered over by a thousand odoriferous parasites—which stood in the seclusion of a beech wood.⁴⁶

The scenery of Windsor, and the remembrance of her happiness there with Shelley, haunted Mary long after she had left it. In *The Last Man* and in *Falkner* she describes a return to the scene of her former joys in which there is much deep sadness,⁴⁷ and Dr. Garnett has pointed out that in her short-story, *The Mourner*, there are further "vestiges of her residence near Windsor when *Alastor* was written."⁴⁸ These evidences may be compared with Mary's confession,

⁴⁴ *The Last Man*, i. 74-6, 165-6, 188-9, 191-2; ii. 240-1; iii. 24-34.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* i. 189. Cf. *Poetical Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley* (1839) i. 376.

⁴⁶ *Falkner*. ii. 175-6, 180-1.

⁴⁷ *The Last Man*, ii. 203-5; *Falkner*, ii. 180, 223-4.

⁴⁸ Introduction to *Tales and Stories by Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley*. p. xii.

in a letter to John Howard Payne, from Kentish Town, September 27, 1825:

I have also been for ten days to Windsor, where I rambled to my old haunts—Windsor, Eton, &c., is the only spot of English ground for which I have an affection.⁴⁹

The Shelleys were again on the Continent in May 1816, and their journey across the Channel finds its way into *The Last Man*.⁵⁰ In Switzerland, they met Lord Byron; and the reactions of the two poets to each other are thus described:

Adrian and Raymond now came into contact; and a spirit of aversion arose between them. Adrian despised the narrow views of the politician, and Raymond held in supreme contempt the benevolent visions of the philanthropist.⁵¹

What it was in the character and outlook of each which precipitated this reaction may be better understood from Mary's analysis of their natures. Adrian, like Lord Raymond, presents a figure of contradictions. He has been born with great possessions⁵² yet he will not use them for selfish ends.⁵³ He is born a student⁵⁴ and a lover of solitude;⁵⁵ an unearthly spirit,⁵⁶ innocent,⁵⁷ simple in manners,⁵⁸ incapable of guile,⁵⁹ or of plot or intrigue.⁶⁰ He is no mis-

⁴⁹ *The Romance of Mary W. Shelley, John Howard Payne and Washington Irving*. 1907. pg. 91.

⁵⁰ *The Last Man*, ii. 145. French towns along their itinerary are mentioned in chapter vii, and there are some very fine descriptions of the scenery of Switzerland in chapter viii which I dislike to omit but feel myself obliged to do so to avoid extending this paper to an unreasonable length.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* i. 83.

⁵² *The Last Man*. i. 196.

⁵³ *Ibid.* ii. 191.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* ii. 182.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* iii. 205; and cf. *Ibid.* i. 80.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* i. 53.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* i. 53.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* ii. 191.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* i. 173.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* ii. 180.

anthrope, but a lover of men,⁶¹ devoting himself with all the warmth of his abundant ardour⁶² and enthusiasm⁶³ to any enterprise having as its end the good of all.⁶⁴ To the attainment of this end he brings more than mere spirit; he contributes a wise philanthropy that distinguishes between those in real need and those who are professional dependents, and furnishes the particular aid most demanded in the individual case.⁶⁵ His charity extends even beyond this. He is not above rendering personal aid to the distressed; and the account given by Mary of his kindness to the distracted woman on Holborn Hill⁶⁶ inevitably suggests Shelley's care of the unfortunate woman on Hampstead Heath.⁶⁷

The early age⁶⁸ at which he had become convinced that his mission in life was one of philanthropy and reform meant, in that aristocratical home whose foundations were laid in the established order, an open rupture with the views of his parents,⁶⁹ which he, convinced of the righteousness of his intentions, but lightly regarded. Yet, by thus anticipating the day of his inheritance, which would have provided him with abundant means serviceable to his dreams of reform, he delayed the season of their realization.⁷⁰

Notwithstanding his enthusiasm for humanity, and his eager pursuit of ideal love (incarnate in each new and lovely face)⁷¹ no impulse could continually buoy his spirit above despair, and he suffered recurring fits of melancholy.⁷²

⁶¹ *The Last Man*, i. 196.

⁶² *Ibid.* i. 81; and cf. *Ibid.* iii. 24, 189.

⁶³ *Ibid.* ii. 182.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* ii. 191; and cf. *Ibid.* iii. 150.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* ii. 189-90; and cf. Leigh Hunt, *Lord Byron and Some of His Contemporaries* (1828), 186-7.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* ii. 252-4.

⁶⁷ Leigh Hunt, *Lord Byron*, &c. 187.

⁶⁸ *The Last Man*, i. 79-80.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* i. 81.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* i. 80.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* i. 159.

⁷² *Ibid.* i. 189-90.

Poor health,⁷³ "the world's dull scorn"⁷⁴ towards his plans of reform, and his failure" to find the half of himself, which was to complete his happiness"⁷⁵ turned his thoughts upon the end of life, and he meditated upon death, the grave, and the Hereafter. Still, "though he talked of death as an event most familiar to his thoughts, he did not cease to exert himself to render others happy, or to cultivate his own astonishing powers of mind."⁷⁶

Lord Raymond, on the other hand, regarding his own comforts rather than those of others, was emphatically a man of the world. Cynical,⁷⁷ brilliant,⁷⁸ he pushes his way through the press of humanity, and is by turns kindly and harsh,⁷⁹ benevolent and selfish. Women in especial he fascinates,⁸⁰ and is alternately their slave and their tyrant, but consistently "in every change a despot."⁸¹ Craving power and influence,⁸² he forges to his goal, his "readiness of talent, a capacity of entering into, and leading the dispositions of men" and an "earnest desire of distinction" being "the awakeners and nurses of his ambition."⁸³

"But other ingredients mingled with these, and prevented him from becoming the calculating, determined character, which alone forms a successful hero."⁸⁴ That persistency in attaining his ends which was one of his chief attributes was not always in the leash of a worthy purpose; but "he was remorseless and unyielding in the pursuit of any object of desire, however lawless. Love of pleasure, and the softer

⁷³ *The Last Man*, i. 222.

⁷⁴ Shelley, *Magnetic Lady to Her Patient*. iii. 5.

⁷⁵ *The Last Man*, i. 189.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* ii. 118.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* i. 91.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* i. 89.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* i. 318.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* i. 72-3.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* i. 89.

⁸² *Ibid.* i. 70.

⁸³ *Ibid.* i. 317-318.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* i. 318.

sensibilities of our nature, made a prominent part of his character, conquering the conqueror; holding him in at the moment of acquisition; sweeping away ambition's web; making him forget the toil of weeks, for the sake of one moment's indulgence of the new and actual object of his wishes."⁸⁵ Though acknowledging the delights of dreamers, and even wishing himself one, he resigns himself to a less noble life,⁸⁶ holds Adrian's philanthropic visions in contempt, disparaging the enthusiasms of the reformer⁸⁷ and with "his powerful and versatile talents," "his eloquence, which was graceful and witty, and his wealth now immense," was altogether "feared, loved, and hated beyond any other man in England."⁸⁸

The two poets are not, however, the sole characters of the story whose originals were members of the Shelley circle. Linking these craftsmen of song, so diverse in their interests and aims, is Perdita, who in most situations of the story is Claire Clairmont in disguise. The love of Perdita (Claire Clairmont) for Lord Raymond (Lord Byron) is next described:

No office, no devotion, no watching was irksome to her, as it regarded him. She would sit apart from us and watch him; she would weep for joy to think that he was hers. She erected a temple for him in the depth of her being, and each faculty was a priestess vowed to his service. Sometimes she might be wayward and capricious; but her repentance was bitter, her return entire, and even this inequality of temper suited him who was not formed by nature to float idly down the stream of life.⁸⁹

A child, Clara (representative of Allegra, daughter of Claire Clairmont and Lord Byron) is born to the pair.

It was curious to trace in this miniature model the very traits of her father. The same half-disdainful lips and smile of triumph, the same intelligent eyes, taper fingers resembled his. How very dear she was to Perdita!⁹⁰

⁸⁵ *The Last Man*, i. 318.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* i. 91.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* i. 90.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* i. 92.

⁸⁹ *The Last Man* i. 190-1.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* i. 191 and cf. ii. 135.

But a cloud hangs over their union, and Perdita senses it.

She tried to rouse herself, but her eyes every now and then filled with tears, and she looked wistfully on Raymond and her girl, as if fearful that some evil would betide them.⁸¹

The nomination of Lord Raymond to the Protectorate is greeted by Perdita with misgivings, lest his political success may mean an end of their domestic happiness.⁸² Lionel intervenes to reproach Lord Raymond for his treatment of Perdita. "Poor girl!" he exclaims, "what she then suffered! I could never entirely forgive Raymond for the trials he imposed on her, occasioned as they were by a selfish feeling on his part."⁸³ The fears of Perdita are confirmed: "Raymond did not join her in any of her avocations. He transacted the business of the day apart from her; he went out, she knew not whither. The pain inflicted by this disappointment was tormenting and keen."⁸⁴ Finally, we are told concerning Perdita's nature that

She possessed . . . a capacity of happiness. Her delicate organization and creative imagination rendered her peculiarly susceptible of pleasurable emotion. . . . The same peculiarities of character rendered her sorrows agonies; her fancy magnified them, her sensibility made her for ever open to their renewed impression; love envenomed the heart-piercing sting.⁸⁵

Returning to England in September, 1816, the Shelleys took a house in Buckinghamshire, and busied themselves with dispensing charity to the needy villagers of Great Marlow.⁸⁶ Of these charities Mary's record reads:

I found Adrian's ante-chamber crowded—it was his hour for giving audience. I was unwilling to disturb his labours, and waited, watching the ingress and egress of the petitioners. They consisted of people of the middling and lower classes of society, whose means of subsistence failed with the

⁸¹ *The Last Man*, i. 193; and cf. i. 204.

⁸² *Ibid.* i. 202, 204, 207-8.

⁸³ *Ibid.* i. 209-10.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* i. 274.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* i. 275-6. This seems to be truer of Mary than Claire.

⁸⁶ Cf. Dowden, *Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley* ii. 108, 120-3, and *Falkner* ii. 22.

cessation of trade, and of the busy spirit of money-making in all its branches, peculiar to our country. There was an air of anxiety, sometimes of terror in the newcomers, strongly contrasted with the resigned and even satisfied mien of those who had had audience. I could read the influence of my friend in their quickened motions and cheerful faces.⁹⁷

Elsewhere in the same narrative we learn how "old Martha" (who may have been Mrs. Madocks,⁹⁸ but was probably Mary herself)

. . . entered the cottages of the sick; . . . relieved their wants with her own hand, . . . betrayed no fear, and inspired all who saw her with some portion of her own native courage. She attended the markets—she insisted upon being supplied with food for those who were too poor to purchase it. She showed them how the well-being of each included the prosperity of all. She would not permit the gardens to be neglected, nor the very flowers in the cottage lattices to droop from want of care. Hope, she said, was better than a doctor's prescription, and everything that could sustain and enliven the spirits, of more worth than drugs and mixtures.⁹⁹

The winter of 1816 was darkened for the Shelleys by two tragedies: the suicides of Harriet Shelley and Fanny Godwin. On October 19 the *Cambrian* had reported the inquest on Fanny's body, and in the story of Evadne we read:

It was . . . the nineteenth of October; the autumn was far advanced and dreary. The wind howled; the half bare trees were despoiled of the remainder of their summer ornament; the state of the air which induced the decay of vegetation, was hostile to cheerfulness or hope.

Raymond, who had loved and abandoned Evadne, was on his way to visit her.

Light grew dim in these close streets, and when the well known door was opened, the staircase was shrouded in perfect night. He groped his way up, he entered the garret, he found Evadne stretched speechless, almost lifeless on her wretched bed.¹⁰⁰

Struck suddenly with the thought if the girl who had thus rudely attempted to shorten her life, should die, the guilt

⁹⁷ *The Last Man*. ii. 188.

⁹⁸ Cf. Dowden, *Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley* ii. 121.

⁹⁹ *The Last Man*, ii. 233-4. Cf. C. and M. C. Clarke's *Recollections of Writers* (1878), pg. 151.

¹⁰⁰ *The Last Man*, i. 280-2.

would chiefly be his, Raymond upbraids himself in language which may have been reminiscent of Shelley's own misgivings as to his treatment of the dead Harriet. On December 30, 1816, Harriet being dead, Shelley married Mary. Now that their union bore the stamp of respectability, Godwin became gradually reconciled to the pair; and it would seem that a letter from Godwin to the Shelleys on this subject may have furnished Mary with the material for the reconciliation urged by Mrs. Raby in *Falkner* (Vol. iii. ch. xviii.)

Once more the waters of the Channel bore them away from England—en route to Italy, and this time for Shelley on a journey that had no returning. In March 1818 they were "Again upon the sea—again impelled by winds and waves to new scenes—new hopes."¹⁰¹

In *The Last Man* Lionel, looking from France toward England, voices sentiments that must have welled up in the hearts of Shelley and Mary as they gazed in the reverse direction in the spring of 1818. Says Lionel:

It were no mighty leap from Calais to Dover. The eye easily discerns the sister land; they were united once; and the little path that runs between looks in a map but as a trodden footway through high grass. Yet this small interval was to save us; the sea was to rise a wall of adamant—without, disease and misery—within a shelter from evil, a nook of the garden of paradise—a particle of celestial soil, which no evil could invade. . . .¹⁰²

Their faces turned hopefully

To the south . . . to the sun!—where nature is kind, where Jove has showered forth the contents of Amalthea's horn, and earth is a garden.¹⁰³

How tranquil and sweet seemed the wide-spread waters; how welcome these arks of refuge, sailing placidly over them, . . . "Farewell England," said the royal exile. . . .¹⁰⁴

Valperga is replete with descriptions of places visited by the Shelleys in "the paradise of exiles." Este,¹⁰⁵ Venice,¹⁰⁶

¹⁰¹ *The Fortunes of Perkin Warbeck*, iii. 58.

¹⁰² *The Last Man*, ii. 183-4.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.* iii. 21.

¹⁰⁴ *The Fortunes of Perkin Warbeck*, ii. 172.

¹⁰⁵ *Valperga*, i. 44-5.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.* i. 58-9.

Lucca,¹⁰⁷ Rome,¹⁰⁸ where William Shelley died,¹⁰⁹ Florence,¹¹⁰ the Italian Alps,¹¹¹ the Apennines,¹¹² the river Serchio¹¹³ familiar to us through Shelley's poem, *The Boat on the Serchio*; the Pisan countryside,¹¹⁴ the plain of Lombardy,¹¹⁵ and with colorful pictures of the Italian seasons.¹¹⁶ But *Valperga* offers more than these. Its chief interest centers in the story of the ill-fated Ariel (in *The Fortunes of Perkin Warbeck*

. . . that fatal and perfidious Bark
Built in th' eclipse, and rigg'd with curses dark¹¹⁷

is called the *Adalid*) which Shelley had dreamed might bear him and his beloved to the magical isles of the western ocean.¹¹⁸

In June, 1822, Leigh Hunt, his wife and his six children arrived in Genoa, and were received by Lord Byron. "Was there ever such a Kraal out of the Hottentot country?" Byron asked Mary, in a letter¹¹⁹ a few months later; and the picture summoned up by Byron's phrase is borne out in the account, given in *Falkner*, of the arrival of Lord Cecil and his family in Italy. Writes Mary:

An incident happened at this period, to which Elizabeth paid little attention at the time, engrossed as she was by mortal fears. . . . one day, there entered the gloomy precincts of the lazaretto, a tribe of English people. Such a horde of men, women, and children, as gives foreigners a lively belief that we islanders are all mad, to migrate in this way, with the young and helpless, from comfortable homes, in search of the dangerous and comfortless. This roving band consisted of the eldest son of an English

¹⁰⁷ *Valperga*, i. 120, 174, 179, 272; ii. 176-7.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.* i. 201 *seq.*; and cf. *The Last Man*, iii. 329-36.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.* i. 205-6.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, i. 208; ii. 124-5.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.* i. 102-3.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, ii. 97; and Cf. also *The Last Man*. iii. 324, 326.

¹¹³ *Valperga*, i. 265; ii. 169.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.* iii. 112-13.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.* ii. 68.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.* ii. 176-7, 138-9, 180, 229-30, and iii. 108-9.

¹¹⁷ Milton, *Lycidas*, 100-1.

¹¹⁸ Cf. *Falkner*. i. 157-9.

¹¹⁹ *Letters and Journals*. vi. 120.

nobleman and his wife, four children, the eldest being six years old, a governess, three nursery-maids, and a sufficient appendage of men-servants. . . . The noise and bustle—the servants insisting on making everybody comfortable, where comfort was not—the spreading out of all their own camp apparatus—joined to the seeming indifference of the parties chiefly concerned, and the unconstrained astonishment of the Italians—was very amusing. Lord Cecil, a tall, thin, plain, quiet, aristocratic-looking man, of middle age, dropped into the first chair—called for his writing-case—began a letter, and saw or heard nothing that was going on. Lady Cecil—who was not pretty, but lively and elegant—was surrounded by her children—they seemed so many little angels, with blooming cheeks and golden hair—the youngest cherub slept profoundly amidst the din; the others were looking eagerly out for their dinner.¹²⁰

As Shelley and Williams set off for Leghorn at the end of June to welcome Leigh Hunt and his family to Italy,¹²¹ we may imagine that Mary's feelings¹²² were those of Katherine in *The Fortunes of Perkin Warbeck*:

Her heart mirrored his hopes; not that she entertained them for her own, but for his sake; yet the quicker sensibilities of a woman imparted fears unknown to him. She concealed them, till when, as her last office and duty, she had fastened an embroidered scarf around him. Softly, whisperingly, as fearful of paining him, she said—"You will return." . . .¹²³

Shelley and Williams reembarked from Leghorn for Lerici on the 8th of July 1822. This is Mary's description of the storm in which Euthanasia was lost:

At sunset that day a fierce scirocco rose, accompanied by thunder and lightning. . . . Presently they saw huge, dark columns, descending from heaven, and meeting the sea, which boiled beneath; they were borne on by the storm, and scattered by the wind. The rain came down in sheets; and the hail clattered, as it fell to its grave in the ocean;—the ocean was lashed into such waves, that, many miles inland, during the pauses of the wind, the hoarse and constant murmurs of the far-off sea made the well-housed landsman mutter one more prayer for those exposed to its fury.¹²⁴

Meanwhile at Casa Magni two women were waiting and watching; and for Mary's revelation of their thoughts we

¹²⁰ *Falkner*, i. 204-5.

¹²¹ *The Last Man*, i. 173.

¹²² Cf. her letter to Maria Gisborne, August, 1822. *Prose Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley* (1880) iv. 327.

¹²³ *The Fortunes of Perkin Warbeck*, ii. 267-8.

¹²⁴ *Valperga*, iii. 260-1.

must turn to her description in *The Fortunes of Perkin Warbeck*, of the vigil of Katherine and Monina:

There is a terror whose cause is unrevealed even to its victim, which makes the heart beat wildly; and we ask the voiceless thing—wherefore; when the beauty of the visible universe sickens the aching sense; when we beseech the winds to comfort us, and we implore the Invisible for relief, which is to speed to us from afar? . . . To one thus aware of the misfortune that awaits her, the voice of consolation is a mockery. Yet, even while she knows that the die is cast, she will not acknowledge her intimate persuasion of ill; but sits smiling on any hope brought to her, as a mother on the physician who talks of recovery while her child dies.

The Lady Katherine had yielded to Richard's wishes, because she saw that he really desired her absence. Alone in a monastery, in a distant part . . . she awaited the fatal tidings, which she knew must come at last. . . . She ordered horses to be kept perpetually in readiness, that she might proceed towards him on the first intimation. . . . She watched from the highest tower of her abode, the arrival of messengers: before she dared open her letters, she read in their faces, what news of Richard? . . .

She had no friends, save humble ones, and very few of these; they borrowed their looks from her, yet hoped more than she did. Quickly she was aware of a change in them: they spoke in a low, subdued voice as if awe-struck by some visitation of destiny. That very day letters arrived from the Prince: they were of ancient date, nor could she lay his terms of endearment and cheering to heart and be consoled. In the afternoon a torn soiled billet was brought from Edmund.¹²⁶

The letter brings them no final news, and Katherine exclaims:

O, earth, and sea, and sky! Strange mysteries! that look and are so beautiful even in tumult and in storm; did ye feel pain then, when the elements—battled together? Were ye tortured by the strife of wind and wave, even as the soul of man when it is the prey of passion? Or were ye unmoved, pain only being the portion of the hearts of the two human beings, who, looking on the commotion, found your wildest rage, calm in comparison with the tempest of fear and grief which had mastery over them. Sickened by disappointment, impatient of despair, each remained, brooding mutely over their several thoughts.¹²⁸

But this agony of the spirit could not be borne forever; and in a scene drawn from the visit of Mary to the Casa Lanfranchi in Pisa on July 12th Lionel relates how he bore

¹²⁶ *The Fortunes of Perkin Warbeck*, iii. 169-72.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.* iii. 176-7.

to Perdita the heavy news of the death of her lover.¹²⁷ The journey which Mary and Jane took from Lerici to Pisa was probably in Mary's mind as she wrote of the wild ride of Alithea and Falkner:

I lifted her light figure into the carriage; I jumped in after her. . . . With the swiftness of the winds we descended the eminence towards the shore; and left child and all return far behind. At that moment the storm burst over us; but the thunder was unheard amidst the rattling of the wheels. . . . Methought the horses had taken fright, and held the bit in their teeth, with such unimaginable speed we swept along. The roar of ocean, torn up by the wild west wind, now mingled with the universal uproar—hell had broken loose upon earth—yet what was every other and more noisy tempest compared to that which shook my soul. . . . At last I became aware that the wheels of the carriage passed through water. . . . A moment more and the carriage stopped amidst the sands.¹²⁸

The scenery of the sea-shore near Viareggio, upon which the body of Shelley was cast up, where it was first buried, by Trelawny, and afterward exhumed and cremated, is vividly described by Mary in *Falkner*:

Landward it is screened by a sublime background of mountains; but in itself presenting to the view a wide extent of uninhabited sands, intersected by rivers, which when the tide is up presents a dreary expanse of shallow water, and at ebb are left, except in the channels of the rivers, a barren extent of mud and marsh; the surrounding waste being variegated only by a line of sand hills thrown up to the height of thirty or forty feet, shutting in the view from shore, while seaward no boat appeared ever to spread its sail on that lonely sea.¹²⁹

What follows is to be read against Trelawny's narratives of the exhumation and cremation, and will be found to tally closely with his stories of these grim ceremonies:

When we have long thought of and grieved over an incident—if any outward object bring the image of our thoughts bodily before us, it is strange what an accession of emotion stirs the depths of the heart. For many hours Neville's mind had dwelt upon the scene in all its parts—the wild waste sea, dark and purple beneath the lowering clouds—the dreary extent of beach—

¹²⁷ *The Last Man*, ii. 81-83.

¹²⁸ *Falkner*. ii. 264-7.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.* ii. 254-5.

the far, stupendous mountains, thrown up in sublime, irregular grandeur, with cloud-capt peaks, and vast gulfs between—a sort of Cyclopean screen to the noble landscape, which they encompassed with their wide majestic extent. . . . The men went on with their work in silence, nor did any speak; the sand was thrown up in heaps, the horses pawed the ground impatiently, and the hollow murmurs of the neighboring breakers filled every pause with sound, but no voice spoke; or if one of the labourers had a direction to give, it was done in whispers. At length some harder substance opposed their progress, and they worked more cautiously. Mingled with sand they threw out pieces of dark substance like cloth or silk, and at length got out of the wide long trench they had been opening. With one consent, though in silence, every one gathered nearer, and looked in—they saw a human skeleton. The action of the elements, which the sands had not been able to impede, had destroyed every vestige of a human frame, except those discoloured bones, and long tresses of dark hair, which were wound around the skull. . . . A hollow murmur ran through the crowd, already augmented by several stragglers, who had heard that something strange was going on. All pressed forward. . . . Several remembered the lady, whose mouldered remains were thus revealed, in the pride of youth and beauty, warm of heart, kind, beloved; and this was all that was left of her! These unseemly bones were all earth had to show of the ever sweet Alitheia!¹²⁰

Falkner voices, again and again, the sorrow of Mary's heart over the early loss of Shelley:

He is gone! gone for ever! I have lost the noblest, wisest friend that ever breathed, the most devoted lover, and truest husband that ever blessed woman!"

"He is happy!" she exclaimed, "but he is not here! Why did he leave us? Ah, why desert those who loved him so well, who need him so dearly? How forlorn and cast away are we without him!" "How can I write these words, how linger on these hideous details? Alas! they are ever before me; no day, no hour passes but the whole scene is acted over again with startling vividness—and my soul shrinks and shudders from the present image of death. Even now that the dawn of Greece is breaking among the hills; that the balmy summer air fans my cheek, that the distant mountain tops are gilded by the morning beams—and the rich tranquil beauty of a southern clime is around; yet even now the roar of that distant ocean is in my ear, the desolate coast stretches out far away, and Alitheia lies pale, drenched and lifeless, at my feet!" "Of what tough materials is man formed, that my heart-strings did not break, and that I outlived that hour!"¹²¹

¹²⁰ *Falkner*, iii. 34-38.

¹²¹ *Ibid.* i. 20, 30; and ii. 277-8, 281-2.

Of references to later events of Mary's life *Falkner* contains a few, among them being a mention of Hastings, where Mary's friends, the Gliddons, lived, and of their entertainment of her,¹²² and of Zante, in Greece, whence Trelawny addressed Mary in 1826 and 1827.¹²³ In addition, there is the introduction, already mentioned, of Mary's negotiations with Sir Timothy Shelley through William Whitton, Timothy's attorney, and of her resolution to fend for herself and Percy Florence rather than accept the unreasonable terms of the squire of Field Place.

To the last she was all mother; her heart filled with that deep yearning, which a young mother feels to be the very essence of her life, for the presence of her child. There is something beautiful in a young mother's feelings. Usually a creature to be fostered and protected—taught to look to another for aid and safety; yet a woman is the undaunted guardian of her little child.¹²⁴

This, indeed, Mary Shelley was, to the very end, though during many trying years this guardianship involved for her the most arduous literary labors that she might assist in maintaining herself, and her ever-indigent father, William Godwin, in independence and health.

WALTER EDWIN PECK

¹²² *Falkner*, i. 245-6, 247-8, 252-3; and iii. 79.

¹²³ *Ibid.* i. 168; and iii. 252.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.* ii. 293.

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IX. LORD JEFFREY AND WORDSWORTH

Commonsense is a bourgeois virtue, anathema to the temperamental, a red rag to the radical. It disgusts and terrifies the aesthete: it reminds him almost too baldly of the unlegalized reasoning of his middle-class readers. The common-sense reason of the populace, sometimes personified in a critic, hounds the eccentric genius on to wilder vagaries than he would have dared to indulge in unpursued. And, in its turn, abstract reason, fearing an invasion of its prerogatives, occasionally bursts its traditional leash of self-restraint and leaps bare-fanged upon its victims. But be the critic what he may, Time, the most inexorable of critics, judges an author at last by the standards of commonsense. Reason, experience, and intellectual honesty are its component parts: sanity is its ideal.

Commonsense is essentially a characteristic of an age of realism and rationalism. It condemns the extravagant; it lauds things as they seem to be. It is not opposed to progress, but it demands that progress be made reasonably. It insists upon the essential concentricity of universal genius as contrasted with the eccentricity of madness. It looks with suspicion upon the idiosyncrasies of genius because it knows that they tend away from the progressive norm of human life. Literary commonsense is critical; when personified it becomes a reviewer.

This article is not an attempt to prove that Lord Jeffrey was justifiable in his attacks upon Wordsworth. It will not deal with his humanism so ably discussed by Mr. Hughes.¹ My purpose is rather to show that the classical idea of decorum was at the basis of Jeffrey's commonsense criticism and that, stripped of their thorns, many of his judgments are entirely in conformity with the opinions of modern critics.

Jeffrey was a great reviewer. He was not a creative critic in the sense of being one who could tell all the author meant and all the reviewer would have meant had he written the book. He did not melt into the book and rhapsodize upon his emotions. But in an age of sentimental Germanized emotionalism, he believed in the reasonableness of intellectual activity. He considered literature, in the light of what he knew about human nature, and when he thought it deviated from the facts of life, he said, "This will never do."

Commonsense is ordinarily more likely to be right in its prohibitions than its affirmations. Based as it is upon experience, it is more likely to censure extravagant deviations from the norm of human activities than it is to judge the works that, although agreeing in the main with accepted standards, are lacking in imagination or verisimilitude. Its besetting danger is overpraise of the commonplace. Hence it is not strange that we should find Jeffrey an admirer of the genius of Rogers and Campbell. They belonged in spirit to the eighteenth century: they were polished, sentimental, interested in humanity, and reasonable. According to Jeffrey's standards, shaped also by the eighteenth century, but mellowed and rounded by a generous admixture of the sixteenth, there was little to criticize in these authors: they were typical sons of their time.

Yet after a period of one hundred years, it is evident to a student of Jeffrey and his time that his praise of Campbell and Rogers should not be permitted to obscure the excellence of his criticism of certain of his contemporaries, especially of

¹ Merritt Y. Hughes, "The Humanism of Francis Jeffrey," *Mod. Lang. Review* XVI, 243ff.

Wordsworth. In the twentieth century, age of science and disillusion—not essentially unlike the eighteenth in its intellectual questionings—we no longer condemn Jeffrey without a hearing as a profaner of the temples of the gods. We read his reviews to find out what he really said. Usually, because we are not sentimentalists, because our love of realism has torn the veil of divinity from the Lakers, we tend to agree with him in much of his matter if not in his manner.

Most of Jeffrey's critics have censured him severely for his failure to comprehend Wordsworth's mysticism. To do so is as illogical as to censure the leopard for his spots. Only a mystic can comprehend a mystic. Jeffrey was a man with a matter-of-fact point of view: he did not believe that it was necessary to spiritualize nature that was in itself sublimely beautiful. It was sufficient to be awed by its grandeur and to feel the exhilaration of beholding sheer beauty. The element of worship may have been in his heart, but actual spiritualization of nature was beyond his comprehension. It is idle to censure Jeffrey for not accepting a point of view that even after a hundred years still has its exponents and opponents. A modern mystic will rail at the reviewer for his stupidity; a modern realist will praise him for his common-sense. Agreement is impossible.

Aside from various incidental references to Wordsworth's poems, the chief contributions of Jeffrey to the criticism of Wordsworth and his school occur in the review of Southey's *Thalaba*, that of Wordsworth's *Poems*, that of Burns's *Reliques*, and the still more famous reviews of *The Excursion* and *The White Doe of Rylstone*. It is upon these that we must base our opinion of Jeffrey's criticism of the greatest of the Lakers.

The review of *Thalaba* is Jeffrey's first detailed criticism of the new school of poetry, "dissenters from the established systems in poetry and criticism." He says that the productions of the group form a composite of the following elements: "1. The antisocial principles, and distempered sensibility of Rousseau—his discontent with the present constitution of

society—his paradoxical morality, and his perpetual hankering after some unattainable state of voluptuous virtue and perfection. 2. The simplicity and energy (*horresco referens*) of Kotzebue and Schiller. 3. The homeliness and harshness of some of Cowper's language and versification, interchanged occasionally with the innocence of Ambrose Philips, or the quaintness of Quarles and Dr. Donne."² He notes particularly the debasing of the language and subject-matter, and complains bitterly of the social activities of the lake poets.

The discussion of the social tendencies of the new poetry is interesting as giving Jeffrey's attitude toward society and the individual.

"A splenetic and idle discontent with the institutions of society," he says, "seems to be at the bottom of all their serious and peculiar sentiments. . . . For all sorts of vice and profligacy in the lower orders of society, they have the same virtuous horror, and the same tender compassion. . . . The present vicious constitution of society alone is responsible for all these enormities: the poor sinners are but the helpless victims or instruments of its disorders, and could not possibly have avoided the errors into which they have been betrayed. . . . While the plea of moral necessity is thus artfully brought forward to convert all the excesses of the poor into innocent misfortunes, no sort of indulgence is shown to the offences of the powerful and rich. . . . If it be natural for a poor man to murder and rob, in order to make himself comfortable, it is no less natural for a rich man to gormandize and domineer, in order to have the full use of his riches. Wealth is just as valid an excuse for the one class of vices, as indigence is for the other."³

Professor Harper says of Jeffrey that "His heart had not been touched by a true sense of human brotherhood. His prejudice was political. It might, indeed, better be termed religious; for it originated in a fundamental unwillingness to acknowledge the divinity in man."⁴ Perhaps so; Jeffrey should not, however, be judged in the light of a hundred years of progress in prison reform. Even today there are many serious people who are willing to make society a universal scape-goat for individual offenses.

² *Edinburgh Review*, I, 64.

³ *Edinburgh Review*, I, 71-2.

⁴ G. McL. Harper, *William Wordsworth. His Life, Works, and Influence*. In two volumes. II, 135.

But a careful reading of this review makes it clear that despite his aristocratic point of view, Jeffrey was not concerned primarily with the poverty of Wordsworth's peasants or with their lowly rank. He objected to them because they were not real: "The low-bred heroes, and interesting rustics of poetry, have no sort of affinity to the real vulgar of this world; they are imaginary beings, whose characters and language are in contrast with their situation; and please those who can be pleased with them, by the marvellous and not by the nature of such a combination."⁵ This is not aristocratic indifference but a commonsense feeling for reality.

Both in the review of Burns's *Reliques* and that of *The Excursion*, Jeffrey stresses the lack of *decorum* in Wordsworth's characters. He praises Burns's *Cotter's Saturday Night* and recommends to the Lakers "the simplicity of Burns." "He has copied the spoken language of passion and affection, with infinitely more fidelity than they have ever done," he says, "on all occasions which properly admitted of such adaptation: But he has not rejected the helps of elevated language and habitual associations; nor debased his composition by an affectation of babyish interjections, and all the puling expletives of an old nursery-maid's vocabulary."⁶ In concluding the review of *The Excursion*, Jeffrey asks whether it is not plain that Wordsworth's practice of giving lofty speeches to humble persons will not expose "his work throughout to the charge of revolting incongruity, and utter disregard of probability or nature? For, after he has thus wilfully debased his moral teacher by a low occupation, is there one word that he puts into his mouth, or one sentiment of which he makes him the organ, that has the most remote reference to that occupation?"⁷

The review of Wordsworth's *Poems* was not re-printed by Jeffrey in his volume of collected essays from *The Edinburgh*

⁵ *Edinburgh Review*, I, 67.

⁶ Francis Jeffrey, *Contributions to The Edinburgh Review*. Four volumes complete in one. Boston, 1856, p. 346.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 468-9.

Review. It is the least discriminating of his criticisms of Wordsworth. In spite of this fact, however, it contains some of his most interesting statements about his motives in attacking the Lake Poets. "It was," he said, "precisely because the perverseness and bad taste of this new school was combined with a great deal of genius and of laudable feeling, that we were afraid of their spreading and gaining ground among us, and that we entered into the discussion with a degree of zeal and animosity which some might think unreasonable towards authors, to whom so much merit had been conceded."⁸

Jeffrey's attitude toward Wordsworth in this review is by no means entirely hostile. To be sure, he fails to recognize the difference in quality between *The Ode to Duty* and *Alice Fell*—a serious error in judgment—but he praises the sonnets. After quoting *On the Extinction of the Venetian Republic, London*, and *I Grieve'd for Buonaparte*, Jeffrey exclaims, "When we look at these, and many still finer passages, in the writings of this author, it is impossible not to feel a mixture of indignation and compassion, at that strange infatuation which has bound him up from the fair exercise of his talents, and withheld from the public the many excellent productions that would otherwise have taken the place of the trash now before us. Even in the worst of these productions there are, no doubt, occasional little traits of delicate feeling and original fancy; but these are quite lost and obscured in the mass of childishness and insipidity with which they are incorporated; nor can any thing give us a more melancholy view of the debasing effects of the miserable theory, than that it has given ordinary men a right to wonder at the folly and presumption of a man gifted like Mr. Wordsworth, and make him appear, in his second avowed publication, like a bad imitator of the worst of his former productions."⁹

In the same essay, the reviewer, in discussing *The Lyrical*

⁸ *Edinburgh Review*, XI, 215.

⁹ *Edinburgh Review*, XI, 231.

Ballads, reminds his readers that "The Lyrical Ballads were unquestionably popular; and, we have no hesitation in saying, deservedly popular; for in spite of their occasional vulgarity, affectation, and silliness, they were undoubtedly characterised by a strong spirit of originality, or pathos, and natural feeling; and recommended to all good minds by the clear impression which they bore of the amiable dispositions and virtuous principles of the author."¹⁰

Of all Jeffrey's reviews, however, the most frequently quoted are those of *The Excursion* and *The White Doe of Rylstone*. He reprinted both reviews in his collected essays. If we analyze these works we shall be able to weigh with considerable accuracy the criticism leveled at Jeffrey for his censure of the Lake Poets.

In the first place, Jeffrey's criticism of *The Excursion* is, in the main, upheld by the judgment of other critics. Aside from the questionable validity of his comment upon the poet's mysticism, his opinions are sane and rational. He is reviewing a poem that, aside from its occasional philosophical or mystical passages, is one of the Saharas of verse. At the present time it is almost unread except by special students of Wordsworth—and then too frequently in agony of spirit. We should remember that Jeffrey is here considering a specific poem, and that his criticism of it should not be considered his criticism of all Wordsworth's work.

Jeffrey's criticism is directed chiefly against the length of the poem, its weakness, and its tameness. "We have imitations of Cowper, and even of Milton, here; engrafted on the natural drawl of the Lakers—and all diluted into harmony by that profuse and irrepressible wordiness which deluges all the blank verse of this school of poetry, and lubricates and weakens the whole structure of their style."¹¹

In the second place, Jeffrey charges Wordsworth with undue obscurity and with unnecessary elaboration of self-evident ideas. He says that the work is "a tissue of moral

¹⁰ *Edinburgh Review*, XI, 214.

¹¹ Jeffrey, *Contributions to the Edinburgh Review*, p. 458.

and devotional ravings, in which innumerable changes are rung upon a few very simple and familiar ideas: But with such an accompaniment of long words, long sentences, and unwieldy phrases—and such a hubbub of strained raptures and fantastical sublimities, that it is often difficult for the most skillful and attentive student to obtain a glimpse of the author's meaning—and altogether impossible for an ordinary reader to conjecture what he is about. . . . All sorts of commonplace notions and expressions are sanctified in his eyes, by the sublime ends for which they are employed; and the mystical verbiage of the Methodist pulpit is repeated, till the speaker entertains no doubt that he is the chosen organ of divine truth and persuasion."¹²

In the third place, Jeffrey attacks the poem for its didacticism: "more than nine tenths of it are occupied with a species of dialogue, or rather a series of long sermons or harangues which pass between the pedlar, the author, the old chaplain, and a worthy vicar, who entertains the whole party at dinner on the last day of their excursion."¹³ The reviewer has some difficulty in discovering the doctrine that the poet is trying to inculcate, but decides that, "in so far as we can collect, however, it seems to be neither more nor less than the old familiar one, that a firm belief in the providence of a wise and beneficent being must be our great stay and support under all afflictions and perplexities upon earth—and that there are indications of his power and goodness in all the aspects of the visible universe, whether living or inanimate—every part of which should therefore be regarded with love and reverence, as exponents of those great attributes. We can testify, at least, that these salutary and important truths are inculcated at far greater length, and with more repetitions, than in any ten volumes of sermons that we ever perused."¹⁴

In the fourth place, Jeffrey accuses Wordsworth of silliness and triviality. In support of this charge he quotes various

¹² Jeffrey, *Contributions to the Edinburgh Review*, p. 459.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 460.

passages such as the one containing the ill-chosen "solemn bleat."

Although the reviewer considers the various parts of the poem in some detail, his comments are merely illustrative of his main bases of criticism—the poet's prolixity, his involved mysticism, his repetition, his didacticism, and his triviality. A modern unprejudiced reader tends to agree with Jeffrey except in his contempt for the mystical. In *The Excursion* Wordsworth was prolix, didactic, and too frequently trivial. Had the poem appeared in 1923, it is improbable that the reviewers would have treated its faults more kindly than did Jeffrey.

As might well be expected, the virtues that Jeffrey finds in Wordsworth's poem are those of the poems of the preceding age. After admitting that the author of *The Excursion* is a person "of great powers," he remarks that the poet "has frequently a force in his moral declamations, and a tenderness in his pathetic narratives, which neither his prolixity nor his affectation can altogether deprive of their effect."¹⁵ He emphasizes the sentimental in his author: "Mr. Wordsworth delineates only feelings—and all his adventures are of the heart"¹⁶—surely no inadequate criticism of a follower of Rousseau. He says of the poet's account of the old chaplain's marriage that it is "written with great sweetness—a sweetness like that of Massinger, in his softer and more mellifluous passages."¹⁷

Jeffrey's summary of the work contains his estimate of the poet himself. One of his most telling criticisms is that the characters are not true to real life. An earlier writer might have complained of the lack of *Decorum* in their portrayal. He objects to the incongruity between the lowly character and lofty sentiments, and asks pointedly whether a pedlar could engage in such "learned, abstract, and logical harangues."¹⁸

¹⁵ Jeffrey, *Contributions to the Edinburgh Review*, p. 464.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 465.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 469.

In the review of *The White Doe of Rylstone*, although Jeffrey is even more brutally outspoken, his fundamental criticism is the same. "The story of the poem," he tells us, "though not capable of furnishing out matter for a quarto volume, might yet have made an interesting ballad."¹⁹ He notes that Wordsworth has apparently been reading Scottish ballads, but that "it unfortunately happens, that while the hobbling versification, the mean diction, and flat stupidity of these models are very exactly copied, and even improved upon, in this imitation, their rude energy, manly simplicity, and occasional felicity of expression, have totally disappeared; and instead of them, a large allowance of the author's own metaphysical sensibility, and mystical wordiness, is forced into an unnatural combination with the borrowed beauties which have just been mentioned."²⁰

Jeffrey's comment upon *The White Doe* is exasperating, yet consistent: "In the Lyrical Ballads," he says, "he was exhibited, on the whole, in a vein of very pretty delirium; but in the poem before us, he appears in a state of low and maudlin imbecility, which would not have misbecome Master Silence himself, in the close of a social day."²¹ Outrageous as is Jeffrey's manner, it is evident that his matter is based upon the dictates of commonsense. He says quite wisely that the subject is more suited for a ballad than for a quarto; that the versification is rude; and that the poem is mystically wordy.

So much for Jeffrey's comment upon Wordsworth in *The Edinburgh Review*. In re-publishing in collected form his contributions to that periodical, however, the reviewer expressed in a note, his mature judgment in regard to the poems: "I have spoken," he says, "in many places rather too bitterly and confidently of the faults of Mr. Wordsworth's poetry: And forgetting that, even on my own view of them they were but faults of taste, or venial self-partiality,

¹⁹ Jeffrey, *Contributions to the Edinburgh Review*, p. 470.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 469-70.

²¹ *Ibid.*

have sometimes visited them, I fear, with an asperity which should be reserved for objects of Moral reprobation. If I were now to deal with the whole question of his poetical merits, though my judgment might not be substantially different, I hope I should repress the greater part of these *vivacités* of expression."²² He says that he has always loved "the attributes of his Genius," and respected his character. He excuses himself for re-printing his criticism of *The White Doe of Rylstone* by asserting his desire to clarify the issue between himself and the admirers of Peter Bell the Waggoner, or the Lamentations of Martha Rae, or the Sonnets on the Punishment of Death. "Now I have been assured," he remarks, "not only that there are such persons, but that almost all those who seek to exalt Mr. Wordsworth as the founder of a new school of poetry, consider these as by far his best and most characteristic productions; and would at once reject from their communion any one who did not acknowledge in them the traces of a high inspiration. Now I wish it to be understood, that when I speak with general intolerance or impatience of the school of Mr. Wordsworth, it is to the school holding these tenets, and applying these tests, that I refer."²³

Jeffrey's statements are borne out by those of his contemporaries. He did not actually meet Wordsworth until 1831.²⁴ "Lockhart beheld the ceremony," says Henry Taylor, "and told me that Wordsworth played the part of a man of the world to perfection, much better than the smaller man."²⁵ Jeffrey's early animosity was not personal. Crabbe Robinson remarks that in 1810 Coleridge said "that Jeffrey, the editor of the *Edinburgh Review*, had lately called on him, and assured him that he was a great admirer of Wordsworth's poetry, that the *Lyrical Ballads* were always on his table, and that Wordsworth had been attacked in the *Review* simply

²² Jeffrey, *Contributions to the Edinburgh Review*, p. 457, note.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Harper, *op. cit.*, II, 360.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

because the errors of men of genius ought to be exposed."²⁶ Describing a breakfast with Rogers, Empson, and Wordsworth, the same author says:

Empson related that Jeffrey had lately told him that so many people had thought highly of Wordsworth, that he was resolved to re-peruse his poems, and see if he had anything to retract. Empson, I believe, did not end his anecdote; he had before said to me that Jeffrey, having done so, found nothing to retract, except, perhaps, a contemptuous and flippant phrase or two. Empson says, he believed Jeffrey's distaste for Wordsworth to be honest—mere uncongeniality of mind. Talfourd, who is now going to pay Jeffrey a visit, says the same.²⁷

Granting, then, that Jeffrey's manner of criticism was honestly brutal—and Jeffrey lived in an age of brutal critics—and granting that Jeffrey's mind found the mystical uncongenial and even incomprehensible, there remains the matter of his criticism, already touched upon in part.

Among the critics of Wordsworth in his own time, Coleridge is generally admitted to be the kindest and fairest. In the familiar passages in the *Biographia Literaria*, he notes among the defects of Wordsworth's poetry a certain *matter-of-factness*, and also "the seeming uselessness both of the project and of the anecdotes from which it is to derive support. Is there one word, for instance, attributed to the pedlar in the *Excursion*, characteristic of a Pedlar?"²⁸ These are almost the words that Jeffrey used in concluding his review of the same poem. Coleridge notes also as defects, "prolixity, repetition, and an eddying, instead of progression of thought"²⁹ and "thoughts and images too great for the subject."³⁰

No one knew better than Coleridge the fundamental

²⁶ H. C. Robinson, *Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence*. . . Selected and Edited by Thomas Sadler, Ph.D. In three volumes, London, 1869, I, 304.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, III, 140.

²⁸ S. T. Coleridge, *Biographia Literaria*, edited . . . by J. Shawcross. Two volumes, Oxford, 1907. II, 107-8.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

conceptions of his fellow-poet, and no one was better qualified to judge him. Coleridge was able to comprehend the Germanized Rousseauistic mysticism in which both he and Wordsworth had steeped themselves. He was able to interpret Wordsworth as no one else could do. But in his destructive criticism, he and Jeffrey are practically in agreement.

Hazlitt, in *The Spirit of the Age*, remarks:

We think . . . that if Mr. Wordsworth had been a more liberal and candid critic, he would have been a more sterling writer. If a greater number of sources of pleasure had been open to him, he would have communicated pleasure to the world more frequently . . . The current of his feelings is deep, but narrow; the range of his understanding is lofty and aspiring rather than discursive. The force, the originality, the absolute truth and identity with which he feels some things, makes him indifferent to so many others.²¹

Carlyle, writing of Jeffrey, although recognizing his limitations, is not blind to his worth: "Jeffrey," he says, "was by no means the supreme in criticism or in anything else; but it is certain there has no critic appeared among us since who was worth naming beside him; and his influence for good and for evil in literature and otherwise has been very great . . . He was not deep enough, pious or reverent enough, to have been great in literature; but he was a man intrinsically of veracity; said nothing without meaning it to some considerable degree, had the quickest perceptions, excellent practical discernment of what lay before him; was in earnest, too, though not 'dreadfully in earnest.'"²²

Statements such as these from critics of Wordsworth and critics of Jeffrey, when taken with the reviews themselves, tend to clarify our conception of Jeffrey's point of view. Carlyle is a witness to his sincerity; Coleridge and Hazlitt are one with him in recognizing Wordsworth's outstanding limitations. The essential distinction between Jeffrey on the

²¹ W. Hazlitt, *The Spirit of the Age* . . . Fourth Edition. Ed. by W. Carew Hazlitt, London, 1886. pp. 162-3.

²² T. Carlyle, *Reminiscences*. Ed. by James Anthony Froude, N. Y., 1881. p. 199.

one hand and Coleridge and Hazlitt on the other is that Jeffrey judged by the standard of decorum, by his feeling for propriety and decency, by his understanding of normal human nature, whereas his two contemporaries were able sympathetically to interpret the poems as well as to censure them.

It is impossible to agree with Mr. Gates's sweeping statement that Jeffrey's attitude toward Wordsworth was determined by his political and social ideals. "In fact," Mr. Gates tells us, "all the pretensions of the new school to illustrate by its art a new gospel of life were intensely disagreeable to Jeffrey. As long as Romanticism seemed chiefly decorative, as in Scott or Keats, Jeffrey could tolerate it or even delight in it. But the moment it began, whether in Byron or Wordsworth, to take itself seriously, and to struggle to express new moral and spiritual ideals, Jeffrey protested."²³

Such a statement ignores the fundamental attitude of mind that expressed itself not only in Jeffrey's political point of view but also in his critical point of view. He had a judicial mind and a vast deal of Scotch commonsense. He tended to weigh all things in the scales of reason. He did not attack Wordsworth because of his radical ideas, but because it seemed to him an outrage against all decency that a man should write carelessly, at great length, and with little sense of propriety about peasants who spake with the tongues of Cambridge and Geneva.

Jeffrey could not comprehend Wordsworth's mysticism. But then, even after a hundred years, neither can Mr. Irving Babbitt. Jeffrey cannot understand how duty can "preserve the stars from wrong." Mr. Babbitt remarks that "It is not quite clear that the law of duty in the breast of man is the same law that preserves 'the stars from wrong.'"²⁴ Mr. Babbitt thinks also, that "A child who at the age of six is a 'mighty prophet, seer blest,' is a highly improbable

²³ L. E. Gates, *Three Studies in Literature*, N.Y., 1899, p. 25.

²⁴ Irving Babbitt, *Rousseau and Romanticism*, Boston and New York, 1919. p. 286.

not to say impossible child."³⁵ Jeffrey thought that "if Mr. Wordsworth, instead of confining himself almost entirely to the society of the dalesmen and cottagers, and little children, who form the subjects of his book, had condescended to mingle a little more with the people that were to read and judge of it, we cannot help thinking that its texture might have been considerably improved."³⁶ Mr. Babbitt notes that "Wordsworth is not sparing of homely detail in his account of his leech-gatherer; but at a given moment in this poem the leech-gatherer undergoes a strange transformation; he loses all verisimilitude as a leech-gatherer and becomes a romantic symbol, a mere projection, that is, of the poet's own broodings. To push this symbolizing of mood beyond a certain point is incipient hallucination."³⁷

This paper is not a brief for rationalistic commonsense. It is simply a statement of Jeffrey's case. Stripped of its virulence, his criticism of Wordsworth was, in spite of certain limitations, essentially sane. When *The Excursion* appeared, all his critical commonsense rose in protest at its arid reaches—it was unreasonably long; it was involved; it outraged every principle of poetic decorum—and Jeffrey said, "This will never do."

The schools of commonsense and of insight can never be reconciled: the Jeffreys and the Babbitts of criticism, schooled in the fine restraint of antiquity and seeking the norm in human life, will always raise their voices in protest against the abnormal, the expressionist. They will always sound a note of warning, they will speak from the experience of the race. In general, their voices will not be heeded, but they tend to remind the dweller in the ivory tower of a world of action outside—the world of Chaucer and Shakespeare and Burns—human, puzzled, groping toward the light.

JOSEPH M. BEATTY, JR.

³⁵ Irving Babbitt, *Rousseau and Romanticism*, p. 249.

³⁶ Jeffrey, *Collected Essays*, p. 459.

³⁷ Babbitt, *op. cit.*, p. 296.

X. WORDSWORTH'S ITALY

Wordsworth's relation to Italy has been a subject rather neglected in the annals of English poets who have known and loved "the land of lands," and have left us memorial records of the beauty of Italy's blue sky, the golden clarity of her air, the soft greenness of her trees, and the fame of her poets and artists. Biographers of Wordsworth have so emphasized his relation to France that the general reader is hardly aware that the poet had crossed the Alps, both in body and in spirit. He belongs with Chaucer, Wyatt, Surrey, Sidney, Milton, Gray, Goldsmith, Shelley, Keats, Byron, Landor, Clough, and the Brownings, all of whom will ever be associated with memories of Italy. An attempt to trace the history of his acquaintance with Italy, may, it is hoped, show that he had for things Italian a really life-long sympathy. Moreover, the study may help to dispel some lingering superstitions about Wordsworth's insularity. Wordsworth was one of the most assiduous travellers of all the English poets except Byron. The difficulty of travel in the early nineteenth century should be remembered in considering the distances he traversed. He knew France, Switzerland, Germany, The Netherlands, Wales, Scotland, Ireland, the Isle of Man, and various regions of England, including every inch of the Lake Country.

While an undergraduate at Cambridge, Wordsworth, restive under the conventional educational system, expressed his rebellious mood by neglecting academic routine for the study of Italian. His tutor Augustine Isola, a political refugee from Milan, had been associated with the poet Gray, and is further interesting because he was the grandfather of Emma Isola, *protégée* of Charles and Mary Lamb. Perhaps we have not taken sufficient account of the importance of the influence of this Italian patriot in exciting Words-

worth's love of liberty. In the summer vacation of 1790, Wordsworth and a college friend, Robert Jones, took a walking trip on the Continent in the humble fashion of Goldsmith or Rousseau rather than in Walpole and Gray's comfortable style. The youths slowly crossed France and Switzerland to Northern Italy where for a few days they visited the shores of Lake Maggiore and of Lake Como, then turned north again.

This seems a very brief visit to Italy, yet the beauty revealed in that swift glimpse impressed deeply the sensitive young Wordsworth. In a hundred lines of *Descriptive Sketches*, written 1791-2, he endeavored to picture Como:

Thy lake, that, streaked or dappled, blue or grey,
'Mid smoking woods gleams hid from morning's ray.
Slow-travelling down the western hills, to unfold
Its green-tinged margin in a blaze of gold.

The whole passage and the prose letter to Dorothy should be read in order to understand how Wordsworth, like the other English poets, fell under the spell of Italy. Her charm he tried to describe, but the conventional, abstract phraseology of the century hampered him. When the *Descriptive Sketches* were altered about ten years later to become the sixth book of the *Prelude*, Wordsworth was far better able to interpret his youthful mystical feeling in terms of enduring beauty. Surely no other English poet approached Italy in the high transcendental mood described in the following lines, which are among the greatest Wordsworth ever wrote. Being told by a peasant that they "had crossed the Alps" and were looking toward Italy, the poet records:

I was lost;
Halted without an effort to break through;
But to my conscious soul I now can say—
"I recognize thy glory": in such strength
Of usurpation, when the light of sense
Goes out, but with a flash that has revealed
The invisible world, doth greatness make abode,
There harbours; whether we be young or old,

Our destiny, our being's heart and home,
Is with infinitude, and only there;
With hope it is, hope that can never die,
Effort, and expectation, and desire,
And something evermore about to be. (VI: 596ff.).

It was with renewed interest in his Italian studies that Wordsworth went back to Cambridge. Dorothy wrote, June 26, 1791, to Jane Pollard: "He reads Italian, Spanish, French, Greek, Latin, and English, but never opens a mathematical book. We promise ourselves much pleasure from reading Italian at some time. He wishes that I was acquainted with the Italian Poets, but how much have I to learn which plain English will teach me."

There is little record during this period to tell us what Italian authors Wordsworth was reading. During the next few years Wordsworth went through the tremendous experience of the French Revolution, emerging, after blank despair, with a philosophy of nature and of man which owed much to the restorative influences of the natural beauty of Grasmere, more to the philosophical idealism of Coleridge, and most to the imaginative sympathy and spiritual strength of Dorothy.

By February 17, 1794, Wordsworth was again thinking of Italian, for he wrote to Matthews, "My Italian studies I am going to resume immediately, as it is my intention to instruct my sister in that language." Dorothy records, April 21 of this year; "I have now begun Italian." A month later they began Ariosto.

In 1802 Wordsworth wrote one of his most memorable poems, the sonnet *On the Extinction of the Venetian Republic*. This shows Wordsworth's knowledge of the past greatness of Venice and of the tragedy of her betrayal by the Corsican who sold her to Austria. The sonnet is a consummate history of Venice, a poem so passionately vivid and true in expression that no word in it was ever altered by Wordsworth, who usually made later emendations of his poems.

It would be interesting to know if Wordsworth had read the letters of *Jacopo Ortis*, 1798, a Wertheresque work by

Ugo Foscolo, half Greek and half Venetian, in which Foscolo poured out his anguish at the fate of Venice. We can only conjecture what may have been Wordsworth's acquaintance with the patriotic sonnets of Castiglione, Molga, Alamanni, Guidiccione, and others who in early days seemed to have prophetic knowledge of Italy's tragic future.

In 1805 Wordsworth was working on Italian. He translated three sonnets by Michael Angelo, and published them in 1807. Writing to Beaumont in 1804, Wordsworth said:—"Duppa is publishing a life of Michael Angelo, and I received from him a few days ago two proof sheets of an appendix which contains the poems of Michael Angelo, which I shall read, and translate one or two of them, if I can do it with decent success. I have peeped into the sonnets, and they do not appear unworthy of their great author" (Dec. 25, 1804), and, the following year:

I mentioned Michael Angelo's poetry some time ago; it is the most difficult to construe I ever met with, but just what you would expect from such a man, showing abundantly how conversant his soul was with great things. There is a mistake in the world concerning the Italian language; the poetry of Dante and Michael Angelo proves that if there is little majesty and strength in Italian verse, the fault is in the authors and not in tongue. I can translate, and have translated two books of Ariosto at the rate, nearly, of 100 lines a day; but so much meaning has been put by Michael Angelo into so little room, and that meaning sometimes so excellent in itself, that I found the difficulty of translating him insurmountable. I attempted, at least, fifteen of the sonnets, but could not anywhere succeed. I have sent you the only one¹ I was able to finish; it is far from being the best or most characteristic, but the others were too much for me (Oct. 17, 1805).

The influence of Michael Angelo upon Wordsworth was more important than that of any other Italian author save one to be mentioned later. The Platonic idealism of the Italian artist, his gravity of tone, his strength of character drew from Wordsworth sympathy and admiration. Readers

¹ "Yes, Hope may with my strong desire keep pace." Two translations of the same poet's famous quatrain *La Notte* were published in 1882, but the date of their composition is uncertain.

of Michael Angelo's sonnets will be tempted to find suggestive resemblances between the two poets. They share a certain philosophic grandeur of thought as well as a certain vigor and unbending strength. The influence of the first sonnet, below, upon the second is obvious:

No mortal object did these eyes behold
 When first they met the placid light of thine,
 And my Soul felt her destiny divine,
 And hope of endless peace in me grew bold:
 Heaven-born, the Soul a heaven-ward course must hold;
 Beyond the visible world she soars to seek,
 (For what delights the sense is false and weak)
 Ideal Form, the universal mould.
 The wise man, I affirm, can find no rest
 In that which perishes: nor will he lend
 His heart to aught which doth on time depend.
 'Tis sense, unbridled will, and not true love,
 That kills the soul; love betters what is best,
 Even here below, but more in heaven above.

Translated from M. Angelo, 1805.

"They are of the sky and from our earthly memory fade away"

Those words were utter'd in a pensive mood,
 Even while mine eyes were on that solemn sight;
 A contrast and reproach to gross delight,
 And life's unspiritual pleasures daily woo'd!
 But now upon the thought I cannot brood:
 It is unstable, and deserts me quite;
 Nor will I praise a Cloud however bright,
 Disparaging Man's gifts and proper food.
 The Grove, the sky-built Temple, and the Dome,
 Though clad in colours beautiful and pure,
 Find in the heart of man no natural home;
 The immortal Mind craves objects that endure:
 These cleave to it; from these it cannot roam,
 Nor they from it: their fellowship is secure.

Composed by W. W. before 1806?

Boccaccio was evidently read closely by Wordsworth, for in a letter to Scott (Nov. 7, 1805) regarding Scott's edition of Dryden, Wordsworth quotes for Boccaccio, evidently from memory:

When you come to the *Fables*, might it not be advisable to print the whole of the *Tales* of Boccaccio in a smaller type in the original language? . . . It is many years since I read Boccaccio, but I remember that Sigismunde is not married by him to Guiscard. . . . Guiscard's answer, when first reproached by Tancred, is noble in Boccaccio,—nothing but this: "*Amor può molto più che ne voi ne io possiamo.*" This Dryden has spoiled. He first says very well: "The faults of love by love are justified," and then come four lines of miserable rant. . .

Dante is seldom mentioned by Wordsworth, but the following letter to Landor, Jan. 21, 1824, gives a definite statement of fact:

You promise me a beautiful copy of Dante, but I ought to mention that I possess the Parma folio of 1795,—much the *grandest* book on my shelves,—presented to me by our common friend, Mr. Kenyon. . . . It has become lately—owing a good deal, I believe, to the example of Schlegel—the fashion to extol him [Dante] above measure. I have not read him [Dante] for many years; his style I used to think admirable for conciseness and vigor, without abruptness; but I own that his fictions often struck me as offensively grotesque and fantastic, and I felt the poem tedious from various causes.

Next to Michael Angelo's influence is that of Gabriel Chiabrera (1552–1638) of Savona, a devoted admirer of Greek poetry. Chiabrera was a man with a desire to make innovations, to emulate his fellow citizen, Columbus,—“either to find a new world or to perish.” Eager to free Italian poetry from the “tyranny” of rime, to introduce new meters, to imitate the special glories of Pindar and Horace, he deserves today at least as much study as Wordsworth gave him. His political odes and sonnets were probably read by Wordsworth, who, however, was especially attracted by the *Epitaphs*. In connection with his own *Essay on Epitaphs* contributed to the *Friend* (February 22, 1810) Wordsworth translated nine of Chiabrera's twenty nine epitaphs. In Vol. II of Grosart's edition of Wordsworth's *Prose Works* are some hitherto unpublished comments on *Celebrated Epitaphs*, including one translation from Chiabrera, seventeen verses, and another, of four verses, and some remarks. These translations have great interest for the

student of Wordsworth's development. They are unrimed, somewhat stiff and perfunctory exercises, presenting moralizing comments on life, some having the vigor of stoic fortitude:

Well did I watch, much laboured, nor had power
To escape from many and strange indignities;
Was smitten by the great ones of the world,
But did not fall; for Virtue braves all shocks,
Upon herself resting immoveably. (III.)

Thou, loiter not nor halt
In thy appointed way, and bear in mind
How fleeting and how frail is human life. (VI.)

The mood of Chiebrera, agreed all too well with that of Wordsworth,—the melancholy brooding on mortality became more and more characteristic of the Englishman. His ardent sympathy with poet and patriot, was transferred to the parson; he left the light of hazel trees to seek the shadows of the yew and cypress. The churchyard scenes in the *Excursion* may owe to the Chiabrera elements we have not hitherto realized.

Possibly the emergence, in Wordsworth's later vocabulary, of Latinized diction in the poems after 1810 may be partly due to his various translations from Italian and also from Latin. About 1814, when Wordsworth's son John was busy with the Classics, the father began to re-read the Latin authors, thus fixing his attention upon an older Italy, existent in memory and imagination. He found Virgil and Ovid particularly amiable companions, so much so that after writing *Laodamia*, his masterpiece of classic mood and tone, Wordsworth began a translation of the *Æneid*, in heroic couplets, on which he worked, casually, for several years, completing, at least the first three books. In 1816 there came a return to political and patriotic themes. A sonnet on the *Siege of Vienna Raised by John Sobieski* includes a line drawn from an Ode on the same subject by Filicaija, the famous author of the sonnet reimmortalized by Byron:

Italia! oh Italia! thou who hast
The fatal gift of beauty.

At about this time there creeps into Wordsworth's poetry the definite signs of his sense of the vanishing of time, his feeling of approaching age. The Virgilian poem, *Lycoris* (1817), voices this:

But something whispers to my heart
That, as we downward tend
Lycoris! life requires an *art*
To which our souls must bend.

and a second ode to Lycoris says:

Long as the heat shall rage, let that dim cave
Protect us, there deciphering as we may
Diluvian records; or the sighs of Earth
Interpreting; or counting for old Time.
His minutes, by reiterated drops,
Audible tears, from some invisible source
That deepens upon fancy—more and more
Drawn toward the center whence those sighs creep forth
To awe the lightness of humanity.

In 1820 Wordsworth's second visit to Switzerland and Italy was made with Dorothy and Mary as companions. They saw, among Italian places, according to Dorothy's Journal, Airolo, Locarno, Lugano, Menaggio, Milan, Cadenabbia, and Duomo d'Ossola. Wordsworth's half dozen poems, written on Italian themes, are mediocre, interesting only for personal touches, as in *Stanzas Composed in the Simplon Pass*. Dorothy's account of this excursion is brilliantly written, a vivid record of her impressions. At one time she hoped by publishing this record to get money enough to revisit Italy.

One of Dorothy's chief interests was in seeing the places visited by her brother in his undergraduate trip, and William's mind was constantly turned backwards to moods and experiences of thirty years earlier. Retrospect and recollection were becoming dominant interests side by side with vehement thoughts on the political situation of the times.

Mr. William Hale White's *Examination of the Charge of Apostasy against Wordsworth* has shown that the poet's later years were not years of relapse nor of lost leadership, but thrillingly full of Wordsworthian convictions regarding Liberty and Honour. Less poetry however was written on these themes, while more and more was devoted to the reminiscent and antiquarian. Italy reached him through Roman remains in Britain, as well as through the Latin poets who had become his companions. *The Pass of Kirkstone* (1817), *To The River Derwent* (1819), the first sonnet of the Duddon series (1820) also sonnets XVII, XX; the *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*, (1821) I; 6, 8, 12, 13, suggest Roman thoughts of various kinds, but mostly of the Past. He wrote in 1826 *The Pillar of Trajan* to show his unambitious son what might have been accomplished with this theme set for a college poetry prize. *Liberty* (1829) has some charming allusions to Horace; the tour in Scotland (1831) produced *Roman Antiquities*.

The Past, either Roman or British, was the one vivid stimulus to Wordsworth's poetic imagination after he published *The Excursion*. The best poems in the various series are those which suggest changes wrought by time. Remains, prehistoric associations, objects which bear witness to a civilization spent and gone appealed to Wordsworth deeply. He possessed that imaginative power which, pondering on tangible relics, could summon up the whole reality of the surroundings and see within the ruin the creative human impulse that had given it external being. The best part of the archeologist was his, the power of contemplative resurrection of dim forgotten life. This interest increased as Wordsworth grew older, as he understood more clearly the "abysm of time" which engulphs all things. The waning of human passion, the obliteration of devout religious life, with its external formulæ of observance, and the passing of military glory gave him material for elegiac reflections. Many verses bear witness to Wordsworth's increasing love for old things,—broken, defaced, out-worn

but still beautiful in natural setting,—Druidic monuments, Roman remains, Celtic relics, British antiquities, the old Cumberland beggar, the ruined cottage, the fractured arches of Furness Abbey, Bolton's old monastic tower, and in Kilchurn castle,

the memorial majesty of Time
Impersonated in thy calm decay.

The two greatest of his later sonnets interpret this feeling for Time: *After-Thought* (1820)—

For, backward, Duddon! as I cast my eyes,
I see what was, and is, and will abide;
Still glides the Stream, and shall for ever glide;
The Form remains, the Function never dies.

and *Mutability* (1821), memorial of "the unimaginable touch of Time,"—

From low to high doth dissolution climb,
And sink from high to low, along a scale
Of awful notes, whose concord shall not fail;
A musical but melancholy chime.

It is this Wordsworth, the antiquarian, who so yearned to see Rome that he set out on the difficult journey when he was sixty-seven years of age, with the companionship of Henry Crabb Robinson. From the diary of the companion the reader gathers a distinct impression of the fact that Wordsworth visited fallen majesty, rather than contemporary life. A certain pathos exists in Wordsworth's own long *Preface to the Memorials of a Tour in Italy*.

The two started in March and returned to England in August. Wordsworth, according to Robinson, was especially interested in Vacluse, where Petrarch's best years were spent; in Savono, where Chiabrera lived. Their longest stay was in Rome, where from April twenty-sixth to about the nineteenth of May they went the usual rounds of ruins, museums, galleries, churches; they made excursions to the Campagna, to Hadrian's Villa. Wordsworth received much

kindness from an Englishwoman, Miss Mackenzie, a resident in Rome, who was influential in introducing various people to the English poet. He met Ticknor, Sismondi, Bunsen, Severn, who talked of Keats, Dr. Carlyle, Thorwaldsen. Leaving Rome they saw Jerni Assisi, Arezzo, (following the Arno for a long distance), Laverna, Camaldoli, Florence, Bologna, Milan, thence by diligence to Como. They crossed the lake by steamboat and so back to Milan where both the travelers "went up" the Cathedral to the roof. Next, they visited Bergamo, Iseo, Lovere, Desenzano (on Lake Garda) near where "Catullus had a villa," Riva, Verona, Venice, where Wordsworth said "The monuments of faded glory are deeply affecting." From Venice they went to the Tyrol and so home.

The twenty-six poems written between 1837-1842, *Memorials of a Tour in Italy*, are little known by the general reader of Wordsworth, and but slightly regarded by serious students. They have little of the great poet in them although much of the man himself. Wordsworth himself said—"my mind has been enriched by innumerable images which I could have turned to account in verse, and vivified my feelings which earlier in my life would have answered noble purposes in a way they are little likely to do. But I do not repine; on the contrary I am very happy." (July 5, 1837).

Inevitably the reader will be tempted to compare Wordsworth's descriptions of Italy, with the famous ones by Byron, Shelley, and the Brownings. But after all, Wordsworth never was a descriptive poet, for description's sake. It was always his purpose to interpret nature; to "modify" nature images by imagination; to transcend the merely pictorial:

By sensible impressions not enthralled,
But by their quickening impulse made more prompt
To hold fit converse with the spiritual world.

In these poems the purely pictorial touches are very few,—only now and then—occurs a vivid image such as:

Albano's dripping ilex avenue,

OR

The lightsome Olive's twinkling canopy,

OR

Yon snow-white torrent-fall, plumb down it drops
Yet ever hangs or seems to hang in air,
Lulling the leisure of that high-perched town.

OR

Oh what a spectacle at every turn
The Place unfolds, from pavement skinned with moss,
Or grass-grown spaces, where the heaviest foot,
Provokes no echoes, but must softly tread; *
Where Solitude with Silence paired stops short
Of Desolation, and to Ruin's scythe
Decay submits not.

The best descriptions of Italy occur in Wordsworth's letters. One to Dorothy from Rome, May 9, 1837, is particularly interesting not only for its perfect pictures but also for its desire to share with her that which she could not share with him. In the rapid description Wordsworth includes history, literature, mythology, landscape, and the decorative architectural use of stone, water, and tree. *A Guide to Italy*, following the *Guide to the Lakes*, might have been Wordsworth's gift to us. Here is a fragment of it:

The spot from which I write is surrounded by romantic beauty, and every part of it renowned in history or fable. The lake of Nemi is the celebrated Speculum Dianæ, and that of Albano is still more famous, as you may read in Livy the historian. The window of the room from which I am writing has a full view of the Mediterranean in front. The house was formerly a palace of the king of Spain; in the court below is a fountain, water spouting from the mouths of two lions into a basin, and a *jet d'eau* throwing up more, that falls back into the same basin, thence descends a flight of steps eighty in number, into a large Italian garden; below that the grass falls in a slope thickly set with olive, vine, and fruit trees; then comes a plain, or what looks like one, with plots of green corn, that look like rich meadows, spreading and winding far and wide; then succeeds a dusky marsh; and lastly, the Mediterranean Sea. All this tract is part of the

ancient Latium, the supposed kingdom of Aenos, which he wrested along with the fair Lavinea from Turnus. On the right, a little below the hotel is a stately grove of ilex belonging to the Palace or Villa Doria.

The mood of these poems of 1837 is almost prevailingly one of retrospect. The broom reminds him of Fairfield; the Pine on Monte Mario is beautiful because it was the one saved by Sir George Beaumont's intercession. At Laverna he was made happy by the note of the cuckoo, and even echoes his own lyric of 1804 to the Cuckoo with a poem " alike but oh, how different." Wordsworth's appreciation of beauty had begun to be limited by the familiar. In the *Guide to the Lakes*, reissued in 1835, he had made comparisons between Alpine, North Italian scenery, and that of the Lake country, in favor of the latter and had pronounced the olive "not more grateful to the eye than our common willow" (p. 105).

The appeal of landscape as well as the appeal of the ruins of Roman grandeur were mitigated by an almost cautious mood of anticipated disappointment. This man of intense imaginative power had said on his first sight of Mount Blanc that he

grieved
To have a soulless image on the eye
That had usurped upon a living thought
That never more could be.

He had left Yarrow unvisited,

For when we're there, although 'tis fair,
'Twill be another Yarrow!

After years of reverie over the aspect of Rome, the poet, seeing reality, wrote,

Is this, ye Gods, the Capitolian Hill?
Yon pretty Steep in truth the fearful Rock,
Tarpeian named of yore, and keeping still
That name, a local Phantom proud to mock
The Traveller's expectation?—Could our Will
Destroy the ideal Power within, 'twere done
Thro' what men see and touch,—slaves wandering on,

Impelled by thirst of all but Heaven-taught skill.
 Full oft, our wish obtained, deeply we sigh;
 Yet not unrecompensed are they who learn,
 From that depression raised, to mount on high
 With stronger wing, more clearly to discern
 Eternal things; and, if need be, defy
 Change, with a brow not insolent, though stern.

Here surely are strains that command our reverence; here speaks the great idealist who has taught man the truths of the "imaginative will."

Again, he suggests the need of depth of experience, the countless possibilities always open to the spirit:

For action born, existing to be tried,
 Powers manifold we have that intervene
 To stir the heart that would too closely screen
 Her peace from images to pain allied.
 There lives
 No faculty within us which the Soul
 Can spare.

In the same mood follow poems, which present the problems of the historian, who must repudiate tradition and seek severe truth. Wordsworth, rather dismayed to find that much which he learned as fact has been proved fiction—comforts himself with a profound reflection:

 we know
 How, for exciting youth's heroic flame,
 Assent is power, belief the soul of fact.

Catholicism, referred to with gentlest touch, is the subject of several poems concerning The Virgin, the Pope, the Camaldolese monks, and St. Francis. Wordsworth speaks, not as the known opponent of Catholic Emancipation, but as the poet reflecting on man's evident need of stages in the growth of religious life, and shows himself able to understand bogotry as a link in the individual's spiritual development. Perhaps the most significant lines in *The Cuckoo at Laverna* are these which show where St. Francis and Wordsworth agree in mystical understanding of

The power, the faith,
Of a baptized imagination, prompt
To catch from Nature's humblest monitors
Whate'er they bring of impulses sublime.

Two sonnets, translated from Michael Angelo, give contrasting moods. The first is a poem of Platonic Love and Beauty, the second is a voicing of the Christian faith in Divine forgiveness granted to a repentant soul. These sonnets perhaps begun in 1805, were probably taken up again at Florence, suitable proof of Wordsworth's thoughts in the city of Humanism.

Of Italian art—painting, sculpture, or architecture—there is little said by Wordsworth at this, or any other time. Some interesting allusions are found in a letter to Haydon, March 12, 1840: a sonnet (1820) on the *Last Supper* by Leonardo, and one, in 1837, before the Picture of the Baptist by Raphael, are religious rather than critical in spirit. Painting and sculpture did not stir his imagination as they did Keats's; architecture he preferred to picture "as fractured arch and mouldering wall."

Wordsworth's references to the political situation of the day are disappointing, because, perhaps, he had exhausted that poetic fire, earlier, in his patriotic sonnets. And yet Italy in 1837 was in a state which must have been well known to Wordsworth. Mazzini, three years earlier, had with Garibaldi roused the unsuccessful revolt in Savoy and had later fled to England. Ugo Foscolo living in exile in London had published in English Reviews various articles on Italian literature. Leopardi, who died the year Wordsworth entered Rome, had written his great ode, beginning:

O Patria mia, vedo le mura e gli archi
E le colonne e i simulacri e l'erme
Torri degli air nostri,
Ma la gloria non vedo,
Non vedo il lauro e il ferro ond' eran carchi
I nostri padri antichi.

There is no record of Wordsworth's acquaintance with any

of these men, whom one would have expected him to find of great significance. Mrs. Browning seems to have been heir to Wordsworth's earlier imaginative sympathies in politics, for it was she, not he, who voices most feelingly English sentiment for Italy. However, the few verses that he wrote have much of his earlier power of distinctive image:

They—who have heard some learned Patriot treat
Of freedom, with mind grasping the whole theme
From ancient Rome, downwards through that bright dream
Of Commonwealths, each city a starlike seat
Of rival glory; they—fallen Italy—
Nor must, nor will, nor can, despair of Thee!

The most successful poem in this series of *Memorials* is devoted to Italian freedom. Both in form and in spirit the sonnet is Wordsworthian, having imagery as characteristic as it is symbolic:

Fair Land! Thee all men greet with joy; how few,
Whose souls take pride in freedom, virtue, fame,
Part from thee without pity dyed in shame:
I could not—while from Venice we withdrew,
Led on till an Alpine strait confined our view
Within its depths, and to the shores we came
Of Lago Morto, dreary sight and name,
Which o'er sad thoughts a sadder colouring threw.
Italia! on the surface of thy spirit,
(Too aptly emblemed by that torpid lake)
Shall a few partial breezes only creep?—
Be its depths quickened; what thou dost inherit
Of the world's hopes, dare to fulfil; awake,
Mother of Heroes, from thy death-like sleep!

Three sonnets, not in this series, but composed the same year, were written at Bologna, in *Remembrance of the Late Insurrections, 1837*. They offer some exceedingly valuable counsel to all revolutionists,—for,

by no mere fit
Of sudden passions roused shall men attain
True freedom.

Byron, Shelley, Keats died long before Italy's awakening. Among the later poets, neither Landor nor Clough nor Mrs.

Browning nor Wordsworth lived to see the final unification of Italy in 1870. Only in imagination did these *anime eccelse e pellegrine* foresee the assured greatness of Italy's future.

Musings Near Aquapendente is most representative of these *Memorials*,—a wistful reverie, full of Wordsworthian analysis and allusion, deeply interesting because it gives us autobiographical material which rounds out the *Prelude* and brings us the distinctive note of the philosophy of a man of sixty-seven. In an Age when so many poets died young, when Keats, Shelley, Byron, the poet Coleridge (not the prose-writer) had interpreted youth, it is immensely important for us to have a poet who lived to old age and interpreted for us, the moods and feelings and thoughts of that period. Tennyson's later poems are too much taken up with outer circumstances of his epoch, Browning's are too dramatic, too objective to give us much *de senectute*. *Asolando*—published when Browning was seventy-seven offers some interesting parallels with Wordsworth,—*Reverie* especially. Landor's broodings lack the spiritual tone which we desire in those who have surmounted experience. Wordsworth, even in his physical decline, has a special importance and a special beauty, because of his loyal iteration of an idealism that never swerved.

MARTHA HALE SHACKFORD

XI. WORDSWORTH'S INFLUENCE ON THOMAS CAMPBELL

Biographical sketches give us Thomas Campbell's opinion of Wordsworth in only a general way. Carruthers, for instance, informs us in a magazine article¹ that he cared little for the Lake Poets, but considered Wordsworth greatly superior to the others. Again, some reminiscences contributed by an acquaintance to Beattie's biography of the poet² make very nearly the same statement,—namely that Wordsworth was as much above Southey as some other poets above Wordsworth. These reminiscences, however, may be likewise from Carruthers, and there is no evidence as to the date at which Campbell expressed either opinion. In 1842, on the other hand, at a breakfast to which Campbell invited Rogers and Moore among other guests, Wordsworth was said to be a great poet.³ Who expressed the view and whether Campbell agreed with it is not made clear, but since we have just seen that he approved of Wordsworth, it seems likely that he concurred in the opinion.

The first possible influence of Wordsworth on Campbell's poetry occurs in the year 1824, but though the date is early, the hypothesis is by no means absurd. De Quincey states that until 1820 the Wordsworthian cause was scorned; from 1820 to 1830, it was militant; and after 1830, it was triumphant. Now in 1824, Campbell published a tale in verse by the name of *Theodric*. In this, the young Swiss Udolph is a soldier under the command of Theodric and so praises his

¹ "Chambers' *Edinburgh Journal*," III, 100.

² W. Beattie, *Life and Letters of Thomas Campbell*, London, 1849, III, 254, 255. This book is the chief source of our knowledge of Campbell's life since the author was a personal friend of the poet and received from him all the necessary documents.

³ Beattie, *op. cit.*, III, 329.

superior, in letters home, that his sister Julia falls in love with the officer. A visit of Theodric to the Swiss home at the close of the war makes Julia completely infatuated with him, but instead of returning her affection he goes to England, where he marries an English girl. On receiving news later that Julia is dying of love, he journeys to Switzerland to attend her deathbed, but in the meantime his wife in England is taken sick as well and dies before his return. The Swiss part of the story is clearly primitivistic, for Campbell exalts the innocence of the population, evidently regarding their idyllic condition as the result of the uplifting effect of mountain life. In this way, the tale is akin to *Gertrude of Wyoming*, which likewise exhibits a strong primitivistic bent. There is, however, one important difference between the two works,—namely, the greater simplicity of the later one. Campbell himself recognizes this fact for he writes in a letter that there will be at first “an outcry and regret [on the part of the public] that there is nothing grand or romantic in the poem, and that it is too humble and familiar”⁴; in spite of this fact, he continues, the work later “will attain a steady popularity.” Thus the question arises why Campbell did not make the new poem so elaborate as the successful *Gertrude of Wyoming*,—in other words, what influence was inciting him to strive for simplicity.

A tale of moderate length in heroic couplets like *Theodric* suggests Crabbe as a source, and some writers have ascribed the poem to his influence. It is indeed possible that Campbell derived from him the idea of writing a fairly long narrative in this meter, but since he had already used heroic couplets in the *Pleasures of Hope* and many other pieces and had essayed the metrical tale in *Gertrude*, he might well have made the new combination for himself. But whatever we say about the meter, the general spirit is certainly not like Crabbe, for, however simple it may be, it is idyllic and not harshly realistic. In my opinion, then, we must reject

⁴ Beattie, *op. cit.*, II, 434.

Crabbe and turn elsewhere for our source. In this dilemma, Wordsworth may help us. In this author's *Descriptive Sketches*, an early poem in heroic couplets picturing Swiss scenery, occur the following lines:

Dark is the region as with coming night;
But what a sudden burst of overpowering light!
Triumphant on the bosom of the storm,
Glances the wheeling eagle's glorious form!
Eastward, in long perspective glittering, shine
The wood-crowned cliffs that o'er the lake recline;
Those lofty cliffs a hundred streams unfold,
At once to pillars turned that flame with gold (vv. 273-280).

Now as an anonymous writer in the *United States Literary Gazette*⁶ remarks, the opening lines of *Theodric* resemble these in substance:

'Twas sunset, and the Ranz des Vaches was sung,
And lights were o'er the Helvetian mountains flung
That gave the glacier-tops their richest glow
And tinged the lakes like molten gold below.
Warmth flushed the wonted regions of the storm,
Where, phoenix-like, you saw the eagle's form
That high in heaven's vermillion wheeled and soared;
Woods nearer frowned, and cataracts dashed and roared
From heights browsed by the bounding bouquetin.

Though this is the only similarity between the poems, it has considerable weight. In both passages are to be found a sunset, a storm, heights reddened by the evening glow, waterfalls, a lake, and an eagle; the eagle "wheels" in both; and a couplet in each has the rhyme "storm—form." It would seem as if Campbell, unacquainted with Switzerland personally, had gone to this early poem of Wordsworth for details about the scenery. He no doubt intended to change the language, but "wheels" and the rhyme "storm—form" slipped past, whether or not without his notice. Now this probable use of Wordsworth as a source for a single passage inclines us to believe that the simplicity of the whole poem

⁶ I, 343, 344.

—unusual in Campbell's verse at this time—is due to the same influence. We cannot, indeed, be certain of this conclusion at present, but if in our succeeding study of Campbell we find sure proofs of a Wordsworthian influence, we can safely assume that *Theodric* exhibits the first stages of it. But at any rate, we must remark that Campbell does not yet understand Wordsworth thoroughly. The characters of Julia and Udolph are too unreal, too much like eighteenth century types, and there is a prettiness about the whole composition which is not Wordsworthian.

At this point, before examining Campbell's poems on nature and childhood for any traces of a similar influence, we must consider very briefly his attitude toward these two subjects before 1820. There can be no doubt that the poet was really fond of nature and observed real scenery instead of merely taking the descriptions from books, but his interest in it is always aesthetic, not realistic or scientific. But in spite of this limitation his treatment of nature is decidedly varied, for he is sensitive to all its different aspects. Color, form, and light all figure in his descriptions. Smell and sound and even a suggestion of taste are brought in likewise; and animal as well as plant life animates his pictures. A typical example of such nature poetry is the first stanza of the *Beech Tree's Petition*.

O leave this barren spot to me!
Spare, woodman, spare the beechen tree.
Though bush or floweret never grow
My dark unwarmed shade below;
Nor summer bud perfume the dew,
Of rosy blush or yellow hue;
Nor fruits of autumn, blossom-born,
My green and glossy leaves adorn;
Nor murmuring tribes from me derive
The ambrosial amber of the hive—
Yet leave this barren spot to me:
Spare, woodman, spare the beechen tree!

But in spite of the variety of elements which this sort of verse exhibits, it has one marked limitation. Campbell is

content to stop at beauty; he never goes on to interpret nature, nor does he ever reveal any extraordinary emotional reactions of his own.

The poet's early treatment of children is somewhat similar. In the *Pleasures of Hope*,⁶ we get a picture of a mother watching over her sleeping infant, and in *Gertrude of Wyoming*⁷ we have a pretty account of the heroine's childhood. Both of these passages make the reader feel that the poet had a fondness for children and enjoyed watching them. On the other hand, his attitude toward them is rather sentimental and does not reveal a true, heart-felt affection.

In 1826 a new point of view is noticeable as regards nature in Campbell's *Field Flowers*, a piece expressing his love for wild flowers. Instead of his former interest in nature and fondness for it, he here displays a passionate love, far deeper than anything in his former verse. In addition, he exhibits an emotional reaction to natural objects; he loves the wild flowers because they recall his early life before it became scarred with numerous sad experiences. A quotation will clearly prove the new mood of the poem:

Not a pastoral song has a pleasanter tune
Than ye speak to my heart, little wildings of June!
Of old ruinous castles ye tell,
Where I thought it delightful your beauties to find,
When the magic of Nature first breathed on my mind,
And your blossoms were part of her spell.

Even now what affections the violet awakes!
What loved little islands, twice seen in their lakes,
Can the wild water lily restore!
What landscapes I read in the primrose's looks,
And what pictures of pebbled and minnowy brooks
In the vetches that tangled their shore!

This affection for the flowers seems almost a personal one, and the poet's general point of view reminds the reader considerably of Wordsworth.

⁶ I, 225 ff.

⁷ I, stanza 12.

The *Lines on Revisiting a Scottish River* (1826), a protest against the factory system, exemplifies the same new attitude toward nature. After finding fault with the ugliness of the factory, Campbell pities the workers in it, especially the children, and declares that in order to heap up profits for a few, the system banishes rural life.

Nor call that evil slight; God has not given
This passion to the heart of man in vain
For earth's green face, the untainted air of heaven,
And all the bliss of Nature's rustic reign.
For not alone our frame imbibes a stain
From foetid skies—the spirit's healthy pride
Fades in their gloom.

Thus the poem reveals a definite theory about nature and not merely an enjoyment of its beauty. And again we must note that, though the similarity is by no means convincing, the work might be influenced by Wordsworth.

In 1831, while at the seaside resort of St. Leonards, Campbell wrote the *Lines on the View from St. Leonards*, expressing his delight in the ocean. The poem is in blank verse, a fact which at once attracts our attention, for Campbell has never used this meter previously. Our first idea is that this new element comes from the poet's old favorite, Milton. On examination, nevertheless, we discover that the verse has more informality and suppleness than Milton's and makes no attempt at his dignified, sonorous majesty. On the failure of our first guess, we moderns are apt to think of Wordsworth, remembering *Tintern Abbey Lines*, the *Excursion*, and certain stray bits of the *Prelude*, all of which had been published considerably before 1831.

The subject of the poem reinforces our conjecture as to Wordsworth, for Campbell has deliberately written 136 lines containing nothing but reflections on a single object in nature,—the sea. Moreover, we cannot attribute the poem to the influence of the famous ocean passage in *Childe Harold*, for even if we waive the question of meter, we see on examination that the *Lines on St. Leonards* have not the

Byronic but the Wordsworthian flavor. Though the author feels the emotional influence of the ocean, he does not push himself forward. Moreover, he is not melancholy, desperate, posing, or even longing for anything; he is serene, large-minded, and sweet natured. The opening passage illustrates this in its evident affection for an object in nature:

Hail to thy face and odours, glorious Sea!
 'Twere thanklessness in me to bless thee not,
 Great beauteous Being! in whose breath and smile
 My heart beats calmer, and my very mind
 Inhales salubrious thoughts.

Again, Campbell has gained from Wordsworth a closer observation of nature, as is evident in the following lines:

How vividly this moment brightens forth,
 Between gray parallel and leaden breadths,
 A belt of lines that stripes thee [the sea] many a league,
 Flushed like the rainbow, or the ringdove's neck,
 And giving to the glancing sea-bird's wing
 The semblance of a meteor (vv. 27-32).

Finally, under this new influence, Campbell actually philosophizes on nature, thus going farther in his interpretation of it than in any of the poems of the 1820-1830 period. The idea that he brings out is Wordsworth's cardinal doctrine:

What though thou [the sea] art
 Unconscious and material?—thou canst reach
 The inmost immaterial mind's recess,
 And with thy tints and motion stir its chords
 To music, like the light of Memnon's lyre!
 The Spirit of the Universe in thee
 Is visible; thou hast in thee the life—
 The eternal, graceful, and majestic life—
 Of nature, and the natural human heart
 Is therefore bound to thee with holy love (vv. 63-72).

In my opinion, this poem of Campbell's is not modelled on any particular one of Wordsworth's, but is the result of a general study of them all. Very likely, however, the extract from the *Prelude* published in the 1815 edition of Words-

worth and known as the *Influence of Natural Objects*, may have been particularly in Campbell's mind. At any rate, it treats the influence of nature on the human soul and begins with the line:

Wisdom and Spirit of the universe!

a line in which Campbell would have found the words he uses,—“Spirit of the Universe.”

Since a poem has now been discovered which unquestionably bears the mark of Wordsworth, it can be affirmed that the tendencies in the same direction displayed in *Theodric* (1824), *Field Flowers* (1826), and the *Lines on Revisiting a Scottish River* (1826) were probably the beginning of this same Wordsworthian influence, which had grown upon Campbell in the intervening five years.

In 1831, too, Campbell wrote some verses *To the Infant Son of My Dear Friends*. Unlike his early poems, the work displays a real, as distinguished from a sentimental, fondness for children. Taken by itself, it is not especially significant, but when one reflects that it was produced in the same year as the “St. Leonards Lines,” one begins to distinguish a slight Wordsworthian flavor:

One day thy breast, scarce conscious now,
Shall burn with patriot flame;
And fraught with love, that little brow
Shall wear the wreath of fame.

In the last two lines, especially, the reader can see a tinge of the simplicity and the childlike quality that mark Wordsworth's addresses to children.

The Dead Eagle (1835), another poem in blank verse, suggests Wordsworth to some extent, but far less than does the *Lines on St. Leonards*. The subject is Wordsworthian, for Campbell has chosen to write on an animal and allowed his imagination to become kindled with the spirit of the creature's life. The poet tells how the eagle perched on the top of Mt. Atlas, how he sailed on high in the air and then swooped earthwards inspiring terror in the hearts of all, and

how he soared aloft again, not caring for the crashes of the naval battle below or the scattered ruins of a town shattered by an earthquake. Then Campbell veers off to nature in some lines that characterize his attitude toward it at the time of his Algerian journey and are at the same time Wordsworthian:

Strange is the imagination's dread delight
 In objects linked with danger, death, and pain!
 Fresh from the luxuries of polished life,
 The echo of these wilds enchanted me;
 And my heart beat with joy when first I heard
 A lion's roar come down the Libyan wind
 Across yon long, wide, lonely island lake,
 Where boat ne'er sails from homeless shore to shore (vv. 77-84).

Finally the poem ends in a passage about the gentler side of the scenery, a passage showing a keen eye for color and suggesting Wordsworth in places.

In *Ben Lomond* (1836), we again see the mark of Wordsworth. It is addressed to the mountain with almost personal feeling. In addition, the moralizing on the subject and, to some extent, the style recall the master:

Thy long duration makes our lives
 Seem but so many hours;
 And likens to the bees' frail hives
 Our most stupendous towers.

Cora Linn or the Falls of Clyde (1837) is saturated with the Wordsworth spirit. In the *Lines on St. Leonards*, we have already met a poem which contained passages very like Wordsworth's grand style and in *The Infant Son* and *Ben Lomond*, two poems where his simple style was somewhat suggested. In *Cora Linn*, the triumph of the simple style is complete, for all the stanzas are strongly marked with it and some of them, if we waive the question of excellence, might perfectly well be written by the poet himself. The general attitude toward the waterfall is a perfect reproduction of Wordsworth's toward natural objects in his short poems; the personal element is carried so far that

Campbell has a positive affection for the object and treats it with a meditative tenderness.

The time I saw thee, Cora, last,
'Twas with congenial friends;
And calmer hours of pleasure past
My memory seldom sends.

So the poem begins, and so runs the unfortunate last line, which very much resembles similar infelicities in Wordsworth's simple style. The stanza, however, which is the most perfect reproduction of the style of Wordsworth and which, in my opinion, might have been written by that poet himself, runs—

In Cora's glen the calm how deep!
That trees on loftiest hill
Like statues stood, or things asleep
All motionless and still.

A poem where the influence of Wordsworth is easily distinguishable, though the subject is drawn from neither nature nor childhood, is *Napoleon and the British Sailor* (1839). In this, a British sailor, held prisoner by the French at Boulogne during the war between the two countries, is so desirous of getting back to England that he fashions a fragile boat in which to cross the Channel. Caught at the work by the French, he is brought to Napoleon, who asks him why he is willing to risk his life in a mere skiff. He replies that he is anxious to see his mother and so touches Napoleon that the latter orders him sent to England. This subject is truly Wordsworthian. There is no interest in the pomp and circumstance of war, no interest in Napoleon as a great general or a conqueror. The attention is centered wholly on the characters of two plain and apparently common place individuals (for Napoleon is looked upon only in that light), and on their ways of reacting to a rather trivial event. The poem thus belongs to the same class as Wordsworth's *Simon Lee*, in which the hero, an old huntsman, too feeble to do a simple task, is greatly impressed at the

ease with which another man accomplishes it. The style, as well as the subject matter, of Campbell's poem, betrays the influence of Wordsworth in its utter simplicity.

A companion piece to *Napoleon and the British Sailor* is *The Parrot* (1839), a poem based upon a true story which Campbell picked up in his youth during a stay in the Hebrides. A parrot is brought from the Spanish Main to that island at an early age and there grows old and becomes silent. One day a Spaniard appears and addresses the bird in Spanish, whereupon the parrot answers in the same language, flaps his wings joyfully, and falls down dead. This is Wordsworthian in its extremely simple style and also in ferreting out significance from what most people would consider too trivial for notice. It would seem that Campbell agreed with them on this question for some forty-five years, until at length under Wordsworthian influence he became interested in the significance of the apparently insignificant. The poem reveals another similarity to the older poet in a penchant for animal psychology.

In his former poem about a little boy, *The Infant Son* (1831), Campbell exhibited a sincere affection for children and a slight touch of the Wordsworthian manner. About 1840 he wrote *On Getting Home the Portrait of a Female Child, Six Years Old*—what a Wordsworthian title! Here the influence of the greater poet has grown much stronger, and the simple style is so clearly marked that there is no getting away from it. The affection for children, too, has deepened until it might almost be described as doting. Finally, Campbell expresses very nearly the Wordsworthian idea as to their heavenly origin. The concluding passage of the poem will give his expression of the idea and at the same time furnish the lines most like Wordsworth. Campbell is speaking of the painter:

He marshals minds to Beauty's feast—
He is Humanity's high priest
Who proves, by heavenly forms on earth,
How much this world of ours is worth.

Inspire me child, with visions fair!
 For children, in Creation, are
 The only things that could be given
 Back, and alive—unchanged—to Heaven.

The Wordsworthian note is to be observed in *To My Niece, Mary Campbell* (1841),—some verses addressed to the girl who cared for the old man in his declining years—but it is far stronger in the *Lines on My New Child Sweet-heart* (1841), a work written apropos of the lovely child whom Campbell met on the street and for whom he advertised in the papers, asking permission of her parents to visit her. Indeed this latter poem is saturated with Wordsworth. It begins with two lines of the sort which the latter poet writes when his simplicity takes a turn toward foolishness:

I hold it a religious duty
 To love and worship children's beauty.

Campbell produces such lines every once in a while in the late Wordsworthian period. I have already noted one instance, an early one where the fault was just appearing; from 1839 till his death, however, these slips are decidedly noticeable when they occur. Two or three that he perpetrated are extreme cases and are as bad as the very worst that Wordsworth's *Idiot Boy* can supply. In *The Pilgrim of Glencoe* (1842), for example, the old Jacobite hero loathes the Hanoverian sovereigns and while inveighing against them, bursts a blood vessel in the brain. Campbell describes it in the unhappy and unintentionally amusing couplet:

And one day, whilst the German rats be cursed,
 An artery in his wise sensorium burst (vv. 469-70).

Since these infelicities, whether or not extreme, appear only in the period when Campbell is under the influence of Wordsworth, we cannot but believe that they result from that influence. Presumably, in his attempt to use the simple style, Campbell sometimes tended to cross the line that separates simplicity from foolishness. Since his senile

judgment failed to restrain him, and Wordsworth's own example tended to encourage, he went ahead unconscious of the resulting infelicities.

When Campbell has rid his system of the first foolish couplet in the *Child Sweetheart*, he gets along better, expressing the cardinal Wordsworthian doctrine about children:

They've least the taint of earthly clod,
They're freshest from the land of God;
With heavenly looks they make us sure
The heaven that made them must be pure;
We love them not in earthly fashion,
But with a beatific passion.

Then Campbell goes on to describe the exquisite childish beauty of the little girl whom he met and the way in which she instinctively knew that his love for children was real and not sham. His affection can really be called doting. Finally he breaks into a wail of disappointment because he cannot see the child again and then ends the poem with a very Wordsworthian and rather foolish couplet:

But where abides this jewel rare?
Oh, ye that own her, tell me where!
For sad it makes my heart and sore
To think I ne'er may meet her more.

One more thoroughly Wordsworthian poem demands our attention,—*The Child and Hind*," the action of which takes place at Wiesbaden, Germany. Little Wilhelm, in his search for wild flowers, strays from his family. They look for him long in vain and some days later find him sleeping and guarded by a hind. Beattie⁸ tells us that Campbell got the story from a German poem, by G. Ph. Roth, called *Das Verlorne Kind* or *Der Schutzgeist*. Beattie then gives about ten lines of the beginning. Unfortunately I cannot find the poem in the Harvard or Boston Library, but, since the first lines bear no resemblance at all to the English version, we may assume that Campbell got nothing but the

⁸ Beattie, *op. cit.*, III, 320.

plot from the German. He had, however, a story that appealed to his recently acquired Wordsworthian taste because of its simplicity, the humble social station of the characters, and, above all, the excellent opportunity that it offered for a bit of animal psychology. Accordingly he proceeded to clothe it in the Wordsworthian simple style, with the result that the finished product bears some resemblance to *Lucy Gray*. The part of the poem most like Wordsworth both in style and content is Campbell's reflections upon the hind's watching the child:

Hail! sacred love of childhood—hail!
How sweet it is to trace
Thine instinct in Creation's scale,
Even 'neath the human race,

To this poor wanderer of the wild
Speech, reason were unknown—
And yet she watched a sleeping child
As if it were her own.

Thus we see that the Wordsworthian influence upon Campbell commences in 1824 and continues through the rest of his life. It is slight until 1831, but from then on it grows stronger, for Campbell's work gets to have more and more of the Wordsworth note in both sentiments and diction. The influence is at its height in poems on nature and children, as we might suppose, since Wordsworth is most original in treating these subjects, and indeed practically all of Campbell's late verse about them bears the stamp of the greater poet. Though the late poems on other subjects are usually not Wordsworthian, the pieces about nature and childhood are so much more important than the others after 1832 that the influence of the master may well be called the dominating element in the last part of Campbell's life.

ALBERT MORTON TURNER

XII. ANALOGUES OF WORDSWORTH'S

THE BORDERERS

The Borderers does not, and cannot, rank high among Wordsworth's poems. It is curiously lacking in the glamor, the color, the atmosphere of a remote and picturesque past by which the romantic poets are wont to impart a persuasive verisimilitude to their pictures of the Middle Ages. The characters of the play have slight individuality, and in spite of the calamities that befall them, they evoke no sympathy. Although the poem exhibits intellectual power in the handling of a philosophical problem and a finely whittled precision in the statement of ideas, yet these robust merits are unhappily wedded to the mawkish ineptitude of contemporary literature. The hero, Marmaduke, is the humanitarian freebooter of Schiller's *Robbers*; however, to do him justice, he does not, like Karl Moor, support young men at college with his tainted money. Herbert and Idonea present a lachrymose picture of virtue in distress; the blind old man is a sentimentalized Oedipus, and his daughter is a Greuze maiden, a girl with a broken pitcher, who has stepped out of her frame to go a-wandering; her angelic perfection only exasperates. Even the "little dog, tied by a woollen cord," that guides the wandering Herbert, has a sentimental pedigree; he is the faithful animal of current novels—the descendant, for example, of virtuous, old Trusty, the "shag house-dog" of *The Man of Feeling*.

But notwithstanding its shortcomings, *The Borderers* holds an important place in the complete record of Wordsworth's work. How important Professor Legouis has shown with penetrating insight, and for that reason there is no need in this paper for me to do more than indicate its significance. The play reveals Wordsworth as a disillusioned dis-

ciple of William Godwin, exposing the perilous fallacies of the system of rationalistic philosophy that could not fulfill its high promise. His hero, Marmaduke, is a noble nature against his better impulses led into crime by Oswald, a Machiavellian villain, who undermines all his principles by Godwinian arguments. He scoffs at Marmaduke's compunctions, urging him to be superior to pity, to reject those general principles by which weak, unthinking creatures guide their conduct, and to decide what is right by the aid of his own unfettered reason. When Marmaduke discovers that he has been duped, the result is moral chaos, and, like so many other sinners in romantic literature, he becomes an unhappy wanderer in the waste places of the world. What Wordsworth has done is to exhibit the spiritual ruin consequent upon unhampered individualism. Godwin had claimed the infallible power of the reason to recognize the truth, but Marmaduke's tragic blundering discloses what Wordsworth, with unflinching intellectual honesty, had come to think of such dogmatic confidence. The poet's optimism was blighted. So much for the hopes of a perfected humanity and of a millennium based on a faith in human judgment! Truly it is as Oscar Wilde puts it; to describe man as a rational being is one of the most premature of definitions.

If readers of Wordsworth infer that *The Borderers* is an isolated attempt to unmask by means of a fiction the doctrines of Godwin's *Political Justice*, they attach to the play a significance it can scarcely claim. A perusal of the minor literature of the period—not always an exhilarating task—uncovers a surprising number of novels the aim of which is identical with that of *The Borderers*. These books I think I am justified in regarding as analogues. They contain characters and situations that, in substance and in treatment, cannot be distinguished from Wordsworth's work. Nearly all are constructed in accordance with the same formula—a formula which I suspect is not without its indebtedness to Voltaire's *Candide*—the presentation of a philosopher, his converts, and the consequences of trying to carry his doc-

trines into practice. In some cases the resulting conduct is grotesque, and then we have buffoonery suggestive of an Academy of Lagado. In other cases the resulting conduct is tragic in its effect, and then we have the spiritual havoc of *The Borderers*. But whether these writers strive to put Godwin out of countenance by laughter or by humorless moral indignation, they all are ironic. Like Wordsworth they stress the contrast between man as Godwin conceived him, and man as experience reveals him. That they were always fair to Godwin cannot be asserted. It is not difficult to render any revolutionary theory ridiculous or dangerous if one insists on interpreting it with the literalness of unsparing logic. Alarmed conservatives are inevitably impatient; they do not perceive that in time reality and common sense clip with unsentimental shears the wilder aspirations of too novel doctrines.

There is one fundamental difference between *The Borderers* and its analogues. Wordsworth writes as one who has believed, and has now lost faith. When events at home and abroad had threatened to undermine his confidence in human nature and in the progress of liberty, Godwin's doctrines had invigorated his hope and reaffirmed the possibility of a regenerated world. But when rationalism was turning out to be a blind alley, Wordsworth's perturbation of the spirit was all the greater. He faced the cruel fact of his doubt, and, like Ibsen in a somewhat similar situation, he "probed where it hurt most." He wrote *The Borderers* to dissect the ideas that had betrayed him, and to clarify his own spiritual difficulties through the very concrete expression of them. The origin of the work was immediate and subjective. On the other hand, the writers of the analogues do not record any personal experiences, as far as I have been able to discover. Their approach to Godwin is entirely objective; never at any time had they known the throb of revolutionary aspiration. The feeling they reveal is only the animus of agitated conservatism. Their aim is purely practical and didactic; to warn, sometimes in the shrillest of tones, against

any venture on the quicksands of Godwinism. As novelists they never even approximate, as does Wordsworth, Ibsen's definition of poetry as "doomsday accounts of our souls."

In two novels Elizabeth Hamilton burlesques the doctrines of *Political Justice*. In *Letters of a Hindoo Rajah* (1797), an Indian traveler meets, at an English country-house, fantastic Godwinian philosophers. Wordsworth's Oswald believed in reason as an infallible aid in the solution of moral problems. Mr. Vapour is convinced that through the power of mind man will ultimately overcome his physical weaknesses. In the millennium he will be able to resist cold and "to exist, not only without clothing, but without food also. . . . People will not then be so foolish as to die." Miss Ardent, for a very different motive, anticipates the millennium; youth and beauty will have then lost their allurements, mental qualities alone will attract the sexes to each other, and accordingly the golden age will become the homely woman's paradise. In the end, Miss Ardent, dispensing with legal ties, goes to the continent with another equally individualistic philosopher, Mr. Axiom. The enlightened Mr. Sceptic perverts his trusting cousin and accomplishes her ruin. When the poor girl, torn, like Marmaduke, with fearful doubts and misgivings importunes the philosopher, he takes refuge in writing a book on *The Supremacy of Reason*. But when he hears that his cousin has drowned herself, his conscience is smitten, and he shoots himself. Mr. Sceptic is a repentant philosopher, a type that recurs in anti-Godwinian fiction. It is clear to what extent, in the authoress' opinion, Godwinianism would inaugurate a moral topsy-turvydom.

In *Memoirs of Modern Philosophers* (1800) Elizabeth Hamilton gives the leash to her satire in three good-sized volumes. The heroine is a caricature—squint eyes, stub nose, and waddling gait. The fact that Bridgetina came into the world without the assistance of a midwife "generated a noble spirit of independence." She browbeats her mother, scorns domestic duties, especially the making of plum-pudding,

and, actuated by her Godwinian conviction that to achieve a purpose it is necessary only to wield persistently the hammer of logic, labors to persuade Dr. Sidney that his duty to humanity requires that he accept her love and flee with her to Africa. "Can the mind of my rival be compared to mine? . . . Does she discuss? Does she argue? Does she investigate with my powers? You cannot say so; and therefore plainly she is less worthy of your love."¹ When Bridgetina contemplates joining a Utopian colony among the Hottentots, the philosopher, Mr. Myope, argues against her feeling any sense of duty to her poor, old mother.

Of similar purport is the philosophy of Vallaton. He is the arch villain of the novel, as cold-blooded and as deliberate in his wickedness as Oswald. Monstrous crimes he justifies by doctrines of sinister egoism. Of that "reverence for life" which made Marmaduke falter, he has none. To secure seven hundred guineas, he betrays an old man to the Revolutionary Tribune. He enters upon a systematic attempt to corrupt the susceptible, but pure-minded Julia. All her virtuous scruples, respect for propriety, filial affection, gratitude, he derides as mere prejudices, and her suggestion that an elopement might break her father's heart, he meets with such scorn as Oswald had directed at Marmaduke's compunctions. Bewildered by these sophistries, Julia yields, and in the end dies, abandoned in London. Poetic justice finally disposes of Vallaton by the guillotine. These incidents are extravagant, and one might infer powerless to do good. But this novel went through three editions in two years, and one unknown correspondent wrote to the authoress to thank her for the cure her story had effected. Others commended her in a similar strain, and as we are unctuously assured, such praise Elizabeth Hamilton valued more than "the most flattering plaudits of fashion."²

¹ Edition of 1800, II, 400.

² *Memoirs of Mrs. Elizabeth Hamilton*, ed. Miss Bengier, 2 vols., London 1818. I, 132-133.

The Vagabond (1799) by George Walker met with no less success. Within two years five editions appeared—four English and one American. The buffoonery is crude, but by no means without point. In this instance it is the philosopher, Stupeo, who leads astray a promising young pupil, Frederick Fenton. As a result Fenton resists all his father's efforts to recall him to decency, and is expelled from college for trying "to spread the truth"—an anticipatory Shelley. As he goes from bad to worse, he is always sustained by a feeling of "conscious innocence," his reason never being at a loss to find adequate excuses for every iniquity. The faculty which Godwin had exalted as the means of man's ultimate redemption, is here revealed as working his ruin. The desertion of a father, the betrayal of friends, gambling, petty contemptible frauds are one and all viewed with moral indifference by an individualist who, in Wordsworth's phrase, recognizes "no law but what each man makes for himself."³ To the degenerate Frederick, Stupeo preaches the doctrine of the superman. "When we have shaken off the influence of everything called principle, are satisfied we have no portion in eternity . . . what power, I ask, can control us? We become almost too great for the world; mind seems to rise superior to matter; crime becomes nothing; all that men call murder, incest, lust, and cruelty is trifling, not more, in fact, than . . . cutting down the trees of the forest" . . . "I feel," cries Frederick, "I feel I am now free. I shall render my name immortal, for no human ties, no moral check shall stay the purpose of my power."⁴ This is but a parody of the cry of the romantic egoist, his flamboyant pride in his moral isolation. It is to such an attitude of presumptuous indifference to the opinion of "squeamish, half-thinking cowards" that Oswald strives to bring Marmaduke, and so glorifies the solitude in which the eagle lives. *The Vagabond* closes with the disillusionment of Frederick. His individualism is chastened, and he draws wisdom from stern experience.

³ *Works of Wordsworth* (Cambridge Edition), Boston, 1904. Act. II, l. 47.

⁴ *The Vagabond*, London, 1799. 2 vols., II, Ch. IV.

"Alas! What is man? A being influenced by cruelty and rapine . . . I see that . . . half our miseries we bring on ourselves, by endeavouring to raise human nature superior to itself."⁵

Dorothea, or, A Ray of the New Light (1801), is another three volume effort to beat rationalism to the earth. The agents of the heroine's downfall are her French governess and an utter scamp by the name of Williams. Like Oswald, Williams, with brazen self-righteousness, gives noble names to base deeds, and tricks out crime with the attractions of virtue. The robbery and desertion of his wife and children do not trouble him; "immutable and unerring justice" has been his guide, and accordingly he is more attached to humanity than to his narrow family circle. Be it remembered that Godwin himself had counseled such terrible equanimity in the commission of what the world regards as unnatural acts. He had advised that a son who discovers his decrepit father and a philosopher in a burning house, should by preference save the philosopher as the individual of greater value to mankind. So Marmaduke, schooled by Oswald, wouldn't give a continental for a man who would not send his child "with a filip to its grave."⁶ But retribution overtakes these philosophic wrong-doers as relentlessly as in Gilbert's decalet of "a very bad boy" who cherished "a great big squirt" as "his favorite toy." Williams, the villain of the present novel, dies by the hand of a victim whom his crimes had driven mad.

Dorothea's individualism disrupts her own marriage, and demoralizes a whole community. One of her pupils, an emancipated village-girl, refuses, on philosophic grounds, to iron her brother's shirts, blandly gives herself to her lover, and persuades him to correct the inequality of property by robbing Dorothea herself. This ironic incident materially hastens Dorothea's own cure, and at the close she is reformed with that delightful thoroughness in which novelists and

⁵ *The Vagabond*, II, Ch. IX.

⁶ Act III, l. 110.

dramatists in the eighteenth century gave themselves so much practice.

To make clear that in his opinion of Godwin's philosophy he is in complete agreement with Wordsworth, it is not necessary to summarize Charles Lucas's tumultuous novel, *The Infernal Quixote* (2nd edition 1795). His villain, Marauder, gallops through crime and vice, tramples down a goodly crop of victims, and meets in due course a violent end. Such individualists, destructive of the moral order of the universe, Lucas describes as "diabolists" because of their likeness to Satan.⁷ This sympathy of the passionate egoist with the energy and defiance of Satan has been frequently recognized before, but a few instances, less known, may not be amiss to indicate the persistence of this attitude. Godwin himself expresses admiration for Satan's rebellion against God because the fiend had the intelligence to realize the injustice of that inequality of rank that prevailed in heaven.⁸ Mary Wollstonecroft, having read *Paradise Lost*, confesses that, after contemplating Adam and Eve in Paradise, "with Satanic pride" she "turned to hell for sublime objects."⁹ Burns belongs to the same radical company; he bought a copy of *Paradise Lost*, and regarded with satisfaction the chief of the fallen spirits as the embodiment of "intrepid, unyielding independence."¹⁰ In Ibsen's *The Pretenders*, Nicholas, the unprincipled bishop, glorifies "the angel who stood in revolt against the Light." Finally, even in our own time we have the Bolshevik leader, Kameneff, asserting that "his idea of God is domination and that he resents it as he resents all other domination."¹¹ Clearly, Wordsworth was loyal to a steady individualistic tradition

⁷ Second edition 1795, II, 224.

⁸ *Enquiry concerning Political Justice*. Third edition, 2 vols. London 1798. I, Bk. IV, Ch. V, appendix.

⁹ *Vindication of the Rights of Woman*. New York 1890, p. 57.

¹⁰ *Robert Burns* (English Men of Letters) Principal Sharp, New York 1879, p. 55.

¹¹ *Diary*—Mrs. Claire Sheridan, *The New York Times*, Nov. 23, 1921.

when he represented Oswald as an atheist in mysterious affinity with pagan spirits outside of God's favor. This surely is but a manifestation of what Lucas calls "diabolism."

Mrs. Jane West's pious books are of the sort that incite most modern readers to blasphemy. She invites heretics to form a conspiracy against what Wilde dubs "the seven deadly virtues." She is given to writing letters on conduct, addressed to young people of both sexes. Her ideal is Sir Charles Grandison, whom she commends to youths inclined to woo virtue. Her friend is Mrs. Sarah Trimmer, organizer of Sunday-schools and writer of children's books. Of course, Mrs. West disapproves of Kotzebue's *The Stranger* and all the liberal literature of her day. In her homiletic letters and in her novels she gets the opportunity for which she thirsts. In *A Tale of the Times* (1799) Fitzosborne who has imbibed in France the pernicious doctrine of infidelity and the right of private judgment, plots to ensnare the beautiful Lady Monteith. He deliberately alienates her from her husband by encouraging him in libertinism, and 'expressing sympathy for her distress' gains control over her mind. He breaks down her moral resistance by sneering at "rules intended for more groveling capacities," lures her to a lonely house, drugs her, ruins her, and abandons her. Lady Monteith's father dies of a broken heart, she herself goes into a decline in the style popularized by Clarissa, and Fitzosborne kills himself in prison, leaving this world without the consolation of religion. Obviously Lovelace had been just as enterprising in vice some fifty years before, but not on philosophical grounds. Mrs. Trimmer, as was to be expected, expressed her hearty accord with the tendency of Mrs. West's work.

In her second novel, *The Infidel Father* (1802) we see the evil consequences of Lord Glanville's bringing up of his daughter on liberal principles. Her vicissitudes follow the current pattern and automatically are brought to a dreadful conclusion: Lady Caroline stabs herself at her father's feet,

and he goes mad, and dies in agonies such as only atheists are supposed to suffer.

Sophia King's *Waldorf* (1798) discloses the literary biscuit-cutter again in operation. Lok teaches Waldorf that the "reason is never erroneous," and that integrity and honor are "chimerical notions." For a time Waldorf exults in his moral freedom, but, as he is, like Marmaduke, a fundamentally good man who commits bad deeds from honest motives, he realizes the enormity of his acts and experiences the misery of self-reproach. He tries his hand at suicide and is successful. His instructor, Lok, has the wisdom to see that the world is not ready for his rationalistic philosophy, and he very decently pines away, bewildered by the sorrow he has brought on others.

Maturin's *The Wild Irish Boy* (1808) is the latest novel in which, as far as I have been able to discover, an author feels an obligation to expose the evils of *Political Justice*. The hero, Ormsby Bethal, whose birth has been enveloped in mystery, is shocked to find out that Miss Percival who had passed as his sister's governess, is his father's mistress and his own mother. She had long led a disreputable life, but when, sick and unhappy, she had thought of reforming, she had read Godwin's work, and found in it sophistical arguments by which she quieted her conscience and justified her immorality. When the scandal is exposed, she flies with a valet out of "the necessity of consulting the general good."

A comparison of *The Borderers* with these various novels, whether comic or serious, which aim to strip Godwinism of its glamor, reveals several points which, in conclusion, may properly arrest our attention. Wordsworth is the only author who gives his narrative that detachment that results from placing the scene in a remote, more or less indefinite past. Perhaps, for this reason, scholars were slow to perceive the relation of his story to such a vitally contemporaneous issue as the influence of Godwin's philosophy. Wordsworth is also the only author who makes a play the vehicle of his opinion of Godwinism. His choice lay between poetic

drama and narrative in verse; his selection of the former was a handicap, for philosophy sits ill at ease in dramatic dialogue; one feels that even if Wordsworth had published *The Borderers* at the time that he wrote it, the novelists would have had a better chance of securing a wider, more attentive audience for their message. In order of time Wordsworth is one of the very first to exhibit the evil effects of Godwinism in an imaginary story, and his presentation bears testimony to his analytic power and his psychological insight. Historians of English fiction have discussed at length novels of revolutionary tendency. They have been preoccupied with the work, for example, of Thomas Holcroft, Robert Bage, and Mrs. Inchbald, but they have generally ignored stories written in refutation of them. Such anti-revolutionary novels were numerous and cannot be thus neglected in any complete view of the intellectual activity of the time, for, as we have seen, such emphasis as has here been given to this minor fiction, has disclosed a not unimportant relation between *The Borderers* and works we are warranted as describing as analogues.

B. SPRAGUE ALLEN

XIII. CONTEMPORARY CRITICS OF COLERIDGE, THE POET

To live in a day when conceptions of poetry were undergoing rapid change was for Samuel Taylor Coleridge both an advantage and a misfortune. Perhaps his own work, which greatly advanced the change, gained a significance it could not have had in any other period. Yet by the same token, it was generally unappreciated by his contemporaries, inclined as they were to the old, narrow views of what constituted poetic merit. Lack of adequate criticism throughout almost the whole of Coleridge's lifetime is thus not difficult to explain. Nor is it a matter of mystery that two of his young disciples, John Sterling and Henry Nelson Coleridge, appear to have been, before his death in 1834, the only critics who approached his poetry with the same sympathetic effort at understanding that Coleridge himself employed when he criticised the work of others.

Of the reception that Coleridge's earliest effusions met with, we have his own account published some twenty years later in the *Biographia Literaria*. "They were received with a degree of favor, which, young as I was, I well know was bestowed on them not so much for any positive merit, as because they were considered buds of hope, and promises of better works to come. The critics of that day, the most flattering equally with the severest, concurred in objecting to them obscurity, a general turgidness of diction, and a profusion of new-coined double epithets."¹ Coleridge

¹ *Poems on Various Subjects*, Bristol, 1796. Although this comment seems to apply to the volume of 1796 only, the *Fall of Robespierre* had received earlier notice in several reviews. *Biographia Literaria*, Oxford 1907, i, 2. In a letter to Estlin in 1796 he wrote, "The Reviews have been wonderful. The *Monthly* has cataracted panegyric on my poems, the *Critical* has cascaded it, the *Analytical* has dribbled it with very tolerable civility."

evidently remembered most clearly the sentences of the *Analytical Review*. The *Monthly Review* discovered a certain amount of uncouthness and obscurity, and a tendency to extravagance, but declared the *Religious Musings* reached the top-scale of sublimity. The *Monthly Magazine* remarked that the poems, though neglectfully composed, revealed the true character of genius. While the *British Critic* found in them tenderness of sentiment and elegance of expression.²

In none of these earlier notices—however pleased the youthful poet may have felt—is there much satisfaction for the modern student. Coleridge was generally treated as if he were an heir of the Pope tradition—as one whose poetry conformed to the “embellished imitation” of the Augustans. Since most of his poems published before 1798 contained the stock epithets, personified abstractions, and generalized moral sentiments so dear to the eighteenth century, the tone of these criticisms is for the most part favorable, as is the general tenor of later reviews of the *Ode to the Departing Year*, the *Poems* of 1797, and *Fears in Solitude*.³ Coleridge had little just complaint to make of the reviews, before the influences which made him a great original poet found their way into his published verse. Therefore, we are not greatly concerned with notices of his poetry that appeared before the *Lyrical Ballads*.⁴

Coleridge's Letters to the Rev. J. P. Estlin, Philobiblon Society Publications, 1884, vol. xvi, p. 21.

² *Analytical Review*, XXIII, 610-612; *Monthly Review*, XX, n.s. 194-199; *Monthly Magazine*, I, 345-348; *British Critic*, VII, 549-550.

³ For list of these reviews, see Haney, *Bibliography of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, Phila. 1903, pp. 5, 6. Notable exceptions (for political reasons, of course) are the attacks in the *Anti-Jacobin* (July 9, 1798) and *Anti-Jacobin Review* (August and September, 1798). Modern critics have noted that Coleridge, when his inspiration flagged, always fell back on the eighteenth-century manner.

⁴ Under Wordsworth's influence, his views of poetry changed most noticeably between 1797 and 1800. Refer to *Biographia Literaria*, Oxford 1907, i, 58-64; and ii, 266-267. Cf. Brandl's life of Coleridge (London 1887) pp. 161-166; and *Letters*, London 1895, pp. 224, 450.

An explanation of all the steps of the change in his theory and practice of poetry would take us far afield. For the purposes of this paper the date 1798 may be taken as a point of departure. From this time, the aims and merits of Coleridge, the poet, were—for a period of thirty years—constantly misunderstood.

Most of the reviewers took all the poems in the *Lyrical Ballads* to be the work of one writer. They did not know what to make of the *Ancient Mariner*, and except for this one had little to say about the poems contributed by Coleridge.⁵ Southey, writing in the October *Critical*, found in this "Dutch attempt at German sublimity" evidence of genius misdirected, although he made a palpable effort to show the work of his brother-in-law in a favorable light. In a similar manner, in the years which followed, other writers gave the world what they intended to be favorable estimates. But praise as well as censure revealed the critic's inability to understand Coleridge's supreme poetical efforts. For example, a writer in Aikin's *Annual Review* in 1803 noticed the *Poems* of that year in language that was generally complimentary, but can have little meaning for the modern critic. Moreover, whatever value his judgments had was modified by political bias.⁶ Another in the *Critical* reviewed favorably the volume of 1816, but made no analysis. His observations on *Christabel* were characteristic—"a graceful and fanciful poem . . . abounding in rich and luxuriant imagery." At the same time, one in the *Examiner*—almost certainly Hazlitt—conceded Coleridge's talents as a poet, but did so with such poor grace as to make his faults more prominent than his merits. Nothing in the critique could have advanced the poet's reputation, and there is no indication that the critic had more than a glimmering perception of Coleridge's real intentions. The only passage

⁵ *Critical Review*, 2nd series, XXIV, 197-204; *Monthly Review*, XXIX, n.s. 202-210; *Analytical Review*, XXVIII, 583-587; *British Critic*, XIV, 365-369; *Monthly Magazine*, VI, 514.

⁶ *Annual Review*, II, 556. *Critical Review*, 3rd s. XIII, 504.

highly commended was that in *Christabel* on divided friendship, which is more like the neat, sententious verse of the preceding century than any other part of the poem.⁷ *Kubla Khan* was cited as evidence that the poet could write better nonsense verses than any other man in England. The *British Critic*, the organ of the Church, approved of Coleridge more and more as he progressed in conservatism and apparent orthodoxy. *Fears in Solitude* contained absurd and preposterous prejudices against England, although its author was granted "sensibility and poetic taste." *Frost at Midnight* was better—because it was free from unpatriotic expressions. *Religious Musings*, the "sublimest" of the poems, was impregnated with Platonism.⁸ And when all was said, the chief merits this review could find in Coleridge's poetry were such "beauties" as tenderness of sentiment and elegance of expression. Finally, the *Literary Speculum* in 1822 contains a striking essay by an author who was hopelessly opposed to innovation in poetry, yet recognized Coleridge's genius "even in its wildest aberrations," and honestly and unsuccessfully tried to explain it.⁹

Frankly unfavorable reviews still further emphasize the blindness of Coleridge's contemporaries. Some of the poet's detractors had a political animus, of course. Many of the critics could only think of Coleridge as a political turn-coat. They were blind with the blindness of those who would not see. The *New Monthly Magazine* in 1818 concluded that he regarded poetry as a drunken dream. The *Monthly Magazine* of the same year found the ineffectual phantom of the poet's genius too often succeeded by a drizzle of nebulous sensibility, and wondered if his "wildly original" talent were not more akin to genuine frenzy than to sound and vigorous

⁷ *Examiner*, June 2, 1816 (reprinted in appendix to Hazlitt's *Works*. London 1904, vol. xi, 580-82). This passage (lines 404-30) was singled out for praise by several critics. Hazlitt commends it later in his *Spirit of the Age* and in the lecture on the living poets.

⁸ *British Critic*, XVI, 393.

⁹ *Literary Speculum*, London 1822, II, 145.

intellectual power.¹⁰ *Christabel* was fit for the inmates of Bédlam. Only one poem, the *Ancient Mariner*, was said to justify the poet's title as a man of genius, and no satisfying reason was given for this sole exception. The *Monthly Review* also excepted this poem from the general disparagement. It had "exquisite touches," in spite of the fact that it was "the strangest cock and bull story" ever seen on paper. *Christabel* and *Kubla Khan* had nothing to redeem them—they exhibited execrable taste.¹¹ The *Sibylline Leaves* appeared to the *Literary Gazette* an object of contempt, because the author had "so dovetailed together the pathetic and the silly."

Two treatments of Coleridge's poetry which were first published in book form must not be passed over. Hazlitt's *Spirit of the Age* (1825) gave the clearest contemporary picture of the Coleridge who had failed to live up to the promise of his youth, but added little to the criticism of his poetry. The *Ancient Mariner*—Hazlitt declared—was the one production he could with confidence give to a person to impress him with the author's powers. He called it "unquestionably a work of genius . . . of wild, irregular, overwhelming imagination." Such comments, however, like the *obiter dicta* of a score of reviewers, are not indications that even Hazlitt fully understood the trend of Coleridge's work. In the same way, Lockhart, who in 1819 in *Peter's Letters to His Kinsfolk* defended Coleridge the poet, failed to appreciate the very poems he admired. His high opinion of *Genevieve* and the other pathetic pieces allies him with Jeffrey, as an adherent to older standards which Coleridge had outgrown.¹²

Meanwhile, from the stronghold of literary criticism in the north, the *Edinburgh Review* carried shafts of censure dipped in witty Whiggery. *Christabel*, in particular, was

¹⁰ *New Monthly Magazine*, X, 329. *Monthly Magazine*, XLVI, 407.

¹¹ *Monthly Review*, LXXXII, n.s. 22-25. *Literary Gazette*, II, 49.

¹² Hazlitt's *Works*, London, 1904, IV, 219. *Peter's Letters to His Kinsfolk*, London, 1819, II, 220.

ridiculed for bathos and wildness, and the lines of *Kubla Khan* were said to smell strongly of the anodyne Coleridge confessed to have taken.¹³ *Blackwood's Magazine*, which in 1817, in a thoroughly hostile and unjust review of the *Biographia Literaria*, had held the character as well as the work of Coleridge up to scorn, because of his "inveterate and diseased egotism," and had published as late as June 1819 a burlesque third part of *Christabel*, suffered a sudden change of heart. In October 1819 appeared an excessively flattering review, written in such language as to make one suspect the motives of the writer. Whatever the motives that prompted it, *Blackwood's* criticism was general and indiscriminative. It was the old criticism of rules rather than that of interpretation and impression. The critic expatiated on the poet's mixture of the awful and gentle graces of conception, his dreamy phantasies, his "music of words and magic of numbers." But nothing was said to indicate that these poems were seen to be the bringers of a new order, nor is it easy to believe Coleridge's feelings or his reputation helped very much by the bouquets of the Scotch critic.¹⁴

The tide of criticism began to turn in 1828. The best of Coleridge's poems had been written for three full decades, yet the poet had looked in vain for understanding or sympathetic criticism. In the *Biographia Literaria* he had asserted

¹³ *Edinburgh Review*, XXVII, 58-67. Brandl refers to Coleridge's complaint in the last chapter of the *Biographia Literaria*, noting that Coleridge believed the reviewer to be Jeffrey, and that he complained the more bitterly of his treatment, because Jeffrey a few years before, had highly applauded the poem (*Life*, London 1887, 350; *Biographia Literaria*, i, 36, note). Brandl inclined to believe Tom Moore the reviewer, following Dibdin (*Reminiscences*, London 1837, 340). Coleridge himself later, Dykes Campbell, and the editors of Hazlitt's *Works* (1904), believed Hazlitt wrote the article. The whole matter was discussed in *Notes and Queries* (9th s., X, 388, 429; XI, 170, 269) by Mr. Thomas Hutchinson. His conclusion that Hazlitt was the writer seems inescapable.

¹⁴ *Blackwood's*, VI, 2-12. Cf. V, 286-288. For a list of parodies and imitations of Coleridge's poems, see Haney, *Bibliography of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, Phil. 1903, 139-140.

that the excellence aimed at in such poems as the *Ancient Mariner* and *Christabel* was to consist in the interesting of the affections by the dramatic truth of such situations, supposing them real. He had practically asked the reader to approach the poems with a "suspension of disbelief which constitutes poetic faith." But his appeal to the public had been ignored. Reviewer after reviewer had praised his poems for tenderness of fancy and luxuriant imagery—or employed similar glowing generalities—or had, with the delectable manners of the day, abused Coleridge and mocked his efforts, because they, the critics, could find no apparent connection between these and the poetic tradition based on the work of Pope and Dryden. Now the tide was definitely to turn, but only because two of his disciples, John Sterling and Henry Nelson Coleridge, amplified and repeated Coleridge's own interpretations of his poems, in language more acceptable to the public.

Sterling, who had attended the Highgate "Thursdays" during the winter of 1827–28, had caught from the lips of the "sage" further explications of the meaning of the much-misunderstood poem, *Christabel*. He had learned from the master how to approach a work of art in the new spirit of sympathy with the artist. Sterling, like Coleridge, had left Cambridge without taking a degree, and with his chief undergraduate friend, F. D. Maurice—another of the young disciples of Coleridge—was, at the age of twenty-two, doing literary work in London. Impelled by his love of the poet and by the persistent blindness of critics to the poet's intuitions, he contributed to the *Athenaeum* an essay on *Christabel* which marks the beginning of modern criticism of Coleridge.¹⁵

¹⁵ *Memoir* by J. C. Hare, in *Essays and Tales of John Sterling*, London 1848, I, xiii-xxi. For the essay, see Vol. I, 101-110. A real precursor of Sterling was Leigh Hunt, whose mildly favorable review of *Christabel*, *Kubla Khan*, and the *Ancient Mariner*, with its attempted interpretation of the latter poem, appeared in the *Examiner* October 21, 1821 (p. 664). In the *Elonian* (No. 4, 1821) N. H. Coleridge had published an interesting though youthful appreciation. It is chiefly valuable in contrast with his

In the first words of the essay a new critical attitude is apparent. "Be it remembered"—Sterling said of the oft-derided opening lines—"that they are the opening of a tale of witchery, and unless read with that good faith and singleness of heart with which a child would listen to such a story, they are not heard with the predisposition to which alone the author addressed himself." The verses were admirably adapted—so the young critic asserted—for bringing before the reader the witching hour, and for creating the ghost-ridden feeling which is the proper recipient of the mysterious story. Several minor objections were answered by Sterling, who showed what the poet really meant, in contrast to what his critics had thought he meant. Then Sterling pointed out the under-import of the lines, and the tokens Coleridge employed to suggest a supernatural and evil presence. In the passages which had been most ridiculed, Sterling showed the exquisite fitness of the words to convey and communicate emotion, and explained how necessary they were to Coleridge's purpose—the creation of an atmosphere of pure witchery.

The first step in appreciation had been taken; others soon followed. An article in the *Westminster Review* in 1830 is noteworthy, rather because the author showed a sincere desire to advance the fame of a poet he admired than because he clearly perceived the poet's aims. The reviewer felt Coleridge's poetry constituted his best claim on immortality—all else he had written would be forgotten. His general qualities as poet were exemplified, however, in his desire to promote happiness in the world, in the logic of his conclusions, and in his psychological treatment of character. Perhaps only a Benthamite critic would have thought of these as indications of poetic genius. Certainly, no one but a Radical poet would have given such disproportionate praise

later essay, which shows how far the nephew had advanced in critical acumen during the years intervening—the years of association with the poet.

to the revolutionary poems as may here be found. But in spite of these eccentricities, and in spite of his undervaluation of the prose, the writer of this article deserves credit for his earnest if somewhat undiscerning praise of *Kubla Khan* and the *Ancient Mariner*. He at least saw that a change had come in English poetry, and did not try to measure the work of the present by the rules of the past.¹⁶

In the *Quarterly Review* of August 1834 appeared the most important single critique of the poetry of Coleridge written during his lifetime (it was issued a few days after his death).¹⁷ Until recently it has been regarded as the work of Lockhart, then editor of the London quarterly. But in reality it was written by Henry Nelson Coleridge, the nephew-and son-in-law of the poet, and the virtual editor of this edition of Coleridge's poetry. According to modern standards of criticism, this was the only adequate and just appreciation written during Coleridge's lifetime. Sterling had produced a competent treatment of a single poem. Other critics, even when expressing approval, had been so general as to be almost meaningless, or had based their commendation of the poetry on its likeness to the "firm old English verse" of the preceding century, and had applied the "rules," cataloging beauties and blemishes. But the nephew, son-in-law, and Boswell of the poet, who for the last fifteen years had been in

¹⁶ *Westminster Review*, XII, 1-31.

¹⁷ Edition of 1834. Review in *Quarterly*, LII, 1-38. The first page contains the statement that Coleridge is still living, but a note at the end of the periodical announces his death on July 25. Since alarming symptoms did not develop until the 20th, there seems no reason for believing his death was anticipated. Murray's Register is my source of information regarding the authorship of the review. The same source shows that three out of four notable reviews of Coleridge in the *Quarterly* before 1837 were written by his nephews. John Taylor Coleridge reviewed *Remorse* in 1814 (XI, 177); and in addition to the article discussed in this paper, Henry Nelson Coleridge wrote the criticism of *Literary Remains* (LIX, 1). The fourth, a review of Henry Nelson Coleridge's *Table Talk* (*Quarterly*, LIII, 79) was by Lockhart. For authorship of critical reviews in the *Quarterly* up to 1853, see Graham, *Tory Criticism in the Quarterly Review*, Columbia University Press, 1921, 44. The list is from Murray's Register.

closest intimacy with him, concerned himself with the collected poetry, and, except for one or two excusable ineptitudes, summed up about what later critics have expressed. He carried further that exposition of the poet's novel methods and the explication of his merits begun by Sterling, and—most remarkable, perhaps—made specific comments which are still approved and repeated by students of Coleridge in our day.

The nephew's review was long, comprehensive, and evidently written in answer to many of the unjust strictures on the life and work of the man. On the first page, for example, he seemed to have *Blackwood's* review of 1817 in mind when he said

We have never met any one so utterly regardless of the reputation of mere author as Mr. Coleridge—one so lavish and indiscriminate in the exhibition of his intellectual wealth, before any and every person, no matter who—one so reckless who might reap where he had so prodigally sown and watered.

This sounds very much like an answer to the assertion that Coleridge conceived himself a far greater man than the public was likely to admit. It may be evidence only that the nephew could not easily forget the caustic sentences of the Scotch critic. This introduction is followed by an intimate picture of Coleridge, and a description of his conversation—its unexpectedness and universal grasp, its uncommonness of thought and image.

The second half of the essay contains the important criticism of the poetry. Other reviewers had found music in Coleridge's verse; the nephew declared him to be a poet of verbal harmony second only to Milton. An explanation of the poet's metrical experiments led up to the statement that he, from the first, regarded versification of more importance than did most of his contemporaries. The *Ancient Mariner* was called one of the finest pieces of imaginative literature in all Europe; the Mariner himself, a "growthless, decayless being, impassive to time or season." *Christabel*, the crux of earlier criticism of the poetry, was given rather

lengthy treatment. To explain the poet's aim the nephew wrote:

The thing attempted in this poem was the most difficult of execution in the whole field of romance—witchery by daylight; and the success is complete. Geraldine, so far as she goes, is perfect. She is *sui generis*. The reader feels the same terror and perplexity that Christabel tries in vain to express, and the same spell that fascinates her eyes. Who and what is Geraldine—whence come, whither going, and what designing? . . . We are not among those who wish to have *Christabel* finished. It cannot be finished. The poet has spun all he could without snapping. The theme is too fine and subtle to bear much extension. It is better as it is, imperfect as a story, but complete as an exquisite product of the imagination. . . .

Of the odes, he called *France* the most finished and complete as a whole, but not equal in imagination to the *Departing Year* or *Dejection*. The last, he felt to be the greatest of the three—it was pure poetry throughout. The essentially musical quality of *Kubla Khan*, the verses of which “seem as if played to the ear upon some unseen instrument”; the sea of wonder and mystery that flowed around the poet no less than around his *Ancient Mariner*; Coleridge's peculiar mastery over the preternatural, brilliantly illustrated in the *Ancient Mariner* and *Christabel*: the subtle passion of the short love poems; and finally, the poet's predominant power, that “shaping spirit of imagination,” which in its original expression constituted the chief difference between Coleridge and his great contemporaries—such detailed criticisms as these, Henry Nelson Coleridge gathered together into a coherent summary of the poet's achievement, and one that well expresses the feeling of our generation concerning Coleridge's work.

Leslie Stephen, Courthope, Vaughn, Arthur Symons, and other critics in our day have been content to repeat the sentences of Henry Nelson Coleridge's review, and to endorse the general estimate of *Christabel* which Sterling gave the world in 1828. The critical dicta of these young disciples have become the commonplaces of modern literary criticism. This is not strange. For it seems that the only critics who, before the poet's death, saw in his work the qualities now

well accepted were two who had listened to the unforgettable discourse of the "sage" himself. They had heard "the most impressive talker of his age" expounding his own theories of poetry and criticism. We must conclude, therefore, that the reviews of Sterling and Henry Nelson Coleridge offered interpretations of the works and the genius of Coleridge not greatly different from the master's own opinions of his talents and his poetry. Tutored by the greatest of English critics, these young disciples learned to illuminate his poetry with the light of understanding. Mindful of his precept that genius follows rules of its own origination, they—instead of pronouncing dogmatic judgments or comparing his work with that of an age that was past—sought for the inner springs of life in what he wrote, and with true romantic ardor endeavored to put readers on the track which Coleridge followed in the act of creation.

WALTER GRAHAM

XIV. THE ROSENBACH MILTON DOCUMENTS

On December 7, 1920 there was sold at the Anderson Galleries in New York an interesting collection of Milton documents hitherto entirely unknown to the poet's biographers. These documents, which contain the record to two financial transactions in which Milton was concerned in the years 1657/58 and 1665, were submitted to me for examination by their purchaser, Mr. Rosenbach of Philadelphia, and it is through his courtesy that I am enabled to present an analysis of their contents. Their history previous to their sale in America has not been divulged, but it is to be presumed that they have been preserved as a part of the evidence of title to certain properties described in them, and there is not the slightest question as to their genuineness. The collection consists of five legal instruments on vellum and one on paper as follows:¹

I. Dated January 14, 1657 (N. S. 1658). Milton's counterpart on vellum of a mortgage deed in which Thomas Maundy, "citizen and Goldsmith of London" devises to John Milton "of the City of Westminster in the County of Middlesex, Esquire" for a term of five hundred years certain messuages in Kensington on consideration of the payment to Maundy by Milton of £500. Maundy is to retain possession of the property and pay £15 on July 16, 1658 and £515 on Jan. 16, 1658/9 at the house of George Peryer, Scrivener. The document is signed by John Milton and witnessed by Jeremie Picard and Elizabeth Woodcock. The seal is gone. There is an endorsement "Mr. Milton's Counterpart."

II. Maundy's counterpart of the same, with Maundy's signature and seal. The witnesses are George Peryer, Scr., and Ric. Marshall, John Gopp, and Josiah Piker, his Ser'ts.

¹ I have adopted a different and more logical numbering than that given in the Anderson announcement.—Sale No. 1539 (Dec. 6, 7, 1920).

The endorsement (not in Milton's hand) reads: "Mr. Maundy's lease to me with Proviso to pay £530, viz. £15 thereof on the 16th of July, 1658 and £515 on the 16th of January, 1658."

III. Maundy's receipt on paper for £500, "being the consideration money mentioned to be paid unto me by the said John Milton in and by one paire of Indentures bearing the date above written." Signed by Thomas Maundy and witnessed by Peryer, Marshall, Goff, and Piker.

IV. Dated January 14, 1657 (N.S. 1658). A defeasance signed by Maundy and Milton. "Whereas the said Thomas Maundy by his Recognizance in the nature of a Statute Staple bearing date with these presents taken and acknowledged before the Right honorable John Glynn Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Upper Bench at Westminster is and standeth bound unto the said John Milton in the Some of One Thousand pounds. . . . Now this Indenture witnesseth that the said John Milton is nevertheless contented and well pleased that if the said Thomas Maundy—shall well and truly pay . . . in the now dwelling house of George Peryer Scituate in Lothbury London the Some of Five Hundred and thirty pounds . . . that the said Recognizance or Statute Staple shall be void and of none effect." Witnessed by Ric. Marshall and John Gopp, Ser'ts to Geo. Peryer, Scr.

V. Dated June 7, 1665. A tripartite indenture on vellum whereby "John Milton of the parish of St. Giles without Cripplegate in the county of Middlesex" with the consent of Thomas Maundy assigns the mortgage of 1657/8 to Jeremy Hamey of London in trust for Baldwin Hamey of London, Doctor of Phisicke, in consideration of the payment of £500. Signed by Thomas Maundy and John Milton with Milton's spread eagle seal still attached. Maundy's signature is witnessed by John Hare Scr., Ri. Hare, Scr., Hugh Ford and Charles Lyon, Milton's by Geo. Peryer, John Hare Scr. and Richard Gower.

VI. Dated June 7, 1665. Assignment on vellum of the mortgage bond of 1657/8 by Milton with Maundy's consent

to Jeremy Hamey in trust for Baldwin Hamey, with Milton's and Maundy's signatures witnessed as in V.²

These documents, then, are the legal record of an investment of £500 at 6% made by Milton in the year 1657/58 and sold without loss in the year 1665. Their most obvious importance is that they enable us to correct the estimates of Milton's financial status given by Masson for various periods in the poet's life, since these estimates were made in ignorance of the Maundy mortgage. Before 1660, according to Masson.³ Milton was possessed of about £4000 variously invested and enjoyed an income from rentals of £150 and from his secretaryship of £200 a year. To this must now be added the returns from Maundy of £30 a year. The termination of Milton's official life and the loss in 1660 of an investment in the Excise (£2000 according to Phillips), together with "another great sum" at the same time, seriously impaired his fortune, and his estate at the time of his death amounted to only £900⁴ and household goods. The sale of the Maundy mortgage in 1665 substantiates Masson's inference that Milton was obliged to make inroads on his capital during those years.

Of a more curious and striking nature are the biographical suggestions deducible from the signatures of the several parties and witnesses of the transactions. The accompanying plate presents a photographic reproduction, slightly reduced, of these signatures together with some illustrative material, arranged in the following order:

² A series of later deeds belonging to the same collection shows the acquisition of other properties in Little Chelsea (Kensington) by the Hamey family and the subsequent transfer of these properties (including the Maundy and Milton mortgages along with mortgages on other properties of Maundy) to Henry Middleton of Little Chelsea and, in the year 1700 to John Harwood. In these documents the terms of the Milton-Maundy agreements are recited at length.

³ *Life of Milton*, VI, 444-5.

⁴ This sum is definitely fixed by the records. See Masson VI, p. 735 ff. The £1500 mentioned by Phillips Masson takes to represent what remained of the £4000 of invested funds after the Restoration.

1 John Milton

2 Jeremie Ricard

3 John Milton

4 Officium eius mediatorium est quo, Deo patre
ad id designatus, ea omnia libens ^{praestitit} etiam
numa praestat, quibus humano generi pax
apud Deum et sempiterna salus acqui-
ritur.

5 John Milton

6 John Milton

7 Elizabeth Woodroff

8 Elizabeth Woodroff

1. Amanuensis signature appended to 1657 agreement with Maundy (document no. 1).
2. Witness signature on reverse of same document.
3. Amanuensis signature appended to a conveyance of 1660, reproduced from Sotheby, *Ramblings in Elucidation of the Autograph of Milton*.
4. Specimen of handwriting from second part of MS. of *De Doctrina Christiana*, reproduced from Sotheby.
5. Amanuensis signature appended to 1665 agreement with Hamey (document no. 5).
6. Amanuensis signature appended to articles of agreement for sale of *Paradise Lost*, 1667, reproduced from Sotheby.
7. Witness signature appended to 1657 agreement with Maundy (document no. 1).
8. Witness signature appended to will of Katharine Baldwin, 1662.

The three signatures of Milton are, as might be expected since they belong to the period of the poet's blindness, all in the hands of amanuenses. The two appended to the documents of 1665 (I have reproduced one of them. See plate, no. 5) are evidently the work of the same scribe. They bear a considerable resemblance, as may be seen from the facsimile, to the Milton signature on the articles of agreement for *Paradise Lost* dated April 27, 1667 (plate, no. 6), though the hand is not sufficiently distinctive for me to feel that the identification is certain. The signature of the deed of 1657/8, on the other hand, is one which cannot possibly be mistaken by students of Milton's autograph (plate, no. 1). It is the hand of the scribe who signed the conveyance of a bond of £400 to Cyriack Skinner, May 7, 1660 (plate, no. 3), who made the last entries in the Milton family Bible in 1658 (see *Milton Facsimiles* published by the British Museum), who transcribed the sonnet, "Methought I saw my late espoused saint," in the Cambridge MS (see Wright's *Facsimile of the MS of Milton's Minor Poems*, p. 47), who made the entries on pp. 188 and 195 of the Commonplace Book (see Horwood's Facsimile), and who wrote the original draft of the *De Doctrina Christiana* now in the Records Office (see Sotheby, *Ramblings*, plates xx-xxii and the specimen reproduced in my facsimile, plate, no. 4). The discovery of this additional items adds strength to my

conjecture that this individual worked consistently for Milton as his chief or sole literary assistant from about 1657 to about 1661.⁵ Furthermore, it gives us quite unexpectedly his name, for the signature of Jeremie Picard on the reverse of the deed of 1657 is beyond question in the same handwriting as the Milton signature and the other amanuensis items enumerated above. (See plate, no. 2.) After signing Milton's name as an amanuensis Picard was evidently called upon to serve as witness to the transaction in his own person. This procedure is, I am informed, entirely legal, for in signing for Milton the scribe would be in the rôle of a mere instrument, like the pen. Of this Jeremie Picard I can unfortunately give no information. The surname is a fairly common one in England at this period, but the individual in question has thus far eluded inquiry.

Among the witnesses whose signatures appear in connection with the deed of 1657/8 is Elizabeth Woodcock. Mr. J. S. Smart, in his recent valuable edition of Milton's sonnets, has at last succeeded in identifying the Woodcocks with the Hackney family of that name. Katharine, Milton's second wife, was the daughter of Elizabeth, wife of William Woodcock. In 1657 this Elizabeth was a widow and still resident of Hackney parish. Katharine's younger sister was also named Elizabeth, but the signature on the deed is that of the mother, as may be determined from the will (preserved in Somerset House) of Katharine Baldwin, dated June 11, 1662, which contains the autographs of both women, the daughter signing herself E. Lynde. Through the kind offices of Mr. Smart I have been able to examine these signatures for purposes of comparison. The signature of Elizabeth Wood-

⁵ The evidence is given in my article "The Date of Milton's *De Doctrina Christiana*" (*Studies in Philology*, July, 1920, pp. 309 ff.), where the characteristics of the handwriting of the scribe in question are discussed. The specimen here reproduced does not do justice to the variations of which his virtuosity is capable. The reader who wishes to put the matter to a test should examine carefully the specimens of the *De doctrina* MS. in Sotheby.

cock, the mother, on the Baldwin will (Plate, no. 8) tallies exactly, as will be seen, with that on the Milton deed. (Plate, no. 7). This identification is doubly valuable in that it completes Smart's evidence connecting Milton's second wife with the Hackney Woodcocks and confirms the genuineness of the Rosenbach documents. The fact that Elizabeth Woodcock acted as witness for Milton in the transactions with Maundy is interesting also in another respect. It will be remembered that Milton's second marriage took place on October 27, 1656, and that Katharine his wife died on February 3, 1657/58, a little over three months after the birth of her daughter.⁶ The Maundy lease is dated January 14, 1657/58. It is a reasonable inference that the elder Elizabeth Woodcock was a member of Milton's household during her daughter's last illness.

The remaining signatures bring certain other names for the first time into connection with Milton. George Peryer, who figures in the transactions of 1657/8 and 1665 was apparently Milton's attorney for that period. Baldwin Hamey, to whom the mortgage was transferred in 1665, is likely to have been more than a business acquaintance. Born in 1600 and educated at Leyden and Oxford, Hamey had become one of the most celebrated physicians of his day. Though he remained in London during the Commonwealth period in attendance on many of the parliament men, he was not a Puritan, and it was said that he used to carry an *Aldine Virgil* and a duodecimo *Aristophanes* to church in order to beguile the tedium of the sermon.⁷ In 1665, the year of his transaction with Milton, he retired to Little

⁶ The entry in Milton's family Bible reads as follows: "Katherin my daughter, by Katherin my second wife, was borne the 29th of October, between 5 and 6 in the morning and dyed the 27th of March following, 6 weeks after hir mother, who dyed the 3rd of February, 1657." The burial records of St. Margaret's, Westminster, give the dates of mother and child as Feb. 10 and Mar. 20. Phillips says and Milton in the Sonnet on his Deceased Wife implies that Katharine Milton died in childbirth.

⁷ For the particulars of Hamey's career see the article in the *Dict. of Nat. Biography*.

Chelsea, a fact which explains his interest in securing a claim on the Maundy property. Besides several medical works he was the author of a set of notes on Aristophanes. He was also known for his liberal benefactions to St. Paul's cathedral and other churches and to the College of Physicians. He died in 1676.

JAMES HOLLY HANFORD

XV. MILTON'S TEXTBOOK OF ASTRONOMY

In his tractate *Of Education* Milton gives astronomy as one of the subjects that the properly educated boy should study. He would first have his pupils "learn in any modern author the use of the globes," and then having mastered the elements of the subject, proceed to the reading not only of poems abounding in astronomy, but also of those wholly astronomical, such as the *Astronomicon* of Manilius and the *Phaenomena* of Aratus.

Milton's nephew, Edward Philips, names the textbook from which he and Milton's other pupils learned the elements of astronomy. It was the *De Sphaera* of Joannes de Sacrobosco, or John Holywood. In his choice of this work, as in that of the geography by Pierre Davity,¹ Milton shows his willingness to use in teaching the common manuals of his time. Indeed the *De Sphaera* was one of the most popular textbooks ever printed. First issued in 1472, it went through at least seventy Latin editions, the last appearing in 1647.² It is a brief work, occupying only from fifty to seventy pages of the pocket volumes in which it was frequently issued. The texts of the various editions are substantially identical, and the illustrations, though not identical, are similar.

The editors of late editions brought the work up to date not by altering the text, but by printing notes, comments, and other treatises in the same volume. The edition used by Milton is unknown. However, that issued at Paris in 1608, the year of his birth, is representative. The one printed at

¹ See Gilbert, "Pierre Davity: His Geography and Its Use by Milton," *The Geographical Review*, VII. 322 ff.

² *La Grande Encyclopédie. Biographie Universelle* gives the date of the last edition as 1699. There were also a large number of editions in other languages than Latin. During the two centuries and a half between its composition and 1472 it was widely circulated in manuscript.

Venice in 1620, which according to its title-page is from the last Parisian edition, has the same contents, except for three omissions.

The edition of 1608 contains first a preface³ by Jacobus Martinus dated 1607. Next is a brief life of Sacrobosco by Elias Vinetus, dated 1550. This is followed by another preface,⁴ dated 1540, which speaks as follows of the popularity of the work:

Cum autem hic libellus tot seculis, in omnibus scholis in tanta varietate iudicorum genios habuerit propitios, necesse est eum rebus optimis refertum esse. Videmus enim paucissima scripta vetustatem ferre, praesertim in scholis, ubi morosissime iudicari solet. At hic libellus multis iam saeculis maxima cum approbatione doctorum omnium legitur.

This preface is followed by *Annotationes Iacobi Martini Pedemontani in Tractatum Sphaerae Ioannis de Sacrobosco*.⁵ These annotations are of a somewhat general and popular character, designed to make Sacrobosco's work more intelligible, or to bring it up to date. For example, he explains that recent astronomers have observed four motions in the eighth sphere—that of the fixed stars—and hence have concluded that there are three heavens above it, instead of the two formerly postulated. With the preceding matter, these annotations occupy thirty-seven pages. Then begins, with separate pagination, *De Sphaera* itself. It occupies sixty-four pages, and is illustrated by nearly fifty figures. Marginal numbers, fifty-three in all, refer to notes immediately following, headed *Eliae Vineti Santonis Scholia in Sphaeram Ioannis de Sacrobosco*.

These scholia are of a learned character, bristling with the names of classical authors, and yet making some attempt to bring Sacrobosco up to date, as, for example, by telling of the third motion of the eighth sphere—the “trepidation

³ Omitted from the ed. of 1620.

⁴ Likewise omitted from the ed. of 1620.

⁵ Omitted from the edition of 1620. This and the preface by Martinus are of later date than anything in the edition of 1620.

talked" of Milton⁶—which was unknown to Sacrobosco. For an explanation of this, Vinetus refers his reader to the work of Georgius Purbachius entitled *Novae Theoricae Planetarum*. In knowing of but three motions, instead of four, Vinetus (1507-1587) is not abreast of Martinus.

Purbach's work,⁷ with the date 1545, appears in the volume containing the edition of Sacrobosco (called on the title-page Sacrobusto) printed at Venice in 1548. This edition of the *Novae Theoricae* is edited by Petrus Apianus. As the name indicates, Purbach attempted to give the latest astronomical teaching. His method is that of elaborating the Ptolemaic system by a complex system of orbs and epicycles designed to account for the apparent movements of the heavenly bodies with respect to the earth. He is perhaps the very man Milton had in mind when he wrote that the astronomers

gird the sphere
With centric and eccentric scribbled o'er,
Cycle and Epicycle, orb in orb.⁸

Purbach's method is exemplified by the following from his description of Mercury:

Mercurius habet orbes quinque et epicyclum: quorum extremi duo sunt eccentrici secundum quid. Superficies namque convexa supremi et concava infimi mundo concentricae sunt, concava autem supremi et convexa infimi eccentricae mundo: sibi ipsis tamen concentricae: et centrum earum tantum a centro equantis quantum centrum equantis a centro mundi distat. Et ipsum est centrum parvi circuli quem centrum deferentis, ut videbitur describit. Vocantur autem deferentes equantis et moventur ad motum octave sphaere super axe Zodiaci. Inter hos extremos sunt alii duo similiter difformis spissitudinis intra se quantum orbem scilicet epicyclum deferentem locantes: superficies namque convexa superioris et concava inferioris idem cum parvo circulo centrum habent: sed concava superioris et convexa inferioris una cum utriusque superficiebus quinti orbis aliud centrum habent mobile quod centrum deferentis dicitur, hi duo orbes autem

⁶ P. L. III. 483.

⁷ Purbach died in 1461. His book was first printed by his pupil Regiomontanus (Chalmer's *General Biographical Dict.*) about 1473. Later editions were numerous.

⁸ P. L. VIII. 82-4.

eccentri deferentes vocantur, et moventur regulariter super centro parvi circuli contra successionem signorum tali velocitate ut praecise in tempore quo linea medii motus Solis unam facit revolutionem: et orbis isti in partem oppositam similiter unam perficiant. Et fit motus iste super axe quandoque aequedistante axi Zodiaci et per centrum parvi circuli transeunte. Motum autem horum orbium sequatur: ut centrum orbis deferentis epiciclium circumferentiam quandam parvi circuli similiter in tanto tempore regulariter describat. Huius vero semidiameter est tanta quanta est distantia qua centrum aequantis a centro mundi distat. Unde haec circumferentia per centrum aequantis ibit. Sed orbis quintus epiciclium deferens intra duos secundos locutus movetur in longitudinem secundum successionem signorum centrum epicicli deferendo regulariter super centro aequantis quod quidem in medio est inter centrum mundi et centrum parvi circuli. Hanc tamen habet velocitatem, ut centrum epicicli in eo tempore semel revolvatur in quo linea medii motus Solis unam complet revolutionem.⁹

This explanation continues for some pages, and is illustrated with figures showing the complex arrangement of orbs and epicycles. The theories of Purbach represented the most recent advances in astronomy when he wrote, and seem to have continued in favor for a long period. Their date, however, made any Copernican influence impossible.

It therefore seems strange that Vinetus¹⁰ mentions in the same sentence with the *Novae Theoricae* the epoch-making *De Revolutionibus* of Copernicus. But notwithstanding this reference to Copernicus, the tone of the notes of Vinetus is wholly Ptolemaic. Indeed, one is inclined to think that Vinetus had no personal acquaintance with the first great work on the new astronomy.

In the Sacrobosco of 1608 the notes of Vinetus conclude on page 84, and are followed by *Petri Nonii Salaciensis Annotation in Extrema Verba Capitis de Climatibus, Elia Vineto Interprete*. Pages 95 and 96 are occupied with *Expositio XXII ex Libro Tertio Epitomae Ioannis de Regio Monte in Almagestum Ptolemaei. Dies Naturales Duplici Causa Inaequales Esse*. This is followed by a section headed *Ex Alfrag.¹¹ de Ortu et Occasu Planetarum, et de Occultationibus Eorum sub*

⁹ Pp. 19-20.

¹⁰ P. 68.

¹¹ Alfraganius, the Arabic astronomer.

Radiis Solis. Differ. 24. On page 100 begins *De Ortu Poetico, Hoc Est, Exempla Ortus et Occasus Stellarum Fixarum, ex Variis Auctoribus Collecta, et ad Studiosorum Utilitatem Diligenter Explicata, Incerto Auctore.* Fifty-five pages,¹² beginning on one hundred and twenty-five, are occupied by the *Compendium in Sphaeram, per Pierium Valerianum Bellunensem*¹³—a work much like that of Sacrobosco himself.

The remaining seven pages of the volume are taken up with a section headed *De Eclipsibus ex Proclo.* This is apparently from the work on the Sphere, not now attributed to Proclus, composed in the fifth century. It explains the significance of various eclipses; for example an eclipse of the sun in the first "denarius" of Leo foretells "summi alicuius principis mortem, et rei frumentariae penuriam." In any of the first ten divisions of Aries "crebros armorum et exercitum motus portendit, continuasque expeditiones, et insultus bellorum cum tumultu plurimo: Seditiones, controversias, et intemperiem aries ad siccitatem potissimum vergentis."¹⁴

Such probably was the character of the volume perused by Milton's pupils—wholly Ptolemaic in character. Hence if Milton taught anything beyond the Ptolemaic system, he probably imparted it directly, without the use of a textbook.

As a manual, Sacrobosco's work is elementary, and contains only what was generally accepted. Hence it is so little distinctive that one cannot find in it or its annotations unquestionable sources for passages in Milton's poetry. Yet since the poet was certainly familiar with it, it serves excellently to illustrate parts of *Paradise Lost* in addition to those already mentioned.

In *Paradise Lost*,¹⁵ the accepted number of spheres is ten,

¹² By a printer's error pp. 177-8 are omitted.

¹³ 1477-1558 (?).

¹⁴ P. 182. Cf. *P. L. I.* 598, where we read that the eclipse
with fear of change

Perplexes monarchs.

¹⁵ *P. L.* III. 481-3.

as we find it given in the scholia of Elias Vinetus, not nine, the number given by Sacrobosco himself, or eleven, the number given by Martinus. It can hardly be supposed that Milton was ignorant of this refinement of the Ptolemaics, even though he did consider ten spheres enough for poetry.

The outermost sphere is commonly known as the *primum mobile*. In *Paradise Lost*¹⁶ Milton refers to it as the "first moved." This is a translation of the less usual "primus motus," given by Sacrobosco¹⁷ as the equivalent of *primum mobile*; hence Milton's word "first" is apparently an adjective.

This sphere is part of what Sacrobosco,¹⁸ following a common practice,¹⁹ calls the "machina mundi." Milton uses the same words in one of his early Latin scientific poems.²⁰ The conception dominates the following passage in *Paradise Lost*.²¹

Whether heaven move or earth,
Imports not, if thou reckon right, the rest
From man or angel the great architect
Did wisely to conceal, and not divulge
His secrets to be scanned by them who ought
Rather admire; or if they list to try
Conjecture, he his fabric of the heavens
Hath left to their disputes, perhaps to move
His laughter at their quaint opinions wide
Hereafter, when they come to model heaven
And calculate the stars, how they will wield
The mighty frame, how build, unbuild, contrive
To save appearances.

The "fabric" of the "great architect," and the "mighty frame" are equivalent to the "machina mundi." This passage is perhaps comic in intention; yet the comedy is partly

¹⁶ *P.L.* III. 483.

¹⁷ Page 2.

¹⁸ Page 4 *et al.*

¹⁹ It is used by Galileo. See "Milton and Galileo," *Studies in Philology* (Univ. of N. C.), April, 1922, p. 167.

²⁰ *Naturam non pati senium*, last line.

²¹ *P.L.* VIII. 70-82. Following lines are quoted on p. 299, *supra*. Cf. *P.L.* VIII. 15 (quoted on p. 306, *infra*).

directed against the Ptolemaic, as opposed to the Copernican, astronomers, and partly aims to influence men against taking too seriously scientific hypotheses, which, though necessary, were liable to unbuilding. The words "save appearances" probably have nothing comic in them, for the expression is that commonly applied to their explanations by seventeenth century astronomers. Milton fell easily into the scientific language with which his studies had made him familiar. For example, in one of his prose works we read of "hypotheses to save the phenomena of our Savior's answer to the Pharisees."²²

In his annotations to Sacrobosco, Jacobus Martinus writes as follows of hypotheses and phenomena:

Enumeravit caelorum ordines et motus. Hae sunt Astronomorum hypotheses quae falsae esse possunt, ut ea quae de concentricis et excentricis in theoria planetarum proposita sunt: sed cum tres sint quasi aetates Astronomiae, phaenomena, hypotheses, et demonstrationes, hoc unum perspectum esse debet, firmam semper esse Astronomiam si modo habuerit vera phaenomena et legitimas demonstrationes, liberum est unicuique hypotheses fingere quae naturae non repugnent.²³

In theoria planetarum de qua obiter hoc capite agitur, ante omnia perspecta debent esse phaenomena, deinde cognoscendae hypotheses, tandem diligenter animadvertendum utrum possint satisfacere phaenomenis, et ad Geometricas demonstrationes et calculum astronomicum sunt revocandae. Quaedam phaenomena proponuntur ab Authore quae sunt statio, directio, retrogradatio, eclipses: addere potes velocem aut tardum planetae motum, magnitudinem tum planetae tum eclipses: quae non modo in genere, sed in parte cognoscenda sunt. Demum libentius audies astronomos dividentes corpora coelestia in orbis concentricos, et excentricos, non miraberis cur plures habeat orbis mercurii coelum, quam coelum Solis aut lunae.²⁴

One of these hypotheses was that of the three spheres above the eighth, of which Martinus says: "Astronomi . . . fingunt tantum eos coelos."²⁵

The pre-Galilean astronomers were mistaken in many of their hypotheses, though acute in their observations of the

²² *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, l.2.

²³ P. 28.

²⁴ Pp. 35-6.

²⁵ P. 26.

“machina mundi.” Venus was known by the ancients to be both morning and evening star, though designated by two names; Lucifer as morning star, and Hesperus as evening star. Milton uses these names, though without stating that the two are one.²⁶ This is explained in a selection from Alfraganus printed with *De Sphaera*:

In hoc loco demonstremus ortum planetarum, & occasum eorum, & occultationem eorum sub radiis Solis. Dicamusque quod Saturnus, Iupiter & Mars sunt cursu tardiores Sole. Cumque fuerit unus eorum ante Solem, appropinquat ei Sol, & videtur eius apparitio in occidente in vespere: nominaturque occidentalis, donec occultetur sub radiis Solis. Cumque transierit eum Sol per cursum suum, & exierit de sub radiis, apparebit in oriente mane, & nominatur orientalis: eritque unicuique eorum occasus in vespere, & ortus in mane.

Venus autem & Mercurius, eo quod sunt cursu velociores Sole, cumque fuerit unus eorum coniunctus Soli, fueritque cursu directus, vincit eum, & transiens egrediatur de sub radiis, eritque ortus eius in occasu vespere, donec veniat ad maximam suam longitudinem a Sole in circulo brevi. Post hoc minuitur cursus eius, & revertitur ad radios eius: eritque occultatio eius in vespere occidente. Cumque separatus fuerit a Sole, & exierit de sub radiis, orietur in oriente mane, donec perveniat ad longitudinem suam maiorem a Sole. Post hoc fit cursus velocior, & attingit Solem, eritque eius occasus in oriente mane. Luna vero est velocior Sole cursu, & non est ei retrogradatio: ideo attingit Solem, & occidit in oriente mane transitque eum: & oritur in occidente vespere.²⁷

The cause of eclipses is also explained in our volume. Elias Vinetus gives the course of the moon during an eclipse, and continues:

Atque his est Lunae, quem aiunt, labor: putabant enim homines huius veritatis ignari, quotiens id accidebat, laborare Lunam ex incantationibus maleficiorum hominum, et ea de causa cimbolorum tinnitu, et clamoribus occurrendum instituerant: ne scilicet Luna excantantium voces audire posset, atque ita minus obsequi cogeretur. Sed haec rudioris aetatis deliria fuerunt.²⁸

This suggests the passage:

²⁶ P.L. IV. 605; V. 166; VII. 104, 366; VIII. 519; IX. 49; XI. 588.

²⁷ Pp. 97-8.

²⁸ P. 175.

To dance
With Lapland witches, while the laboring moon
Eclipses at their charms.¹⁹

Sacrobosco²⁰ is aware that the moon has no light except from the sun. Milton refers to this when he writes:

The neighboring moon, . . .
With borrowed light her countenance triform
Hence fills and empties to enlighten the earth.²¹

Some of the opponents of Galileo, however, held that the moon had some light of her own, because the dark part of her surface could be distinctly seen when the moon was not full.²²

Sacrobosco and his companions always think of the heavenly bodies in relation to the earth at their centre:

Quod autem terra sit in medio firmamenti sita, sic patet. Existentibus in superficie terrae, stellae apparent eiusdem quantitatis, sive sint in medio coeli, sive iuxta ortum, sive iuxta occasum: et hoc ideo, quia aequaliter terra distat ab eis. Sic enim terra magis accederet ad firmamentum in una parte quam in alia, sequeretur, quod aliquis existens in illa parte superficiei terrae, quae magis accederet ad firmamentum, non videret coeli medietatem. Sed hoc est contra Ptolemaeum, et omnes philosophos, dicentes, quod ubique existat homo, sex signa ei oriuntur, et sex occidunt, et medietas coeli semper apparet ei, medietas vero occultatur.

Illud item est signum, quod terra sit tanquam centrum et punctus respectu firmamenti: quia si terra esset alicuius quantitatis respectu firmamenti, non contingeret medietatem coeli videri.²³

This idea that the earth is exceedingly small with respect to the heavens is sometimes considered peculiar to the new astronomy. Milton's Adam expresses it thus:

When I behold this goodly frame, this world
Of heaven and earth consisting, and compute
Their magnitudes, this earth a spot, a grain,

¹⁹ P. L. II. 664-6.

²⁰ P. 68.

²¹ P. L. III. 726-31. Cf. VII. 377.

²² *Milton and Galileo*, op. cit., p. 161.

²³ Pp. 13-14.

The explanation of Valerianus is as follows:

Eadem ratio, idemque Solis cursus, adventusque aut recessus in causa est, cur anni tempora nunc aestuosa, nunc rigentia, nunc temperata fiant. Nam cum Solis mora supra horizontem calorem inspiret, nox vero refrigeret, evenit ut hyemali tempore nox multum invehat humorem, ac perinde totum coeli tractum refrigeret, concreseatque aër ipse ob frigus: cuius munus est liquentia condensare, adeo ut Sol exiguo eo temporis spatio, quo se nobis ostendat, mox ad inferiora caeli sub horizontem, statim raptus nullam habeat facultatem, neque crassitiem aëris perrumpendi, neque calorem suum morae saltem, qua lucet, beneficio sensim immitendi, atque ita omnia rigore & glacie obstupescunt. Crescente vero sensim die Solem ipsum validiorem fieri sentimus, & nunc haec, nunc illa nubila depelli, donec aequi data campi copia certamen aequet, & pari cum nocte vi colluctetur, quod sit ubi ad aequinoctium vernum perventum est. Inde victor evadens eo acrius ipse noctem, ac perinde frigus omne premere & insectari perseverat, quo iniquius ab ea fuerat habitus: factusque quodammodo coeli dominus noctis finibus in arctum redactis, calorem ipse suum per universam hanc plagam ad gravem usque dominationem extendit. Et quoniam rerum est omnium vicissitudo, cum primum late lasciviens Cancrum in invidiam Lunae, quae nocti patrocinatur, male multavit, inviolabili fatorum lege solum iussus vertere, ad Leonem, quicum arctissima illi intercedit amicitia, sese recipiens, amittendae sibi possessionis conscius, quanto potest conatu, vires suas omnes effundit & caniculares illos aestus toto aëre iaculatur. Receptus demum a Virgine Astrae a commendatur, quae conata inter eos componere, paremque utrique potestatem fieri, nihil quidquam proficit: siquidem nox Scorpionibus, & Sagittatiis armata Solem aggreditur, longoque exagitationum certamine demum fugat, rerum summa ad tempus ipsi frigori commendata.²²

Milton was familiar with other astronomical works, such as those of Geminus and Galileo, and did not need to depend on *De Sphaera*, though he found it a suitable textbook. But quite apart from the knowledge of the book Milton gained from reading it "by proxy," as Philips says, it represents the astronomical knowledge current among educated men in Milton's time, and necessary for any one who would be part of the "fit audience" for the astronomical portions of his poetry.

ALLAN H. GILBERT

²² P. 168.

XVI. MIRACLES OF OUR LADY IN MIDDLE ENGLISH VERSE

In the following pages are presented hitherto unprinted texts of the Miracles of Our Lady in Middle English Verse, together with some discussion of the groups in which they appear, with particular regard to their relationship to the principal Latin collections of Miracles of the B. V. In considering the antecedents and the existing relationships of the Middle English versions, one must take as a starting point the results achieved by Mussafia¹ and Ward² in their monumental studies of the Legends of the Virgin, which deal especially with the Latin collections, from which presumably the English texts derive, either directly or indirectly. Though the researches of these scholars have been constantly drawn upon in discussing the materials here assembled, it has not seemed necessary in every case to trouble the reader by citing page references to their works, since the material contained in them is so systematically arranged that it is easily accessible. In citing MSS. containing English texts of the Miracles, I have availed myself of the MS descriptions contained in Carleton Brown's *Register of Middle English Religious and Didactic Verse*.³

I. THE SOUTH ENGLISH LEGENDARY GROUP

The earliest group of miracles of our Lady in English verse is the one which appears in that great compilation of Saints' Lives, the *South English Legendary*, of which the

¹ *Sitzungsb. Kaiserl. Akad. der Wiss.*, Wien (Phil.-Hist. Classe) Band CXII. 917, CXV. 5, CXIX, Abhandl. 9, CXXII, Abhandl. 8.

² *Catalogue of Romances, Dept. of MSS. in the Brit. Mus.*, Vols. I and II H. L. D. Ward; Vol. III, J. A. Herbert.

³ Printed for the Bibliographical Society, Oxford, Part I, 1916, Part II, 1920.

two earliest MSS. are Laud 108 and Harley 2277.⁴ In the former only a single Miracle of Our Lady is included—the story of Theophilus—but the Harley MS inserts between the Lives of St. Barnabas and St. Alban the following series of legends of the Virgin: (1) Theophilus, (2) Jew Boy, (3) Devil in Service, (4) B. V. Comes to the Devil instead of His Victim, (5) Saved by Learning Two Words, (6) Oxford Scholar Led to Heaven, (7) Toledo. The same group of legends reappears in later MSS. of the *South English Legendary* as follows: Laud Misc. 463, Trinity Coll. Oxf. 57, Camb. Univ. Add. 3039, Corpus Christi Coll. Camb. 143, Pepys 2344, and Cotton Cleop. B ix, Cotton Jul. D ix (“Oxford Scholar” omitted), Egerton 2891 (through the loss of a leaf “Saved by Learning Two Words” is missing), B. M. Addit. 10301 (“Jew Boy” omitted), Trinity Coll. Camb. 605 (“Jew Boy” and “Toledo” omitted).

Of these seven miracles the “Oxford Scholar” alone seems indigenous to England and is the only one which does not find its prototype in the Continental collections. Since the material for the *Legendary* was drawn from monasteries of southern England, it was natural enough that a legend of Oxford should have been inserted. Each of the other six legends appears again and again in the Latin collections. Indeed, the stories are found so frequently in the earlier MSS. that the task of identifying the particular source of the Harley version seems well-nigh hopeless. The only means of establishing conclusively the Englishman’s source would be through discovering all six members of the Harley group in a single Latin collection.

The only collection before 1300 (and therefore early enough

⁴ In regard to the date of these MSS. and their relation to other MSS. of the *South English Legendary*, see Carl Horstmann, *Allengl. Leg.* Paderborn, 1875, pp. x-xiii; *South English Leg.*, E. E. T. S., Orig. Ser., 87 pp. x-xi. Horstmann regards MS. Laud 108 as representing the oldest form of the *South English Legendary*. The study of this collection by Beatrice Daw Brown, still unpublished, does not altogether confirm Horstmann’s opinion in this matter.

to serve as a source) which contains more than one or two of the Harley miracles is the great 13th century compilation of Saints' Lives by Jacobus Voragine. In the *Legenda Aurea* one finds all six of the Harley legends, except "Toledo."⁸ Though the Harley stories present many variations from the text of the *Legenda* in minor details, the resemblance in the main outline of the stories is close enough to suggest some connection. For example, the various Latin texts of the "Devil in Service" give two distinct versions of the legend: according to one, the master is a pious man; in the other, a wicked robber. Harley follows Jacobus in making him a robber. Again, the "Lily" miracle in the Latin MSS. appears in at least four different forms, to say nothing of countless minor variations. Here Harley once more follows Jacobus, reproducing the *Legenda* version of "Saved by Learning Two Words," in practically every detail.

The general similarity of outline appears, then, to indicate some relationship between the Harley collection and the *Legenda*; but an examination of the minor variations makes it unlikely that the *Legenda* was the immediate source used by the Harley translator. The English text of the legends throughout displays more vivid characterization; the narrative is enlivened by direct quotation; the motivation and dramatic unity of several of the stories are considerably improved. Such additions, whether they be original or no, would indicate an excellent dramatic instinct on the part of the English translator. It is difficult, then, to understand how a writer who seems so evidently intent on quickening and enriching his narratives could have passed over a

⁸ The legends appear in the *Legenda Aurea* as follows:

Cap. LI De annuntiatione

2 Saved by Learning Two Words

3 Devil in Service

Cap. CXIX. De assumptione

3 B. V. to Devil instead of Victim

5 Jew Boy

Cap. CXXXI De nativitate

9 Theophilus.

number of details in the *Legenda* which would have served his purpose admirably, yet which are not included in the Harley versions. In the "Devil in Service," for example, details are omitted which would have heightened the dramatic quality of the narrative. The suggestive passage in the *Legenda*, giving the holy man's plea to the robber band that he be allowed to speak to their master in order to tell him a secret thing for his profit, is reduced in Harley simply to "þe freres cride and bede"; and the holy man's impressive exorcism of the devil, given by Jacobus, is suggested in Harley merely by the casual explanation, "þe devil wende awei anon." Again, in the story of the Virgin coming to the Devil instead of his victim, Harley omits an excellent touch in the *Legenda*, where the wife on being commanded to accompany her husband trembles with fear, but not daring to disobey his injunction, commends herself to the Blessed Virgin and rides after him.

It seems highly improbable that a writer with the love of picturesque detail of which the Harley scribe gives evidence in other passages, could have deliberately omitted such touches as these, had he ever seen them. In spite of the fact, therefore, that five of the Harley miracles occur also in the *Legenda Aurea* and that there is a general similarity in the narratives, one hesitates to regard the *Legenda* as the immediate source of the English text.

Moreover, there is another possibility which should not be overlooked. The *Legenda Aurea* is itself a compilation from various other MSS. and one of these source-collections may quite possibly have furnished material for the Harley MS. also. Though the existence of such a common antecedent is purely hypothetical at present, a bit of evidence which points in this direction may be found in Mussafia's account^a of the *Liber Marie*, a Latin compilation by Gil de Zamora (fl. 1300) which is preserved in Madrid MS. B.b. 150 (XIV cent.). The *Liber Marie* contains a large number of the *Legenda*

^a Mussafia, *op. cit.*, Band CXIX, Abhandl. 9, pp. 26-35.

Aurea legends, but the two works are so nearly synchronous that it is doubtful whether Gil could have used the *Legenda Aurea* as his source. This and other evidence leads Mussafia to suggest that Gil did not borrow from Jacobus, but that they drew from a common source. The possibility that this source may also have furnished the materials used by the Harley scribe is strengthened by the fact that the *Liber Marie* includes not only the five Harley legends given by Jacobus, but also "Toledo," which the *Legenda* omits. It is noteworthy, further, that the three legends, "Devil in Service," "Blessed Virgin Comes to the Devil," and "Saved by Learning Two Words," which follow one another in the Harley MS., are also placed consecutively (though in a different order) in the *Liber Marie* whereas in the *Legenda* one is placed under Cap. CXIX. and the other two under Cap. LI. It seems not unreasonable, therefore, to suppose that the Harley legends may have been drawn from the source used by Jacobus and Gil de Zamora,—a collection giving a condensed version of the miracles of the Virgin as compared with the *Legenda* (thus accounting for the omissions in Harley of various *Legenda* details), including "Toledo," and probably arranged in an order more nearly approximated by the Harley MS. and by Gil than by Jacobus.

Besides the group of seven miracles which appear with fair regularity in the MSS. of the *South English Legendary*, an isolated legend of the appearance of our Lady to a monk in a vision—a story not elsewhere told in English verse—is included in a single MS. of the *South English Legendary*, Egerton 2810 (XIV century). The occurrence of this miracle in this manuscript is the more curious because Egerton 2810 omits entirely the normal group of seven miracles. It might be suggested that this unique Legend was deliberately substituted in Egerton for the usual group, but against such an explanation is the fact that, instead of being inserted among the Saints' Lives in the usual place, it stands between the Life of St. Teilo and All Hallows. Though this legend cannot, therefore, be regarded as belonging to the

South English Legendary collection, yet inasmuch as it occurs in one of the MSS. of this, *Legendary* it will be convenient to arrange it among our texts immediately following the seven miracles which properly comprise this collection.

1. THEOPHILUS (fol. 58^a).

[Text printed from MS. Laud 108 by Horstmann, *EETS*.
Orig. Ser. 87, 288ff.]

2. THE JEW-BOY (fol. 60^b).

A gywes child in o tyme : while bi olde dawē
Wyþ cristene childerne ofte pleide : as childerne wollep
 ȝut fawe
Hit biful vpon an ester dai : þat þe childerne hem gonne
 drawe

4. To churche as childerne doþ : as hit is þe dayes lawe
Wiþ hem ȝeode þe gywes child : & þo hit to churche com
To eche þing þat he þer iseȝ : gode gome hit nom
Whan his felawes sete a knee : & cride on þe ymage an
 heȝ

8. Kneo hit sat & eche þing dude : þat hit þer iseȝ
þe rode hit bihuld faste : him wondrede þeron ynouȝ
To oure leuedi ymage mest : ouere his hurte drouȝ
His hurte ȝaf to þulke ymage : hire louye mest he miȝte

12. Out of his þoȝt ne com heo noȝt : after þe furste siȝte
þo þat fole ȝeode to afonge : godes flesch & his blod
þe child ȝeode forþ wiþ hem : & dude also god
Godes flesch & his blod hit nom : wiþ his felawes þere

16. & forþ hit wende siþþe hom : þo hi hamward were
Erst hadde his fader & his moder : isoȝt him
 aboute

Glad hi were þo he com hom : erst hi were in doute
þe fader eschte whar he were : & he tolde anon

20. What he hadde at churche ido : & hou he þider com
þe fader was neȝ for wrappe wod : he hette his ouene
 faste

þo he was al berninge afure : þat child amidde he caste

- & dutte þe ouenes mouþ : þe moder as heo wod were
 24. þo heo seȝ forbrenne hire child : makede dulful bere
 In þe strete heo orn faste aboute : & pitousliche cride
 þat folc heo tolde hou hit was : and hou hire dude betide
 þat folc com to þan ouene : aboute bi eche weye
 28. þat child hi fonde sitte : & amidde þe fure pleye
 Hi eschte of him what him wiste : þat þe fur ne com
 him neȝ
 Certes he seide þe faire womman : þat ich at churchc
 iseȝ
 & stod vp an heȝ bi þe croiȝ : & þo ich was ihousled also
 32. Me þoȝte heo stod vpe þe weued : & tolled me þerto
 To me siþþe hider heo cam : & here kerechief heo nom
 & heled me þat ne fur : ne hete neȝ me ne com
 Me nas neuere so murie in no stede : as me haȝ her ibeo
 36. Ich bileoue on hire & on hire sone : þat gywes honge on
 þe treo
 þat folc nom þe childes fader : & þouene wel hote tende
 & caste þe cherl amidde : & al to douste brende
 þat child & his moder & meni oþer : cristendom anon
 nome
 40. & bileouede on god & on his moder : & gode men bicomc
 Elles hit hadde schrewen ibeo : for miracle of þulke
 childe
 Meni miracles me mai ȝut tille : of oure leuedi suete &
 milde

3. THE DEVIL IN SERVICE (fol. 61^a).

- A kniȝt þer was bi olde dawes : liþer man ynouȝ
 Strong robbour & manquellere : to alle wikkednesse¹ he
 drouȝ
 Bi a wei he hadde a castel : fur fram eche toun
 4. Al þat folc þat þerforþ come : sone he brouȝte adoune
 For his men he hadde be eche side : to robbi & to reue
 Alle þulke þat þerforþ come : sone hi brouȝte to deþe
 So þat tui freres þerforth come : sone hi were ynome

¹ MS. godnisse *struck out*, wikkednesse *inserted above in a different hand*.

8. Irobbed go beo of here gode : for hi were eþ to beo
ouercome
þe freres cride & bede þurne : þat hi robbi hem ne
scholde
Ae lede hem harmles bifore here louerd : & late him do
what he wolde
þe liþer men granteden here bone : faste hi gonnen hem
holde
12. & ladde to here louerd as prisoune : & al þe cas him
tolde
He het as me rubbede oþere : þāt me dude bi hem also
Ac þe freres so þurne cride : þat me ne scholde non harm
hem
þe freres him bede þurne : þat hi delyured were
16. & þat hereon bifore his men : moste prechi þere
& þat he & alle his men : ihurde þe preching sone
þe kniȝt as god ȝaf þe grace : grantede his bone
He het his men þat hi scholde beo : at his prechinge
echone
20. þo hi were alle adoun isete : & þe frere alone
Ich bisiche ȝou quap þe frere : þat ȝe þat soþe iseo
Whar ȝe beo alle clenliche her : oþer eni hunne beo
þo bilokede alle faste : & seide þat hi were þer echon
24. Hai parde quap þe frere : zut þer failleþ on
& lokede & fonde defaute of on : & wel wide him soȝte
Hi fonden him & wiþ strenȝþe him nome : & to prechinge
broȝte
Anon so he þider com : he quakede for drede
28. Mid strenȝþe hi makede him sitte : þat hi gonne þider
lede
Ich hote þe belami quap þe frere : as ich þe her iseo
In mi louerd's name of heuene : þat þu sigge what þu
beo
þo gan he quakie & schake more : & þo non oþer red nas
32. Quakinge bifore al þat folc : he tolde what he was
Ich am he seide þe deuēl of helle : & mid al mi lore
þis kniȝt ich haue iserued her : fourtene ȝer & more

- His louerd *ich* am & he is myn : & oure aȝer oþeres *is*^a
36. Alle þis fourtene ȝer *ich* hadde ifonded : him to as-
 trangli iwis
 Ac y ne miȝte wiþ-inne him come : to do þulke dede
 For eche day vyf aue maries : to marie he sede
 In þe honuranc of þe vyf ioyes : þat heo hadde of hire
 sone
40. þis scholde beo his furste dede : eche day bi wone
 Hadde he bileued eni day : *ich* him hadde astrangled
 anon
 Ac for he hem seide y ne miȝte : of him hadde no won
 þat was his mede of his aues : for al he hadde here
44. Ac were he ded to helle he scholde : no þinge ne scholde
 him skere
 Nou beau freres ȝe mowe iseo : *quap* þis holi frere
 Wham ȝe habbeþ iserued ȝare : & ho haþ ibeo ȝoure
 ifere
 þe deuel wende awei anon : hi nuste whar he bicom
48. þe kniȝt let him schryue sone : & repentance nom
 & his men echone : þat so liþere were bifore
 & bicom alle gode men : þo hi hadde here felawe forlore
 Ne be a man noȝt so sinful : her he mai iseo
52. If he doþ oure leuedi eni seruise : vnȝulde ne schal hit
 noȝt beo
 & herbi ek me mai iseo : þat be deuel ne may
 No schindisse do a man : þat hire gret a day
 On marie þat is so moche : þi milce & þyn ore
56. So murie hit is to telle of þe : þat ȝut we mote more

4. THE B. V. COMES TO THE DEVIL INSTEAD OF HIS
 VICTIM (fol. 61^b).

A kniȝt was while a riche man : þat honurede moche mid
 alle
 Oure leuedi & alle hire festes : þat in þe ȝer doþ falle
 A gret feste he huld vpe his poer : euerech of hire daye

^a is- letters apparently tampered with by later hand.

4. & fondede to hon^{ur}e : oure suete leuedy : & paye
 Sippe hit biful as god hit wolde : þat his god him was
 bynome
 þat he ne miȝte neȝt holde vp his hon^{ur} : so pore he was
 bicome
 In grete meseise he ladde his lyf : & ȝut him greuede more
8. þat he ne miȝte de as he dude er : & aschamed was ful
 sore
 Whan hit com to oure leuedi dai : þat he moste his feste
 holde
 He ne miȝte for schame among men be : so lute of him
 me tolde
 O tyme aȝen oure leuedi day : as scholde his feste beo
12. To wede he wende & hudde him : þat men ne scholde
 him noȝt iseo
 þe deuel com in a manes forme : to him wel sone þere
 & axede such man as he was : whi he þeron so were
 Nai certes quap þis kniȝt : mi manhode is al forlore
16. For schame þat ich was while man : ich hude me her
 þefore
 Riche man ich wole þe maki sone : þe deuel aȝe sede
 Of wordles catel & murȝþe ynouȝ : if þu dost bi mi rede
 Leoue sire quap þis seli kniȝt : sai what ich shal do
20. To bringe me out of þisse meseise : & ich wole don also
 Bote go hom quap þis liȝ ere wiȝt : & god ynouȝ þu shalt
 fynde
 & com hider to me þulke day : & ne bilef noȝt þi wyf
 bihynde
 Ac bring hire & we schole : of sum foreward speke
24. þat þu schalt euere riche beo : bote þu þi foreward breke
 þo was þis a god womman : & louede wel seinte marie
 þefore þo deuel hire wolde habbe : for he hadde þerto
 enuie
 þe deuel wende forþ his wey : þe kniȝt hamward drouȝ
28. þo he com hom in eche hurne : he fond god ynouȝ
 ȝurne he þonkede þe foule wiȝt : þat ȝaf him such cas
 Him lange & him eschte sone : ac he nuste what he was

- þo¹ hit was atte daye : þat hi betuene hem nome
32. His wyf he het greiþi hire : þat heo wiþ him come
He nolde noþing hire telle : whider he wolde fare
Hi wande boþe to-ward þe wode : þo hi were ȝare
Bi a chapel of oure leuedi : bi þe wey hi come² ride
36. þe leuedi bad he moste aliȝte : & a stounde abide
To bidde hire bedes to oure leuedi : as heo was iwoned
ofte
þo heo in to þe chapel com : he ful adoun aslepe softe
Oure leuedi suete & mylde : aliȝte fram heuene to hire
þere
40. Hire forme in eche poynte : hire silve as þeȝ hit were
Wiþ þe kniȝt as his owe wyf : heo wende wyþ him & rod
þe kniȝt began to chide faste : þat heo so longe abod
Sire³ quap oure leuedi : we ne beoþ noȝt longe ilet
44. Ous ne schal for oure abode : spede bote þe bet
Ich hopie þin erande : schal beo wel ibet
Forþ hi wende in to þe wode : þer þe stede was iset
þo hi come toward þe stede : þe deuel was ȝare bifore
48. Ac þo deuel oure leuedi iseȝ : hi gan to grede sore
Fale trattour he seide to þe kniȝt : whi bitrayestou me so
Shal ich habbe þis for mi godhede : þat ich habbe þe ido
Ne holde ich þe foreward quap þe kniȝt : whar of dostou
mene
52. þu lixt loude quap þe deuel : þu breȝst forward al clene
þu bringst wiþ þe mi meste fo : & scholdest wiþ þe þi
wyf lede
þis kniȝt houede al witles : he nuste hou he sede
þu liþere þing quap oure leuedi : whi woldestou so fawe
56. þat he hadde his wyf ibroȝt : þu wost hit nere no lawe
Ich wole þe sigge þuap þe schrewe : heo is me suyþe loþ
For heo him serueþ so wel : he makeþ me alday wroþ
And if heo hauede hider icome : ich hire wolde astrangli
anon

¹ MS. þat for þo.² MS. hi come hi come ride.³ MS. Siri sire quap.

60. Ac þu ert euere mi worste freond : among alle mi fon
þu hire hast nou bynome me : þu bringst me al to
grounde

Allas þat þu euere were : allas þulke stounde

Ich hote þe *quap* oure louedi : ich hote þe hunne wende

64. þat þu no; þis man ne come : neuere for to schende
& þu sire kniȝt also god : þu me hast igreuied sore

Beo repentant of þi trespass : ne do þu so no more

Al þat þu hast of richesce : þurf þe deueles sonde

68. Del hit al for godes loue : pouere men in þe londe
& þu schalt habbe jut god ynou; : to lede bi þi lyf
In mi chapel þer þu wost : þu schalt fynde þi wyfe
Mid þis word he wende forþ : þe kniȝt ne se; hire no
more

72. He vnderstod wel ho hit was : he gan to sike sore
For þe sinne þat he dude : þurf þe fundes lore
Oure leuedi he had forȝeuenisse : & *cride* hire milce &
ore

Hamward he wende in gret þoȝt : his wyf slepinge he
fonde

76. In þe chapel þer heo lay : slepinge al þulke stounde
Slepinge he hadde al iseȝe : of hem al hou hit was
Gret ioye he makeden hem bituene : as hi tolde of þis
cas

Faire hi wende to-gadere hom : & dude oure leuedi bone

80. & þat hi hadde þurf þe deuel : pore men hi delde sone
& *seruede* oure louede wel : þat hem was mylde & hende
& wordles god hadde ynou; : to here lyues ende
Of oure leuedi faire miracles : we seop al day a grete

84. þe; we habbe of summe itold : jut nole we noȝt lete.

5. SAVED BY LEARNING TWO WORDS (fol. 63^a).

A kniȝt þer was while alonde : gret man mid alle & wys
Atte leste he him biþoȝte : þat þe wordle was of lute
pris

Al his noblei he beleuede : & into Religioun wende

4. To *serui* god & oure leuedi : his lyf to amende

His breþeren him wolde teche his bedes : as riȝt was &
lawe

His pater noster & crede : & he hit wolde lurni sawe
He ne miȝte neuere for noþing : vnderstonde þerof more

8. Bote aue marie þuse tuei word : hit him of þoȝte sore
þo hi ne miȝte him teche no more : midde lou ne midde eye
He lete him iworþe & lurni wel : þulke wordes tueye
þis kniȝt boþe niȝt & dai : on oure leuedi gen *crie*
12. In god entente þuse tuo wordes : he seide aue marie
He ne couþe neuere oþer bede : wiþ gode wille he hem
sede

& wiþ þulke bede wiþ-oute mo : his lyf he gan lede
þo he wende out of þis wordle : as we schulleþ also

16. Me burede him faire as riȝt was : such man to do
Out of his buriels þer wax sone : a lillie fair & heȝ
þe floures so whit so eni mulc : as þe contray iseȝ
In eche leef þer was iwrite : lettres of golde rede
20. þuse tuo wordes aue marie : þat he so ofte sede
þat folc spac þerof wyde : & wondrede moche þerfore
So þat hi nome hem to rede : to loken what were þe more
Hi dolue & fonde þe lillie wex : riȝt out of his mouþe
24. Gret ioie hadde al þat folc : þat þenchesoun couþe
& iseȝe hou good hit was : oure leuedi to grete
ȝut we wolleþ more telle of hire : for heo is god & suete.

6. OXFORD SCHOLAR LED TO HEAVEN (fol. 63^a).

[Printed from this MS. by Furnivall, *Early Eng. Poems*,
etc., 1862, pp. 40-42]

7. TOLEDO (fol. 64^a).

[Printed from this MS. by Furnivall, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-43]

8. THE B. V. APPEARS TO A MONK IN A VISION (Egerton
MS. 2810, fol. 99^b).

In sume religioun ase we rede
þis vsage is fulfyld in dede
þat after complyne ilk-a nyghte

4. Tow serges sall be sette wit lyghte
And alle þe brether wit-in þe where
Ilkane schall stande in stalles sere
Be-fore oure lady autere dyȝte
8. þidyr turnande alle þaire siȝte
Wele rewlede in ordre & arayde
Alle tyme þis antem þe couent sayd
Salue regina þat þai say
12. One þe same wys vn-to þis day
Ate a tyme þis antem als þai sange
Ffulle deuoutly and fulle lange
Wit voyces þat were fayre & clere
16. In louynge of oure lady dere
A (?) religius by þat stode
A mane deuoute þat was and gode
He loued oure lady euere elyke
20. His lufe wase swettur þen hony of byke
þis monke þat I mencyon of make
Syngand þis antem fore hire sake
Wit deuocoun Ilke a nyghte
24. Sere tymes he saw in gastly syȝte
Wene þe couent said þes wordes taw
Eya ergo aduocata
A lufly lady descend doune
28. Apone hire heued scho hade a croune
þat schane wele bryȝter þen þe leuyn
þis moder of mercy als I neuen
By-fore þe by auter in his siȝte
32. Sche fell down on hir knees riȝte
In presens¹ of hire son þat stode
þare in a tabernacle gode
And fore alle þaire ordyr prayed
36. And alle oper þat sange ore sayde
þis swete antem loude ore styлле
Wit deuocoun hire vntylle
þan saide hire swete son to hire sone

¹ MS. *blurred*.

40. I graunt þe moder all þi bone
 And alle þi prayers specialy
 No thinge wille I þe deny
 Ffore alle þat wyll here nijte & day
44. Othere þis salue synge ore say
 Wit deuocyon fore þi sake
 þaire aduokete I þe make
 And þaire mediatrice to be
48. þaire hope þaire help alle hynges on þe
 þane wanne þis swete antem was done
 þis ryalle quene rase vp fulle sone
 And gaf þose monkes hire blessing briȝte
52. And vaniste sone oute of his sijte
 þe monk þat saw þis visyoun
 þan schewd hit wit deuocyoun
 Till his breþer þat ware blithe
56. þai loued *our* lady mony a sithe
 And quate tym als þai ere a way
 Fra þaire Seruyse ate þai say
 þis antem of *our* lady free
60. Deuotly kneland on þaire knee
 And þan bigynnes þaire houres to haste
 þere Cestews vse þis maner maste
 And þerfore gode is als I gesse
64. To ȝonge & old to mare and lesse
 To mayden widow man and wife
 And alle þat couetes heuenly life
 And to haf þis lady hende
68. His aduokete & his frende
 Say þis salue *in* hire sijte
 Wit gode mynd of hert & miȝte
 To go wit gre þat he may ga
72. He graunt his grace hit may swa
 Amen.

1. "Theophilus." This is one of the oldest and most widespread of the legends of the Virgin; it appears in sixty

of the Latin and French collections described by Ward and Mussafia. The original account was written in Greek (VI cent.), and ascribed to Eutychianus; it was translated into Latin (IX cent.) by Paul the Deacon of Naples; also by Gentianus Hervetus, who gives a version purporting to be from Symeon Metaphrastes (X cent.), who had embodied the narrative of Eutychianus in his great collection of the Lives of the Saints. Hrotsvitha put the story into Latin verse in the tenth century. Dasent (*Theophilus in Icelandic, Low German and other Tongues*, London, 1845), publishes versions in Greek, Latin, French, Anglo-Norman, Flemish, Low-German, Icelandic, Swedish, and Anglo-Saxon; and F. H. von der Hagen (*Gesammtabenteuer*, III. cxii) mentions an old Spanish version of the thirteenth century.

The version in the *South English Legendary* is considerably expanded as compared with that in the *Legenda Aurea*, for example. One of the distinctive features is the statement that the Jew who had taken Theophilus to the Devil was found out in his treachery and burned. This inspired Theophilus with forebodings and moved him to call upon Our Lady for aid. Whether this detail is original with the *South English Legendary* story I cannot say.

"Theophilus" is also introduced as a "Narratio" in the *Northern Homily Collection*. In this the story is given with fuller detail and the narrative takes on a decidedly theological tone. All of Theophilus' misdeeds come as a result of the Fiend's suggestions; his repentance is due to the pity of God, who reveals to him the pains of hell which await him. Kölbing (*Engl. Studien*, I. 16-57) makes a careful comparison of two forms of the Theophilus text in the *Northern Homily Collection*, one represented by the Vernon MS. (fol. 203b) and the other by Harley MS. 4196 (fol. 113a). At first glance, the two texts correspond very closely, allowing for dialectal differences; but a careful comparison shows omissions, first in one MS. and then in the other, which seem to demonstrate that neither version is dependent on the other, but that both derive from a common source.

2. "The Jew-Boy." This likewise is one of the most popular of the miracles of Our Lady: it appears in sixty-eight MSS. listed by Ward and Mussafia. (Eugen Wolter (*Der Judenknabe*—Suchier's *Bibliotheca Normannica* II.) notes the existence of thirty-one forms of the miracle, in Greek, Latin, French, Spanish, German, Arabic, and Ethiopian.

The *South English Legendary* version follows the Latin text of the miracle found in Cotton MS. Cleop. C.X. The Latin text gives a minute account, some of the details of which the English version omits; but on the whole the two agree closely in order and incident. The only point of real difference is in the means used by the Virgin to preserve the boy: in the Cotton text she protects him from the fire with her sleeve (*Manica*); in the English version with her kerchief. In MS. 200 of the Biblioteca Alessandria at Rome (XII-XIII cent.) the Virgin likewise shields the child with her head-covering (see Wolter's *Judenknabe*, No. 11). More commonly she uses her mantle, or simply her garment.

The several MSS. of the *South English Legendary* differ slightly in this legend. Harley does not specify the location of the story, and is followed in this by Laud Misc. 463 and Trinity Oxf. 57; the other MSS.—all later than Harley—have adopted the Latin tradition, and place the scene "in Buturie." Cotton Jul. D. IX. introduces two lines (apparently unique) in which the mother consents to the child's death.

The "Jew Boy" appears also in the Vernon Collection, in a version which—like most of the Vernon pieces—offers a difficult problem as to source. It is an elaborate account, some of the details of which may certainly be attributed to the Vernon poet. For example, at the beginning of the narrative it is stated that the Christians lived in one half of the city, and all the Jews dwelt on one street.¹ At the close is

¹ There is an interesting analogy between the situation described here and that depicted in the opening lines of the miracle, "The Boy Slain by the Jews," as told by Chaucer's Prioress. The Vernon "Jew Boy" narrative begins:

introduced an up-to-date court scene: the mayor sits to judge the case, twelve men are sworn in, and the verdict is duly returned. Such modern touches, one need scarcely add, are not found in the Latin accounts.

As a whole, the Vernon seems to represent a re-editing of the *South English Legendary* story; none of the additional details connect it with any of the Latin versions printed by Wolter, unless possibly the Vernon scribe found a suggestion for his trial scene in the statement of Cotton Cleop. C.X. that the people *and the judges* assembled at the mother's cries, and that the judges condemned the Jew father to be burned. The trial scene in Vernon, at all events, could scarcely have been suggested by the text in the *South English Legendary*:

þat folc nom þe childes fader & þouene
wel hote tende & caste the cherl amidde

Sum-tyme fel in on cite—
Her kneþ wel, and je may here—
As Jewes weren i-wont to be
Among þe cristen and wone I-fere:
þe Cristene woneden in On halue
Of þat cite, as I þe hete,
And alle þe Jewes bi hem-selue
Were stihlet to wone in a strete.

The Prioress opens her story with the words:

Ther was in Asye, in a greet citee
Amonges cristene folk, a Jewrye,
Sustened by a lord of that contree
For foule usure and lucre of vileynye
Hateful to Christ and to his compaignye,
And thurgh the strete men mygthe ride or wende
For it was free, and open at eyther ende.

Since there is no reason to believe that Chaucer used the Vernon text of the "Boy Slain by the Jews," for his *Tale* (See Carleton Brown, *Miracle of Our Lady Told by Chaucer's Prioress*, Pubs. Chaucer Soc. 2nd ser., No. 45, p. 112), it seems even less probable that he borrowed from an entirely different legend in the same collection. The resemblance is probably a mere coincidence—but an interesting one.

It does not seem, however, that this evidence is sufficient to indicate that the Vernon is taken from Cotton Cleop. The Vernon account includes none of the elements from the Cotton MS. which have been omitted by Harley, and in some cases shows a distinct analogy to the Harley where that version differs from Cotton Cleop.³

A third English version of the Jew-Boy is found in B.M. Addit. MS. 39996. This account, though much briefer than the Vernon, shows an even more surprising independence in its variations. In all the other MSS. it is the mother who rushes out and calls for help after the father has committed his cruel deed; here, with a perversity common to this scribe, the alarm is given by a maid who loves the child. The scribe closes his otherwise traditional account with the following startling—and unexplained—statement:

þai toke his fader þen ful rad
And brent hem þen anon
And alle þe opere everechone
þat ever were at þat assent
In þat oven were bitterly brent.

3. "Devil in Service." This tradition of the uncanny servant is a very old one. In old German, Danish, and

³ (a) The Cotton MS. simply states that the boy was instructed in letters with the Christian children. Cf. Harley and Vernon:

Harley: "A gywes child in o tyme while bi olde dawes
Wiþ cristene childerne ofte pleide as childerne
wolleþ jut fawe."

Vernon: "þe Cristene childern in a Crofte
I-mad them hedden a wel feir plas.
þer-Inne a Jewes child ful ofte
Wiþ hem to pleyen I-sont he was."

(b) In the Cotton version, after the rescue the boy does not describe his sensations while in the oven. Cf. Harley and Vernon:

Harley: "Me was neuere so murie in no stede as me haþ
Her ibeo."

Vernon: "Of alle þe Murþes þat I haue had
In al my lyf jit hider-to
Ne was I neuere of gleo so glad
As aftur I was In þe bouene I-do!"

English folk stories he appears as "Brother Rausch," a cook in a monastery. The legend appears in two forms in the Latin collections. According to the version in S. Germ. No. 34, and also in *Spec. Hist.* (VII., 101) and *Scala coeli*, fol. clxx. b, the Devil-servant gains the confidence of a pious man whom he wishes to kill. The *Legenda Aurea* (cap. LI. 3), on the other hand, makes the master a wicked knight. The *South English Legendary* agrees with the *Legenda Aurea*. The chief differences from the *Legenda* consist in making the captives of the knight's men two friars instead of one person, and in omitting the pretext by which the holy man in the *Legenda* gained the hearing of the knight, i.e., that he had a secret to reveal to him for his profit. Also, the English version, unlike the *Legenda*, omits to mention that the Devil-servant is the knight's chamberlain.

The second English version, that in Tanner MS. 407 (see below, p. 375) follows the *Legenda Aurea* very closely, and like the *Legenda* version, is placed after and closely connected with "Saved by Learning Two Words." The chief variations introduced by the Tanner scribe are the naming of the holy man as St. Bernard, and the addition of the repentance, reformation, and final salvation of the knight with all his men.

4. "The Blessed Virgin Comes to the Devil instead of His Victim." The English version omits some rather striking details found in the *Legenda Aurea* (cap. CXIX. 3): (a) The Knight's procedure after he has regained his wealth,—he buys a palace, gives great gifts, and buys back his heritage. (b) The wife's fear when commanded to accompany her husband,—she dares not disobey, and commends herself to the Virgin. (c) The Blessed Virgin's injunction to the Devil never to harm those who call on her; he goes away howling.

The two accounts also differ in their explanation of the cause of the knight's sense of shame after he has fallen into poverty. In the *Legenda* he feels disgraced because, having once been accustomed to give great gifts, he is now obliged to

ask for small, and when a solemnity approaches he had nothing to give: in the Harley text he is ashamed because he can not keep Our Lady's feast as was his wont. Another difference appears at the end: in the *Legenda* the riches from the Devil are thrown away; in the English version they are given to the poor.

This legend is also introduced as a "Narratio" in the *Northern Homily Collection*. This version presents only a few variations worth noting: the Devil bids the knight *dig* to find his gold; the knight refuses to go into the chapel with his wife, and cautions her not to stay long; and the narrative ends with the reunion of the knight and his wife in the chapel, the ill-got gold being undisposed of, in spite of the Virgin's injunction to do away with it. In the matter of resemblances to the *Legenda* there is little to choose between the Harley and the Vernon versions: where the English MSS. differ, sometimes one, sometimes the other—and sometimes neither—follows the Latin version. There is nothing to indicate that the Vernon narrative was influenced by that in the *South English Legendary*.

5. "Saved by Learning Two Words." This miracle belongs to a family which has more branches than any other miracle of Our Lady. The "Lily" motive is introduced in two distinct types of stories in the Latin MSS. In one (PEZ No. 3) an incontinent monk is refused Christian burial because of his sins; but Our Lady, whom he has served, orders that his body be placed in the churchyard; a lily grows from his mouth as a token of his devotion. The other—seemingly the original form—is the one which is found in the *Legenda* (cap. LI. 2); the appearance of the miraculous flower seems more fitting here, as distinguishing a man of extreme piety, as well as zeal in Our Lady's service.

This version centering about a pious man passed through repeated revisions at the hands of the various transcribers. Thomas de Cantimpré († c. 1280), in his *Bonum universale de apibus*, Lib. II, Cap. XXIX, No. 9, gives a story similar to the *Legenda* version, except that it is a tree instead of a lily

which grows from the good man's mouth. In the Laurentian MS. of Florence, Conventi soppressi (Camaldoli) 747, D. 3, No. 84 (XVth century), the tree springs from the mouth of a pilgrim who has died by the wayside. A more extended variation of this form appears in Harley MS. 268 (fol. 25b.): a pilgrim is killed by robbers in a wood, and his staff planted in his grave, with the point in his mouth; it grows into a tree, with "Ave Maria" inscribed on every leaf.

The *South English Legendary* version follows *Legenda Aurea* very closely. The English and Latin texts are practically alike, save that the English fails to name the abbey—Citeaux. The later English version, in Tanner MS. 407 (See below, p. 374) gives a more elaborate version, clearly derived from the *Legenda*.

What seems to be a third variation of the "Lily" miracle appears in the miracle of the "Five Psalms." According to this story a certain monk was accustomed to sing the five Psalms beginning with the initial letters M A R I A; when he died five roses bearing these letters grew out of his grave. This version is represented in English verse by Lydgate's "Legend of Dan Joos," which the poet says he translated from Vincent of Beauvais (*Spec. Hist* VII, 116).

It has remained for the unknown English narrator of the version in B. M. Addit. MS. 39996 to jumble all three of the distinct forms of the "Lily" miracle into a single story. (See the text, p. 365 below.) This version begins with the "Five Psalms" story, but immediately changes to a new theme, represented by the sudden death of the clerk, with "Ave Maria" as his last words. This suggests the "Ave on the Tongue" miracle, a variation of PEZ 3 which is found in several Latin collections.³ The details differ in different MSS.; the common elements are the refusal of Christian burial to the body of an unchaste monk who was drowned, and the discovery of his last words, "Ave Maria," imprinted

³ Versions of this miracle occur in Cotton MS. Cleop. C. X. fol. 130; Adgar, Egerton MS. 612, fol. 10, col. 2; S. Germ. No. 86.

on his tongue. But the English narrator does not hold to this new motive; after the death of the clerk the story presents a consistent parallel to the version of the "Lily" miracle given in a XIIIth century Latin collection of legends of the Virgin—Vendôme MS. 185, No. 61.⁴ This miracle centers about a pious clerk (as in our MS.) whose habit it was to repeat "Ave Maria" constantly. In the Vendôme miracle the clerk dies during an interdict, in the English version he dies unshriven; the consequence in each case is burial outside the churchyard, and in both legends a field is expressly mentioned as the clerk's resting-place. The two versions correspond in subsequent events: in each the miraculous flower marked with "Ave Maria" in letters of gold, is discovered by a passer-by and reported to the bishop, and the body is re-interred with honor. Though the two versions show no similarity in the opening events, from the point where the parallelism begins the only noteworthy detail in the Vendôme which is omitted in the English text is the discovery that the monk's tongue had remained rosy and uncorrupted, although all the rest of his body had decayed.

6. "Oxford Scholar Led to Heaven." Though this seems to be a native English legend, a narrative presenting points of similarity to this miracle occurs in two Latin MSS.: Kremsmünster 114, (No. 43), a XIIIth century Austrian MS., and B.M. Addit. 18346 (No. 43), a XIVth century collection. A boy named Arnoldus, on his deathbed saw the heavens opened and the Virgin standing near him: and a priest saw the Virgin lead his soul to heaven. I have not found the miraculous lighting of the candles in any other legend.

7. "Toledo." This is one of the more popular legends of the Virgin. S. Germ., No. 23, gives the traditional form,

⁴ Carleton Brown, in his *Miracle of Our Lady by Chaucer's Prioress*, Chaucer Soc. Public's, ser. 2, No. 45, prints the text of this miracle, p. 104, an account of the Vendôme Collection, p. 2; a list of the Vendôme miracles, Appendix, p. 136.

differing from the English version in that the figure of Christ is explicitly mentioned as a wax image, and that the Jews are punished by death. In Mielot's *Miracles de Nostre Dame*. (No. 14), the voice comes not from heaven, but from an image of Our Lady. Mussafia does not specify the source of the voice in his outline of the S. Germ. version; in the *Spec. Hist.*, (VII 81) the warning voice comes from heaven, as in the Harley version. Cotton Cleop. C.X., fol. 127b, gives the same account,⁵ and may have furnished the source of our legend, since the "Jew-Boy" in Harley also shows the Cotton Cleop. variations. Harley, however, differs from Cotton Cleop. and the *Spec. Hist.* in omitting the punishment of the Jews.

8. "Our Lady appears to a Monk in a Vision." This miracle, as far as I can discover, is found in only two Latin MSS.: Paris MS. 5562 (No. 32), a late XIIIth century collection of legends of the Virgin, and Darmstadt MS. 703, No. 13. The appearance of the Virgin during some part of the church service forms the basis of several other miracles. In B.M. Addit. MSS. 18929 (fol. 79), late XIIIth century, and 21147 (fol. 3b), XVth century, the vision of the Virgin and her Son appears, as in our legend, while the monks are singing the *Salva regina*; in Etienne de Bourbon's *Tractatus* (B.M. Addit. MS. 28682, fol. 239, col. 2), the miraculous apparition comes while the monks chant the *Te Deum* on Christmas Day. Herolt, *Promptuarium*, No. 712 (B.M. Addit. MS. 19909, fol. 248b, col. 2) tells how the whole convent saw the vision, and the same version is found in Thomas de Cantimpré, lib. II., cap. 29. None of these, however, includes the closing incident of our legend,—the Virgin's intercession for those who sing the *Salva regina*, and her Son's acceptance of her as their mediatrix.

⁵ Ed. by Carl Neuhaus (*Die lat. Vorlagen zu den alt. fr. Adgarschen Marien-Leg.*, Heilbronn 1886) from Arundel MS. 346, which supplies the defects in Cott. Cleop. C. X.

II. THE COLLECTION IN THE VERNON MS. (ca. 1385).

The Vernon Manuscript in its original, unmutilated state contained what was, so far as we know, the largest collection of Miracles of Our Lady in Middle English verse. The list as it appears in the Index of the MS. includes forty-two miracles, but of these only nine are preserved.¹ The legends of the Virgin stand in the Vernon MS. between the South English Legendary and the Northern Homily Collection, but are not attached to either. The series is peculiar to the Vernon; one finds no copies of it elsewhere in the English collections. It is probable that the "Simeon MS." (B. M. Addit. MS. 22283) may originally have included these miracles; this manuscript contains a large part of the Vernon material, and the legends of the Blessed Virgin may have been part of the 177 leaves now lost.

I have been unable to discover any single MS. which could be regarded as the source of the Vernon collection, or even of any considerable number of the legends it contains. Most of the miracles appear frequently in earlier continental MSS., and among the many possible sources some similarity in the order of the legends would be the chief clue to the parent collection. But neither Mussafia nor Ward describes any MS. whose arrangement shows the slightest relation to that of the Vernon text. One must simply conclude that the legends were gathered from a number of collections, and probably represent combinations of versions found in various sources.

The compilation in the Vernon MS. consists for the most part of some of the oldest and most widely copied of the Latin collections. No less than twenty-five of the Vernon miracles are found in PEZ and S. Germ.² so far as one may judge from the bare titles preserved in the Vernon index:

¹ For a list of the forty-two original miracles see *Horstmann's Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.* E.E.T.S., Part I, p. 138.

² For "PEZ" see Mussafia, *op. cit.*, Band CXIII. 936-944, and Ward,

	Vernon	PEZ	S. Germ.
Saving of Crotey City	1		46
Jew-Boy	4	31	26
Viviers; Foot cut off	5	18	24
Jew lends to Merchant	6	33	72
Healing through Milk	8	30	39
Incontinent Monk who was drowned	9	2	2
Five Joys	10	4	4, 95
Clerk of Chartres	16	3	3
(Anthem, Salva Regina	19		53, 54(?)
Church of St. Michael; Our Lady as Midwife	21	22	65
Feast of the Nativity	22		48
Clerk denied Burial	23	39	86, 92(?)
Thief saved by Our Lady (Ebbo the Thief)	24	6	7
Priest who knew only one Mass	25	9	10
Devil in Beast shapes	26	23	64
Child wedded to Our Lady	28	16(?)	29(?)
St. Bonyte's Vestments	30	37	
St. Jame's Pilgrim	31	8	9
Musa	35		103
Prior of Pavia	36	12	13
St. Jerome, Bishop of Pavia	37	13	14
Stained Corporale	38	14	15
Completorium	39	29	51
Feast of the Purification	41		49
Child who dined with the Christ image	42		28, 44
			104 (?)

The large proportion of the Vernon material which parallels the miracles in these early Latin collections is, of course, no indication that either PEZ or S. Germ. supplied the immediate source for the Vernon, since the legends in both these MSS. were widely copied. Indeed, in the case of the Vernon miracles of which the text survives one finds, with the possible exception of the "Incontinent Monk," a decided variation from the form given in PEZ or S. Germ. The Vernon poet displays a fondness for applying his own genius to old materials, and some of the departures seem to

Cat. Rom. II, 589 ff. "S. Germ." is used to designate Paris MS. 12593, formerly S. Germ. lat. 486 (XIII cent.). For a list of the miracles in this collection see Mussafia, *op. cit.*, Band CXIII. 962 ff.

be entirely original with the Vernon text. This is especially evident in the "Jew-Boy" and the "Boy Slain by the Jews," where the elaborations and modern touches seem to indicate clearly the English scribe's remodeling hand.

Studies of other parts of the MS. may be cited to bear out the conclusion that the peculiarities of the Vernon text represent the individuality of the author working upon old traditions. Miss Josephine Sutton, in her paper on "The Middle English *Ipotis*"³ shows that the Vernon *Ipotis* represents, not the original poem, but a much edited text, with numerous alterations introduced by the scribe. Miss Sutton's conclusion in regard to the Vernon *Ipotis* agrees with that previously expressed by R. W. Chambers, who declared that the Vernon text of *Piers Plowman* cannot be relied upon, and that of Canon Simmons, who in his edition of the *Lay Folks Mass-Book* (E. E. T. S., Orig. Ser. 71, p. 362) states that the Vernon text is evidently patched together from at least two different sources.

1. "The Saving of Crotey City." This story (in other MSS. entitled "The Saving of Chartres") shows an interesting progress from an historical incident to a fully developed miracle. The earliest and simplest form of the legend of Rollo's siege of Chartres (A.D. 911) is found in several Latin chronicles: Dudo of St. Quentin, Wm. of Jumièges, and Orderic (Duchesne, *Hist. Norm. Scriptores*, 1619, pp. 80, 230, 368). According to these writers, bishop "Guualtelmus" or "Antelmus" made his sally with the relic at a time when the besiegers were attacked in the rear by Richard, Duke of Burgundy, and Eballo, Count of Poitiers. The legend in S. Germ. retains this incident of the relieving party (which must have contributed largely to Rollo's defeat) and adds the miraculous element of the blinding of Rollo's men. The Vernon MS. makes no mention of the Duke of Burgundy's attack, assigning the credit for the victory entirely to the miraculous kirtle. Wace's account in the *Roman de Rou*

³ *P.M.L.A.* XXXI, 114-160.

(vv. 815 seq.) agrees generally with the Vernon. Cotton MS. Cleop. C.X.,⁴ in which the bishop is called "Walchelinus," tells how Rollo's men regain their sight and the shift vanishes when the Christians behave cruelly. According to the *Spec. Hist.* (XXIV. 46), the shift is exposed on the ramparts; the Normans shoot at it and are struck blind; and the citizens then sally forth and slaughter them.

2. "The Boy Slain by the Jews." This miracle appears again in English verse in Chaucer's *Prioresses Tale*, which differs from the Vernon chiefly in making the boy a "litel clergeon" instead of a poor street-singer, and in substituting a grain on the tongue for the magical lily. For a complete discussion of the various versions of this story and their relation, see Carleton Brown, *Miracle of Our Lady Told by Chaucer's Prioress* (Chaucer Soc. Pubs., 2nd Series, No. 45).

3. "The Harlot's Prayer." This miracle is extremely rare among legends of the Virgin; I have discovered it in only three other collections, the earliest of which is the *Scala Coeli*. Mussafia gives the following summary of the version in *Scala Coeli*. "A holy man passing a harlot said to her, 'Sister, pray for me.' Touched by these words she went into a church and prayed. At Mary's intercession God pardoned her." The legend also appears in two early XVth century collections of religious tales compiled in northern Italy, evidently by Franciscans.⁵ The miracle is thus summarized in the *Catalogue of Romances*. "A Franciscan asks a wanton woman to pray for him; she thinks he is joking, but enters a church and prays before the image of the Virgin and child; she hears the Child exclaim that his enemy is praying for his friend, and the Virgin begs him to spare his enemy for the sake of his friend." The last phrases correspond exactly to those found in the Vernon.

Neither of the Italian collections is early enough to have been used by the Vernon, and without seeing the full text

⁴ Ed. by Carl Neuhaus, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-59.

⁵ B.M. Addit MSS. 27336 and 11872; described by Herbert, *Cat. Romances*, III. 662, 693.

of the *Scala coeli* one cannot say whether it contains the additional details which are lacking in Mussafia's brief account. Neither Ward nor Mussafia mentions the opening incident of the Vernon miracle—the temptation of the hermit by the harlot—nor the Virgin's warning of her imminent death.

4. "The Jew Boy." See the discussion of this miracle above, p. 324.

5. "Viviers: How the Virgin gave a Man a New Leg." This is one of the most popular of the legends of the Virgin. The same story is found in the *Toledo-Saturday* group of PEZ, No. 18. The affliction of the unfortunate man is usually given as the *mal des ardents*, a disease of the nature of erysipelas, which ravaged northern France in 1128 and 1129. The story is located variously in different MSS. Vernon follows PEZ in placing the miracle in Vivaria; Mielot (No. LXV.) located it in Nevers; Arundel MS. 346, fol. 67 gives "in urbe inuaria;" Addit. 18346, fol. 50, "in urbe vicaria;" Harley 2385, fol. 55b, "in urbe uiaria;" Arundel MS. 506, fol. 25, "in urbe vinaria;" Adgar (Egerton MS. 612, fol. 17), "En vinaria une cite;" and Royal 20 B. XIV. (fol. 141b.)—

En la cite de yuorie
Out une eglise de seinte Marie.

Guibert de Nogent, *Liber de laude S. Mariae*, cap. XI,⁶ gives a different version, which is repeated in the *Spec. Hist.*, (XXVII., 9-11), and in the *Legenda Aurea* (Cap. CXVIII). Guibert reports the miracle as happening near Grenoble, while Leodegarius was bishop of Viviers (1096-1119). A man named Peter was forced to plough on St. Mary Magdalen's Day. He cursed the oxen; they were struck by lightning, and he was afflicted with the *mal des ardents* in one foot. After praying vainly in a church of the Virgin, he cut off the limb and placed it in the church. He continued to pray to Our Lady, and she finally appeared to him, with St.

⁶ Migne, *Patrol*, CLVI, col. 568.

Hippolytus, and gave him back his leg; but he now walked with a limp. Later Mary and Hippolytus appeared once more, the saint touched the leg, and it was entirely restored. The narrative concludes with the statement that Peter then became a hermit, and was tempted by the Devil in the form of a woman, whom he drove away with a consecrated stole.

6. "Our Lady is Surety for a Merchant." One of the most popular of the miracles of Our Lady. S. Baring Gould⁷ prints the text of the story, entitled "Abram the Usurer," as found by him in a sermon preached at Constantinople, which he assigns to the tenth century. Here, as also in PEZ No. 33, it is not the Virgin's image, but the figure of Christ which is made the surety. Royal MS. 6 B. XIV. (fol. 87b), a Latin collection of the early XIIIth century, agrees with the Vernon in making the Virgin the surety, but says that the voice which rebuked the Jew came from the crucifix.

B. M. Addit. MS. 39996 gives a second English version of this miracle, in which the actors are unnamed.⁸ Here the merchant had started home and was on his way "to Cayle," but was delayed by storms, and hence was obliged to entrust his payment to the waves. Our lady is more specific in her accusation of the Jew in this version: she declares that the Jew has the money at home under the bed, and the Christian men go with him and find it there. Cf. the similar miracle in John of Garland's *Liber metricus* fol. 19, col. 2.

The Continental MSS. afford a number of variations. Harley MS. 2385, f. 53b, tells how the Jew goes to the shore looking for a ship from Alexandria, and finds the casket instead. According to Arundel MS. 506, fol. 15, the casket is first seen by a passer-by, who vainly tries to grasp it; finally, the Jew arrives and takes it up without difficulty. In the Laurentian MS. at Florence. *Conventi soppressi* (Camaldoli) 747, D. 3, No. 68, there is a peculiar variation of this legend. The Christian, who had met with ill-fortune and was greatly

⁷ *Historic Oddities*, First Ser., Lond. 1889, p. 103.

⁸ For the text see below, p. 363.

impoverished, came upon a group of peasants, who had found some gold but had no notion of its worth. They gave it to him in return for bread and nuts. On the day of payment the Jew hid himself, but the Christian hung a purse with the gold about the neck of the Mary-image. The same version is found in B. M. Addit. MS. 33956, fol. 74.

7. "The Priest that lay by a Nun." This is not a very wide-spread legend. It occurs in three Latin collections of the XII century: Cotton Cleop. C. X. (No. 64), Toulouse 482 (No. 64), and Oxf. MS. Balliol 240 (No. 46) and also in Royal MS. 6, B. XIV (fol. 85b), a Latin collection of the early XIII century. It is also found in Adgar's collection (Egerton MS. 612, fol. 50b), and in another French metrical collection, Royal MS 20 B. XIV., fol. 156b, col. 2.

8. "The Blessed Virgin gives Milk to a quinsied Monk." This legend, in its various forms, is one of the most popular of the miracles of Our Lady. The Vernon story follows the most widespread version, which is found in PEZ No. 30, one of the groups which Mussafia labels *Toledo-Saturday*.

B. M. Addit. MS. 39996 presents a corrupted English version of the legend.⁹ Here the clerk's tongue is cancered and rots away; Our Lady cures the clerk by laying her finger on his tongue.

Paris MS. 14463 (formerly S. Victor 248), one of the great XIIth century collections, gives two variations of the "Milk" legend, both of which are copied in other collections. No. 14 of this collection is very like PEZ No. 30: the monk was so ill that he bit his tongue and lips; they were healed by the Virgin's milk. This is the version which appears in the *Spec. Hist.* VII, No. 84, in *Scala coeli*, No. 6, and in Herolt's *Promptuarium*, No. 32. S. Victor, No. 69 is a peculiar combination of the traditional legend with another. A man sick with the cancer had a vision: he was led by an angel into a field, where he saw twenty-three flowering plants,

⁹ For the text see below, p. 350.

which represented the 54th Psalm, and the twenty-two divisions of the 119th Psalm, which he used to sing constantly. Entering the temple, he was cured by the Virgin with her milk. Royal MS. 6 B. XIV. No. 2 adds another touch to the story as it appears in PEZ No. 30 and in Vernon: Fulbert, bishop of Chartres, was healed by Mary with three drops of her milk, which he preserved in a silver flask.

9. "The Incontinent Monk who was drowned." This legend is widely diffused among the miracles of Our Lady. Mussafia first notes it in Gautier de Coincy (or Compiègne), *De miraculis beatae Virginis Mariae*, No. 4. It appears again as PEZ No. 2, one of the HM group, and from this source is widely copied. Von der Hagen, in his *Gesammltabenteuer*, III., publishes an Old German version almost exactly like the English, and notes an Old Spanish form in the XIIIth century collection of the Benedictine monk, Gonzalo Berceo.

Mielot, No. XXXVI., presents a variation of this legend, in which the sacristan is drowned, and his body found and left unburied. A friend prays to Our Lady for him, and she appears and announces that the sacristan is saved, and his body will be found uncorrupted. Closely connected with this version is a combination of PEZ 2 and 3 (Clerk of Chartres) found in S. Germ. No. 86: Mary orders the interment of the drowned monk's body, and upon his tongue are found the words "Ave Maria." This version is a connecting link between PEZ No. 2 and the great network of "Lily" miracles.¹⁰

Wace, in the *Roman de Rou* (ed. Andresen, II. 43), gives an interesting variation of this legend; Angel and fiend dispute for the soul of the sacristan of St. Ouen's Abbey at Rouen; they agree to abide by the decision of Richard sans Peur, Duke of Normandy. The duke hears the case in his sleep, orders the soul restored and the monk placed on the bridge; if he goes forward, the Devil is to have him, if he draws back he is to be set free. The monk

¹⁰ See above, p. 328.

Ariere traist plus tost sun pie
Ke hoem ki a serpent marchie.

He is restored to life, and goes home undetected. The next morning the Duke makes him confess.

III. THE COLLECTION IN B. M. ADDIT. MS. 39,996

The third collection of Miracles of the Virgin in Middle English verse is that preserved in Phillipps MS. 9803 (first half of the XV cent.) recently acquired by the British Museum, and now designated B. M. Addit. MS. 39,996. The MS. breaks off at folio 80b, leaving one of the miracles of Our Lady unfinished. Eighteen are preserved, but there is no index to tell us how many the collection originally included.

This group is unique in English; only five of the eighteen legends appear in any form elsewhere in English verse, and these do not agree with any of the other English versions. The scribe shows an amazing ingenuity in twisting and perverting familiar legends almost beyond recognition. Many of his stories give the disconcerting impression of a familiar face seen in the distorting reflection of a mirror at the penny show: the very familiarity of the grotesquery makes it the more astonishing.

The group of legends found in this MS. seems to be based on the metrical collection of John of Garland.¹ The Latin poet, as may be seen from the table below, tells his stories in the shortest possible space, in some cases giving scarcely more than a suggestion of the narrative. This helps to explain the vagaries of the English MS., since the scribe was obliged to cull from other legends or depend on his own imagination to fill in the meager outlines of his source. One may even suppose that the poet did not have the Latin work at hand, and was expanding from memory. One cannot, however, say how much of the credit for his strange per-

¹ *Liber metricus Johannis de Garlandia qui uocatur Stella maris*, composed about 1248. See Ward, *Cat. Rom.* II. 699-707.

versions belongs to the English scribe, without examining the full text of John of Garland's collection, and this, much to my regret, I have been unable to do.

The following table will show the relationship between the English collection and that of John de Garland.

B. M. ADDIT. MS. 39996.	JOHN DE GARLAND.
1. Monk tempted by Devil in form of a woman; saved by the B.V.: 90 ll.	39. Mouth of Hell shown to a Nun: 6 ll. (Connection doubtful)
2. Woman revived for confession: 36 ll.	12. Same: 9 ll.
3. Our Lady and three Innocents help a Knight to build his chapel: 30 ll.	13. Columns raised by Schoolboys: 9 ll.
4. Empress of Rome: 117 ll.	14. Chaste Empress: 69 ll.
5. Prioress delivered: 117 ll.	2. Abbess delivered: 18 ll.
6. Cancered tongue healed by touch of B. V.'s finger: 24 ll.	1. Milk: Tongue restored: 15 ll.
7. Jew-Boy: 30 ll.	3. Jew of Bourges: 24 ll.
8. Son restored to life: 40 ll.	4. Same: 18 ll.
9. Devil in Beast-shapes: 42 ll.	5. Same: 6 ll.
10. Barns filled in time of famine: 40 ll.	6. Same: 9 ll.
11. Ring given to Mary-image: 44 ll.	8. Same: 6 ll.
12. Broken tun of wine: 34 ll.	11. Mead: 6 ll.
13. Nativity: 52 ll.	15. Same: 15 ll.
14. Mary-image in a synagogue: 20 ll.	17. Libia: 6 ll.
15. Incest: 58 ll.	20. Same: 18 ll.
16. Mary-image insulted: 42 ll.	18. Same: 6 ll.
17. Our Lady is surety for a Merchant: 96 ll.	19. Same: 12 ll.
18. Unshriven Clerk buried outside the churchyard; lily from mouth: 50 ll.	22. Clerk of Chartres: 9 ll.

¶ Here bigynneþ þe miracles of oure lady (fol. 70*).

Who so euer deuociouþ has
 In oure lady grete grace
 In þis boke may rede here

4. Of hir miracles faire and clere
 þat bifellen in certeyntee
 In many a diuerse cuntre

1. MONK TEMPTED BY DEVIL IN WOMAN'S FORM

- A monke þer was in oon abbay
 8. þat clene lyf lyved ay
 Ech day in þe mornynge
 Bifore alle oþere erþely þinge
 To oure lady wolde knele douȝt
 12. And say wiþ grete deuocioun
 Lady for þi joyes fyve
 Wisse me þe redy way on live
 ¶ þe deuel þen envye hade
 16. For þe prayeres þat he made
 He made him in all manere
 As he a faire woman were
 Ech day he wolde þo
 20. Bifore þe monke come and go
 þat atte laste þe monke wes
 Gretely tempted in his flesshe
 To þe woman his wille he tolde
 24. And asked hir if sche wolde
 His paramour in priuete be
 Oupȝer for catel oþer for fee
 ¶ þe deuel þan was ful glad
 28. And graunted hym his wille rad
 Aiþer spake to oþer þoo
 Where þai myght her wille do
 In þe belle hous quoth þe deuel
 32. þere we schul be priue and wele
 Vnder þe belle hous in þe solere
 þer schal no man se ne here
 ¶ When þat forward was made so
 36. Aiþer ȝede oþer fro
 In þe morn þe monke ros
 And byfore oure lady gos

- He saide as he was wont to say
40. Bifore tyme eche day
¶Lady for þi ioyes five
Wisse me þe redy way on lyve
When he hade saide wiþ gode entent
44. To þe belle hous dore he went
Longe whyle þe dore he soght
For no nede he fond hit noght
þen forth after about prime
48. At saynt marie masse tyme
þe woman come wiþout lette
In þe kirke þe monke scho mette
¶Monke sche saide how is þis
52. þou art not al trewe y wis
Quoþ þe monke witterly
At þe bellehous I was erly
I soght about þe newe tre
56. þe dore I myght not fynde ne se
Monke sche saide I vnderstonde
At þi matyns þou was so longe
¶Nay he sayde in gode fay
60. I saide no þinge to day
Safe oon orisoun only
Bifore þe image of oure lady
Monke sche saide wiþout drede
64. Of þine ernde if þou wolt spede
In þe mornynge saye no þinge
Firste do þi likinge
After saye matyns & masse
68. What þou wilt more or lasse
¶þe monke þoght on þe deueles crafte
His sitt was a way rafte
On þat oþer mornynge he saide noght
72. On þe woman was al his þoght
He hyed forth wiþ all his myght
þe dore he fonde anon right
¶Wipynne þe dore proprely

76. Stode þe ymage of oure lady
 Monke sche saide how is þis
 At þis tyme þou gost amysse
 Go aȝeyn & clene þe schryve
80. þis is not þe redy way of lyve
 þe wrang way þou art yȝne
 Of wrecchednesse & of dedly syȝne
 ¶ Wip þat þe woman figured was
84. In þe kynde of Sathanas
 And varyssht a way right
 Verreily in many a mannes sight
 ¶ þe monke þen was ful fayn
88. Into þe kirke he ȝede aȝayn
 And schrofe hym of his mysdede
 And at þe laste to heuen he ȝede

2. WOMAN REVIVED FOR CONFESSION (fol. 71^a).

A MIRACLE of a gode wyf
 þat loued oure lady in al hir lyf.
 It fel to hir laste day

4. þat sche eueled and seke laye
 Sche hoped to dye in þat sekenesse
 Boþe howseled & sehryuen sche wes.
 Sche hade layned a dedly syȝne
8. þat sche hade layne longe yȝne
 As þai sette þe candel light
 In þe Womans hond right
 þe soule was boun witterly
12. Forto departe fro þe body
 ¶ Sche segh þe grete peyne of helle
 þe noumbre of deueles sche couþe not telle
 þat abiden for hir sake
16. At hir mouþe þe soule to take
 Wip þat sche segh bodily
 Oure lady saynt marie
 ¶ þen spake oure lady dere
20. Cursed wrecches what do ȝe here

- þai saide þis woman in alle wise
 Endeþ now in oure seruise
 Sche schal to helle wiþ vs away
 24. To þe paynes þat lasten ay
 ¶Nay sche saide þe schal fayle
 þe han loste þoure trauayle
 þe wommon is þett on lyve
 28. Of hir synne sche may hir schryve
 Wiþ þat by oure lady grace
 þe womman reuerted & hade space
 To schrive hir wit grete deuocioun
 32. And gade fully absolucioun
 ¶Sche tolde to alle þat sate þerby
 þe miracle of oure lady
 Sche dyed þen as faste
 36. And went to joye þat ay schal laste.
3. OUR LADY AND THREE INNOCENT HELP A KNIGHT TO
 BUILD A CHAPEL (fol. 71^b).

- A** NOþER miracle þe may here
 By þe myght of oure lady dere
 A gode man deuocioun hade
 4. Of oure lady a chapel he made
 Euer þe masons wrought faste
 While his catel wolde laste
 So þat wiþ gode entent
 8. At þe last his catel was spent
 When he hade noght to paye
 þe masones þeden þen a-way
 ¶þe gode man þoght in alle manere
 12. For to do his powere
 He went for soþe to say
 And wrought hym self euery day
 ¶Oure lady come & a wyndas broght
 16. On a day as he wrought
 And ropes tyed redy to
 þerwiþ þe werke forto do

- þre Innocentes faire of face
 20. Went wiþ oure lady in þat place
 þai wonde vp mony a stone
 And laide hem ful faire anon
 Er þat þe sonne jede to softenes
 24. Al þat werke ended wes
 Boþe fayre and clenely
 By þe myght of oure lady
 ¶ þis miracle forsoþe to telle
 28. In þe londe of grece hit bifelle
 þat þorgh out al grece hit jede
 þe miracle of oure lady dede

4. EMPRESS OF ROME (fol. 71^b).

- I**N Rome anoþer miracle wes
 þat bifel by þe Emperesse
 þe Emperoures broþer was a knyght
 4. And coueited þe Emperesse beþe day & nyght
 þe lady saide euer nay
 Sche wolde not by no way
 ¶ When he seghe for no nede
 8. Of his ernde he myȝt not spede
 To þe Emperoure þen he tolde
 And bade hym leve & if he wolde
 þe Emperesse wolde witterly
 12. Haue hade hym to lye hir bye
 ¶ þe Emperoure anon right
 Bade bringe hir of his sight
 Wiþout any more respyte
 Radly hir [hed]e of to smyte
 A¹. was redy boun
 B. er fro ech atoun
 de he hir broght
 20. and hym byþoght
 owe & grete pyte

¹ A large hole in MS. here and through the next page.

- lady fayre and fre
ode and toke his rede
24. To.....ir or to haue hir dede
 ¶A lord wip houndes come huntinge
 And fond þe lady sore wepinge
 He asked þen what hir was
28. And sche tolde hym al þe caas
 þat lord þe tormentour bade
 Go home aȝayn ful rade.
 And telle þe Emperoure in certayn
32. þat he hade þe lady slayn
 þe knyght toke þat faire lady
 Home in his companye.
 ¶A litel bifore þe Emperesse
36. Delyuered of a childe wes
 And was melche al newe
 Soone after þe knyght knewe
 þat sche was melche in alle wise
40. He made hir his norice
 And bade hir kepe wele & faire
 þe childe þat schuld be his ayre
 ¶þe lady lenged þere mekely
44. And kepte þe childe ful clenely
 ¶A ȝomman in þe lordes halle
 Wowed hir faste wip alle
 And euer þe lady saide nay
48. Neuermore by no way
 When þe ȝomman for no nede
 Segh þat he myȝt not spede
 To þe childe he stele þo
52. And carfe þe þrote euen a two
 He tolde þe lorde in certayn
 þe norice hade þe child slayn
 ¶þe lorde made als faste
56. Into þe see hir to caste
 But by oure ladyes grete myght
 þe wawes helden hir vp right

- In þe see to and fro
 60. þat to þe gronde sche myȝt not go
 ¶ And at þe laste a fisschere segh
 Hir floten on þe water on hegh
 And into his bote hastily
 64. We toke þat faire lady
 To þe lond he hir broght
 And sette hir on þe bonke a lofte
 ¶ When sche was þere only
 68. To oure lady sche prayed specialy
 To helpe hir in her grete nede
 As sche was broght in care & drede
 ¶ Wiþ þat oure lady by hir myght
 72. Appered to hir anone right
 And in hir hond an herbe sche broght
 Emperesse sche saide care þee noght
 þis herbe þou schalt haue
 76. Al lepre þou schalt saue
 þat knowlechen in open confessioun
 Alle þe synnes þat þai han done
 Go home aȝayn to þi cuntre
 80. þine enemyes schul lepre be
 þai schall telle in alle manere
 þat many a man schal se & here
 þai þat accused þee falsly
 84. In anger and in malencolye
 ¶ After þat þou schalt anon
 Hele hem euerechone
 So hardily biheete I þee
 88. þou schalt come to þi degre
 Oure lady þen varyssht a way
 þemperesse for soþe to saye
 In hir hert was fal fayne
 92. To hir cuntre sche went aȝayn
 ¶ Sche went² þere fro place to place

² *Hole in MS.*

- Sche heled.....mesil was
 At þe laste.....
 96. þat broght.....we
 Were fall.....
 And com.....
 þat.....en
 100.hed hede
ght
 Be þe herbe.....ght
 104. ¶ And after þat þe.....
 Tolde hem redy who sche wes
 When þe Emperoure segh
 þat faire miracle þat was so hegh
 108. Also done so graciously
 By þe myght of oure lady
 And segh þe godenesse of his wyf
 þat so clens hade lad hir lyf
 112. He toke hir wiþ gode entent
 To þe Pope wiþ hir he went
 And of þe pope he hade *pardoun*
 þere as he hade amysse done
 116. And lyued wiþ hir ful faire ay
 Til Gode toke hem boþe away.

5. A PRIORESS DELIVERED BY OUR LADY (fol. 73^b).

- A MIRACLE of a prioresse
 þat *priuely* wiþ childe wes
 When sche wist witterly
 4. þe child was quyk in hir body
 Wiþ blody teres carefully
 Sche prayed oure lady marie
 Of alle *wymmen* þou art floure
 8. And also synful *mannes* socoure
 To helpe hir in *somme manere*
 þat sche neuer vndone were
 ¶ Oure lady þen pite hade

12. For þe woo þe prioresse made
 Sche þoght to bringe hir of drede
 When sche had moste nede
 ¶ When þe prioresse felde on hir f.
16. To be delyuered algate.
 Sche segh two angels.
 Were comen of oure lad[*y* grace]
 þat helpen hir priue[*ly*].
20. And tolden hir.
 Oure lady w.
 And hir child.
 ¶ And when þe.
24. þai broght hit.
 þat lyved in a.
 þat was an.
 þai bade hym.
28. Al for oure lady sake
 Folow hit & kepe hit so
 Til hit couþe speke & go
 ¶ Oure lady wolde wiþout fayle
32. Rewarde hym for his trauayle
 ¶ þe hermyte w^{it} gode entent
 Dide oure lady comaundement
 Foloed hit in alle wise
36. And after gate hit a norice
 ¶ And þe synful prioresse
 Worschiped oure lady as worþi wes
 And lad hir lyf ful clenely
40. Wiþout any more vileny
6. CANCERED TONGUE HEALED BY OUR LADY (fol. 73^b).

A NOþER miracle þe may here
 How hit was in alle manere
 A clerke had openly

4. A bodily maner of maledye
 His tonge cancred in his hede
 Was roted a way & litel lede

- þer was no leche in þat cuntre
 8. þat euer couþe his bote be
 He prayed to oure lady ay
 Boþe by nyghtes & by day
 As sche was of grate¹ walle
 12. In mannes nede vpon to calle
 þat he myght his bote haue
 For no þinge elles myght hym saue
 ¶As he slepte vpon a nyght
 16. To hym appered [oure] lady bright
 And on his tonge hir fynger laide
 Graciously þen sche saide
 Heele and bote I graunte þe
 20. For þi grete bileue in me
 Wiþ þat oure lady vanyssht a way
 þe clerke wakened & hit way day
 He hade his tonge hole & clere
 24. And þonked oure lady in al manere

7. THE JEW BOY (fol. 74^a).

- A** JEWES sone priuely
 In cristen mannes company
 Was foloed and torned to cristen lay
 4. And ressayued God on paske day
 When his fader can þat aspye
 þat he was cristen witterly
 He ordeyned hym to be dede
 8. He made an oven glede rede
 In despite of god almyght
 In to þe oven he putt hym right
 ¶A Mayde þat loued þe child þen
 12. As faste as sche myght renne
 Sche tolde þe cristen al þe caas
 How þe childe in þe oven was
 ¶þe cristen comen faste hyand

¹ Grace ?

16. þai fonde þe oven hote bre nand
 þe child þai fonde þery ne sitte
 And was not brent myche ne litte
 þai toke þe child out ful soone
20. Of þe hote bre nand oven
 ¶þe child said witterly
 Oure lady Saynt Marie
 Lete a mantel ouer hym falle
24. þat he felde no heete wiþ alle
 ¶þe cristen men were ful glad
 þai toke his fader þen ful rad
 And brent hem þen anon
28. And alle þe   ere euerechone
 þat euere were at þat assent
 In þat oven were bitterly brent.

8. A WOMAN'S SON RESTORED TO LIFE BY OUR LADY
 (fol. 74^b).

- A** MIRACLE of a gode wyf
 þat wiþ hir husbond lad hir lyf
 Til many a  ere was comen & gon
4. Childe myght sche haue none
 Sche besoght oure lady mylde
 þat sche myght be wiþ childe
 ¶So þat by oure lady grace
8. At þe laste wiþ childe sche was
 Sche hade a childe faire and fre
 And also of grete beaute
 ¶When he was vij.  ere olde
12. And was norissed propre & bolde
 A feuer toke hym he dyed þo
 þe moder made sorowe & woo
 ¶Bifore oure lady sche hir sette
16. Mony a bloody tere sche lette
 Lady sche saide holy and dere
 My childe þat li e dede on bere
 I hade hym by þi grace verray

20. And by þi likinge he is a-way
 And þou may ȝif þi wille be
 My sone lyf lene to me
 Lady sche saiden & mayden clere
24. For love of hym þat þou bere
 And also for þi ioyes five
 Graunte me my sone to be on live
 ¶ Oure lady segh þe womman wes
28. Of so grete stablenesse
 Sche ȝaf þe childe powere to ryse
 And be quyke in all wise
 ¶ þe childe saide moder dere
32. Why wepest þou in þis manere
 I dide but slepe softly
 þen comes a faire lady
 Sche bade þat I schuld rise & wake
36. Sche saide þou grettes for my sake
 Sone sche saide blessed sche be
 þat lady of grace and of pitee
 ¶ þe womman þen ful ioied wes
40. And þonked oure lady hir godenesse

9. THE DEVIL IN BEAST-SHAPES (fol. 75^a).

- A** MONKE þer was in an Abbaye
 þat wiþ þe deuel was traueled ay
 When he was wiþout company
4. In any place only
 þe deuel ay folowed about
 Wiþynne þe abbaye & wiþout
 In liknesse of a bole grym
8. Wiþ brode eghen blake & dym
 And as a lyone rampand
 And as ony fire gloand
 And as a mad dogge also
12. þus he wroght þe monke woo
 þat he myght ne reste haue
 Ne no writte þat myght him saue

- ¶He prayed oure lady in his masse
 16. As sche þat welle of helpe was
 þat sche wolde hym bote sende
 And hym from þe fende defende
 ¶As he slepte vpon a nyght
 20. To hym appered oure lady bright
 And in hir hond a ȝerde sche broght
 Monke sche saide care þou nocht
 þou schalt go where þee liste
 24. In þis ȝerde þou haue gode triste
 þe deuel for ferde schal sore quake
 And fle for þe ȝerdes sake
 ¶Wiþ þat oure lady vanyssht a-way
 28. þe monke wakened & it was day
 þe ȝerde of oure ladyes hond
 He bare about bitwene his hond
 He ȝede þere he hade to go
 32. þe deuel appered to hym þo
 In liknesse of þe selfe manere
 A madde dogge as he were
 ¶þe monke trist oure lady wele
 36. And wiþ þe ȝerde ran on þe deuel
 þe deuel rored and made a bere
 þat al þe abbay myght here
 þat alle þai þat were negh
 40. þen radly come & wele segh
 þe deuel by oure lady grace
 Sanke to helle right in þat place
10. BARNES FILLED BY OUR LADY IN TIME OF FAMINE
 (fol. 75^b).

- A** MIRACLE fel in Jerusalem
 Of monkes þat were holy men
 In a tyme fel a caas
 4. þat a dere ȝere hit was
 And many a pore man witout drede
 Hadden boþe hunger and nede

- ¶ he monkes dalten largely
 8. For þe loue of oure lady
 Pilgrimes þat þider soght
 And men þat defaulted & hade noght
 To hem þai dalt alway faste
 12. Whyler her gode wolde laste
 So þat by þe Witsonday
 Her gode was nere hond a way
 And echone bade oþer not spare
 16. Ne for no catel to haue no care
 Oure lady was riche of gold plentee
 And may helpe when hir wille be
 ¶ he monkes risen in a mornynge
 20. þai ȝede aboute her bedes biddinge
 þai fond her bernis þen anon
 Full of corn euerechone
 And grete stakkes stondand bye
 24. Her houses full of oxen and kye
 ¶ And so by oure lady grace
 Ful of gode was al her place
 þat of þat miracle þat faire wes
 28. Spake al þat syde of heþennesse
 þat by oure lady grete vertue
 At þat tyme torned many a Jewe. . . .
 [A leaf has been torn out of the MS. here.]

11. RING GIVEN BY A CLERK TO THE IMAGE OF OUR LADY
 (fol. 76*).

[Begins imperfectly]

- He fel þo in a wille
 To live chaste euere stille
 And neuer terme of his lyf
 4. Worldly to haue a wyf
 Lady he saide holy and dere
 As Joseph wedded þee on erþe here
 And on lyve neuer to twynne
 8. But euere in chaste wipout synne

- Right on þe selfe manere
 ¶Lady ;if þi wille were
 I wole þee wedde now verray
12. In chastite lyve to myn endinge day
 He toke a rynge wiþout lette
 And on hir fynger he hit sette
 And kissed hir fete in tokenynge
16. þat þere he made his weddinge
 ¶And so after þat his kyn
 Of mariage spake to hym
 Ofte þe childe saide nay
20. But atte laste for soþe to saye
 þai torned him þat wive he wolde
 And wiþ a mayde a day holde
 þat aþer myght oþer se
24. To loke how beste myght be
 ¶þen as þe clerke slepte a-nyght
 To hym appered oure lady bright
 þe rynge on hir fynger sche broght
28. Clerke sche sayde mynnest þou noght
 In what wise þou weddest me
 Woldest þou now a gabber be
 I wolde holde my wedlake
32. Wole I neuer þee forsake
 And so most þou by þe lawe
 þou may not two wives haue
 Wiþ me þou most wiþout lees
36. Lede þi lyf endeles
 ¶Wiþ þat oure lady vanyssht a-way
 þe clerke a-woke & hit was day
 He made hym mon of holy chirche
40. Holy werkes for to wirche
 And in oure lady seruise dyed
 And at þe laste to hir he jede
 In almain fel þis caas
44. By oure ladyes grete grace

12. A BROKEN TUN OF WINE FILLED BY OUR LADY (fol.
76^b).

- A** MIRACLE of a gode wyf
 þat faire & clene led hir lyf
 Hir wake fel soþe to saye
4. Al way on oure ladi day
 Sche had ordeyned a tonne of wyn
 þat was boþe gode and fyne
 When þe day was comen wit al
8. Hir gestes gedered into þe halle
 ¶þe spencer come þen priuely
 And tolde to þe lady
 þe tonne was broken þe wyn schedde
12. And ouer al þe seler fledde
 ¶þe lady was þen ful woo
 To hir chamber sche ȝede þo
 On þe erþe sche fel doun
16. Wiþ ful grete deuocioun
 Lady sche saide as þou art walle
 In mannes nede vppon to calle
 And cristen mannes socoure
20. When þai ben most in doloure
 Helpe lady as þou may beste
 þat my menske be not leste
 ¶As sche kneled at hir prayere
24. To þe lady come a chambrere
 Dame sche saide be glad and fayn
 þe tonne of wyn is hole azayn
 ¶þe lady ȝede þen anon
28. And tolde hir gestes euerechone
 þe grace of oure dere lady
 þat was done so openly
 Alle þe men in þat place
32. Spake þen of oure lady grace
 þai saide þat oure lady wes
 To love & to triste pereles

13. ORIGIN OF THE FEAST OF THE NATIVITY (fol. 76^b).

- A** NO^ÞER miracle graciously
 Fel by oure lady
 Of þe fest of hir Natiuite
4. As hit was ordeyned forto be
 A gode cristen man þor wes
 And a holy and lastles
 And all his occupacioun
8. Was in prayeres and in orisoun
 ¶ þen in þe heruest soþe to say
 On oure lady latter day
 þat now is þen was none
12. Into a felde he was gon
 He herde angels in þe lifte singinge
 Aue Maria ay mynnynge
 So þai songen a grete space
16. Of oure ladyes hegh grace
 þai vsed to come in þat manere
 As þat day many a ȝere
 ¶ þe holy man ech ȝere also
20. As þat day wolde þider go
 To here þat songe in þe lifte
 Of þe angels fayre and bright
 On a day he kneled doun
24. And prayed wiþ grete deuocioun
 þe myghty lord heuen kyng
 þat he myght haue tokenynge
 To wete for what skil & why
28. þe angel songen so merily
 ¶ An angel þen as God wolde
 To þat holy man tolde
 þat tyme witterly
32. Was born oure dere lady
 When þe angel in þat caas
 Hade tolde þe gode man how it was
 He bade þe gode man go his way

36. As þou hast seen so þou may say
 ¶ þe holy man was ioyed and glad
 And to þe bisshop he ȝed ful rad
 And tolde þe tale myche & litte
40. As hit was cuereche a quytte
 ¶ þe bisshop þen wele wiste
 þe holy man was wele to truste
 þe bisshope þen wiþ gode entent
44. To þe Pope anon went
 And þe holy man also
 He made wit hym for to go
 ¶ þai tolde þe Pope al þe caas
48. Right as hit done wes
 And ordeyned þen forsoþe to saye
 þe latter Saynt Marie day
 In holy chirche for certeyntee
 þai callen hit þe Natiuitee.

14. JEWS CANNOT DESTROY A MARY IMAGE (fol. 77^b).

- A** NOþER miracle I wole ȝow telle
 In grete Rome as hit bifel
 In a synagoge of þe Jewerye
4. Of an ymage of oure lady
 It was not made wiþ mannes hond
 But was comen of goddes sonde
 ¶ þe Jewes vppon þe saboth day
8. Fonde þat ymage verray
 þe Jewes hertes swollen so grete
 þai myght not wele a worde speke
 þai went forth for grete despise
12. þai wolde wesshe hit away tite
 But þere was no licoure
 Ne no maner of siluer
 Knyf schauynge ne oþer þinge
16. þat myght hit a waye bringe
 ¶ When þai seghen wiþout les
 þat alle her iapes were boteles

For grete anger & malencolye

20. þai lefte her temple witterly

15. A WOMAN WHO COMMITTED INCEST, AND WAS ACCUSED
BY THE DEVIL (fol. 77^b).

A MIRACLE of a symple wyf
þat hade wrange led hir lyf
A sone sche hade boþe faire & fre

4. And a childe of grete bewte
Sche loued hym so tenderly
þat ech a nyght he lay hir bye

¶ þe childe bigan þen to belde

8. þat atte laste he came to elde
þe deuel tempted boþe two
þat þai myght not forgo

So þai dide and so þai speke

12. Bitwene hem a chylde þai gete

¶ þe deuel was war of her synne

And wolde haue combred hem *þerynne*

He made hym in al manere

16. A grete clerke as he were

He tolde to þe Official

Al þe grete hole tale

As þai hade in ech a place

20. Synned in her trespass

¶ þe womman was ful hastily

Somned to þe Constorye

When þe womman þat segh

24. þat hir sorowe was so hegh

Sche cryed on oure lady ay

Boþe by nyght and by day

¶ Lady sche saide wele I se

28. But I haue helpe of þee

My lyf schamely schal be leste

Helpe me lady for þou may beste

After þat wiþout lette

32. When þe Constorye was sette

- þe womman came ful carefully
 Hir mynde was euer on oure lady
 ¶ þe deucl in liknesse of a clerke
 36. Come & tolde al hir werke
 And preued in þe wyves face
 By redy token as hit was
 As sche schuld have hade hir dome
 40. And to þe deþ haue ben done
 Oure lady appered by hir myght
 And wip hir an angel bright
 But noon of hem hade powers
 44. Oure lady to se ne to here
 Safe þe womman only
 And þe deucl þat stode hir bye
 þe deucl glewe as he were wode
 48. And in his owne kynde stode
 After þat þe fende sanke right
 To helle in her alres sight
 þai broght þe wyf þurgh out þe toun
 52. Wip a faire processiouus
 And helden hir clene and lastles
 And þonked oure lady as worþi wes
 ¶ þe womman schrofe hir of hir synne
 56. þat sche hade layn longe ynne
 And lyued in oure lady seruise
 And ended þerynne in all wyse.
16. A MARY IMAGE INSULTED BY A JEW (fol. 78^b).

- A** NO^pER miracle ȝe may here
 As hit was in all manere
 As bifel for certeyntee
 4. In Spayn in a grete Cite
 ¶ þe Cristen men made wip al
 Ouer a ȝate vppon a wal
 An ymage of oure lady
 8. A ful fayre and a clenely
 ¶ A Jewe as he come and ȝede

- On þat ymage toke hede
 He hade anger & myche woo
12. þat comely ymage to se so
 On a day in a malencolye
 He stale to hit priuely
 And at þe ymage he kest stones
16. And many cloddes for þe nones
 Wiþ fen þat vnder his fete was
 He smote þe ymage in þe face
 As he was þat dede doynge
20. þe cristen men were commynge
 ¶ þen þe pire deuel of helle
 Dispitously þe Jewe dide quelle
 ¶ þe cristen hyed for to se
24. Hastily þat meruailtee
 þai fonde þe Jewe stoon dede.
 As þe deuel hym hade lede
 Also þai seghen þe deuel verray
28. From þe Jewe fle a-waye
 ¶ þai fonde þe ymage of oure lady
 Broken and defouled bodily
 A cristen man wiþout lette
32. To þe ymage a ladder sette
 He went vp wiþ water clere
 And wesshed hir in alle manere
 ¶ On þe ymage was many a pitte
36. þere as þe stones hade hitte
 þat ran oyle grete plente
 þat cristen men of þat Cito
 Come and bare hit a-way
40. þat dide miracles ful verray
 And all sores hole made
 And halpe alle þat nede hade

17. OUR LADY IN SURETY FOR A MERCHANT (fol. 79^a).

A NO^ÞER miracle fel y wisse
 þat was faire and gracewis
 It was a marchaunt forsoþe to telle

4. þat vsed boþe to bye and selle
 So on a tyme wiþouten drede
 gif his marchandise schuld spede
 He most creance nedely

8. Siluer in þe Jewerye
 In a mornynge he erly ros
 To a Jewe he radly gos
 And bade hym to a certayn day

12. Lene hym a certeyn of monay
 For þe oker in þe self assise
 As was her vsage and her gyse

¶Quoþ þe Jewe þen loke þou

16. What sikernesse I schal haue now

¶Quoþ þe cristen man witterly
 I schal fynde oure lady
 Sche schal be my fulle plegge

20. And al my gode I lay to wedde
 þai gode to þe kirke boþe
 Vppon oure lady he made his oþe
 To quyte hym witout lette

24. At a certayn day was sette
 He toke his siluer radly þoo
 And jede þere he hade to go
 Marchaundise þerwiþ he boght

28. And ouer þe see he radly soght
 Biþonde þe see his catel he solde
 And home aȝayn hye he wolde
 For euer he boght wiþ gode entent

32. Vppon þe Jewes payment
 ¶When he was bouȝ for to Cayle
 þe wynde wolde not avayle
 But turned aȝeyn hym ouer þwert

36. Wit gret stormes huge & smert
 þen vppon þe euenynge
 þat he schuld paye in þe mornynge
 When he segh no bote was
40. Ou~~er~~ þe see he myght not passe
 Into a pekette trewly
 He toke þe siluer ech a penye
 And seled hit in her alres sight
44. Lady he sayde ful of myght
 As þou hast vertue grete plentee
 Helpe ȝif þat þi wille be
 So þat neu~~er~~ aȝeyn my wille
48. To a Jewe my trowþe to spille
 He toke þe siluer þen anon
 And kest hit into þe see fome
 ¶The morne after soþe to saye
52. Wes þe *terme* of þe paye
 þe Jewe ros in þe mornynge
 Beside þe see was goynge
 He fonde þe siluer als faste
56. As hit into þe see was caste
 ¶After þe cristen man come home
 þe Jewe ȝede to hym anone
 He asked *after* his monay
60. And saide he had broken his day
 ¶Quoþ þe *marchaunt* I trowe nay
 I hope þou haddest a redy paye
 Sche þat was borgh of þe dette
64. Go we to hir wipout lette
 For sche wote al my þoght
 Sche knowes wele as I haue wroght
 I triste wele in hir godenesse
68. þat sche wole bere me witnesse
 ¶Bifore oure lady þai ȝeden þo
 Many oon went wit hem two
 þe cristen man kneled dou~~n~~
72. And saide wit grete deuociou~~n~~

- Lady for þi dignite
 Helpe if þat þi wille be
 þat I neuere so euel spede
76. In wronge be taynt in falskede
 ¶He hade not so radly sayde
 þe ymage answerde at abraide
 Jewe sche saide þou fonde in paye
80. Beside þe see þat ilke day
 Into þe see he hit keste
 I sende hit to þee er hit were leste
 Vnder þi bedde þou putt hit þo
84. 3ett hit lith right so
 Cristen man quop oure lady
 Go home wip hym radly
 þere 3e schal þe soþe se
- 88 Wheþer of hem schal gabber be
 ¶þe cristen men þen anoon
 Wipe Jewe 3eden home
 As oure lady saide so hit was
92. þai fonde þe siluer in þat place
 And of þat meruailte
 Sprange worde ouer al þe cuntre
 And by oure lady grete vertue
96. þat tyme torned many a Jewe
18. A LILY GROWS FROM THE MOUTH OF A CLERK BURIED
 OUTSIDE THE CHURCHYARD (fol. 80^a).

- A** NOþER miracle 3e may here
 As hit was in alle manere
 A clerke serued oure lady ay
4. And for hir loue wolde psalmes say
 So at þe laste fel a caas
 Vppon a felde he swolten was
 Schrifte ne housel hade he noght
8. But oure lady was in his þoght
 ¶Er þe soule passed a-way

- He saide Aue Maria aye ¶ Aue Maria¹
 When þat he was fonde dede
12. þai saide hit was þe beste rede
 þere make a pitte & laye hym yñne
 He was not schryven of his synne
 When þai hade so saide
16. þe pitt was made þe clerk in laide
 ¶ þai prayed to God Almyghty
 On his soule to haue mercy
 And þen by þe þridde day
20. Fel a grace ful verray
 Of his mouþe sprange a floure
 Whyte as lillie of coloure
 þe spyre foure fote longe
24. þe leues a partie rede amonge
 Vppon þe leues proprely
 Was writen þus² Aue Marie
 As a man come on þe felde
28. Vpon þe biriynge he behelde
 þere as þe floure sprongen wes
 þe newe baren of gresse
 He ȝede to þe kirke þerone
32. And tolde [hit to] þe persone
 ¶ þe persone þen & oþer mo
 lered and lewed also
 Wenten þider for to se
36. Wheþer [hit] myght [so] þe be
 þai seghen verray in her sight
 þe floure of oure lady myght
 To be bisshop þai ȝede to telle
40. A þe grace as hit bifelle
 þai prayed of leve to haue
 To take þe body of þe grave
 þe bisshop wiþ gode chere
44. ȝaf hem his powere

¹ In margin of the MS.² MS. *blurred*.

- þai ȝede aȝayn hastily
 And toke vp þe body
 And bare hit into holy place
 48. And biried hit as worþi was
 wiþ ful grete solempnitie
 For he was holy in alle degre

19. THE EMPEROR OF ROME (fol. 80^b).

- A** NOþER miracle ȝe may here
 Of þe myght of oure lady dere
 In Rome was an Emperoure
 4. þat was a man of grete valoure
 [The leaves of the MS. which followed have been lost.]

1. "Monk Tempted by the Devil in the form of a Woman." This miracle seems to be a remarkable conglomerate of a number of legends. The temptation incident is not uncommon in religious tales. Royal MS. 8 F. VI, fol. 15 (a XVth century collection) and B. M. Addit. MS. 22557 (fol. 28b) give a similar story of a proud hermit seduced by the Devil in the form of a woman.¹ The second element of the story—the appointment of the bell-house as being a sufficiently secret place for meeting—is slightly reminiscent of the Thais legend.² The monk's inability to find the door of the bell-house after he has repeated the Five Joys, is paralleled

¹ Other examples of temptation by the Devil:

Guibert de Nogent, *De laude S. Mariae*, Cap. XI. Hermit tempted by the Devil in the form of a woman; see above, p. 336.

Herolt, *Promphuarium*, B. M. MS. Addit. 19,909, f. 241b, col. 2. A sacristan enraged the Devil by painting him hideous and the Virgin beautiful; he was induced by the Devil in the form of a beautiful woman to steal the convent treasures and was finally undeceived by the Virgin.

Legenda Aurea, Cap. II. 9: Devil in form of a beautiful woman visits a bishop; he is exposed when asked the distance from heaven to hell.

Gesta Romanorum, B. M. Addit. 9066, fol. 80b (see *Cat. Rom.* III, 261). Here it is an anchoress who is tempted by the Devil as a beautiful woman, to return to the world; she is saved by prayers to the Virgin.

² This legend is introduced into the *North. Hom. Collection*; for the text see Herrig's *Archiv.* LVII. 279.

in another legend in Royal MS. 8 F. VI., fol. 21, a variation of "The Nun who Saw the World." Here a nun who is about to elope with a knight cannot find the convent door till she ceases to salute the Virgin. The close of the English legend may have been suggested by a miracle from Caesarius of Heisterbach (*Dialogus Miraculorum*, VII. 33) in which a nun tries to flee with a sacristan, but finds her way barred at the gate by the figure of the Crucified.

Since all the other miracles in this English text show some relation to John de Garland, it seems probable that this hybrid story was suggested by some one of Garland's legends. The nearest seems to be "The Mouth of Hell shown to a Nun" (*Liber metricus*, f. 20b, col. 2), a tale of a nun who was turned back from eloping with a knight by a vision in which she was dragged to the mouth of hell, but saved by the Virgin.

2. "Woman revived for Confession." Suggested by a similar legend in John de Garland's *Liber metricus*, f. 18, col. 2. The same story is given in the *Spec. Hist.* (VII. 117), and more fully in the *Exordium magnum ordinis Cisterciensis*, V., cap. 5 (Migne, *Patrol.* CLXXXV., col. 1129). It is also included in Herolt's *Promptuarium*, B. M. MS. Addit. 19,909, fol. 247, col. 2. In this miracle the English narrator seems to have confined himself to the traditional version.

3. "Our Lady and Three Innocents help to build a chapel." Suggested by John de Garland's "Columns raised by School Boys." (*Liber metricus*, f. 18, col. 2). The English scribe has disguised his source very thoroughly, but the relationship is still discernible. According to the traditional story, workmen who were building a church in honor of the Virgin for the Emperor Constantine were unable to raise the heavy columns. The Virgin directed that three school children be called; they accomplished the task with ease. This miracle is told by Gregory of Tours, *Miraculorum Lib.* I., cap. 9;² it also appears in *Spec. Hist.* (VII. 81) and *Scala*

² Migne *Patrol.* LXXI., col. 713.

coeli, fol. clxi. This English version is, as far as I can discover, unique.

4. "Empress of Rome." Suggested by a similar legend, "The Chaste Empress," in Garland's *Liber metricus*, (fol. 18, col. 2). The same miracle appears in Herolt's *Promptuarium*, (B. M. Addit. MS. 19,909, fol. 239) taken from the *Spec. Hist.* (VII. 90-92). This tale is one form of the Crescentia-legend, and is connected with the story of Constance in Chaucer's *Man of Law's Tale*, and in Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, Bk. II.

For a complete discussion of the Crescentia-saga, see Svend Gruntvig, *Danmarks Gamle Folkeviser*, (Copenhagen) I., (1853), pp. 177-204; II. (1856), pp. 644-5; III. (1858-62), pp. 779-782; IV. (1869-83), pp. 722-731; and also Mussafia, *Ueber eine italienische metrische Darstellung der Crescentia-sage* (*Sitzungsberichte d. Wiener Akad.* Bd. LI (1865) pp. 589-692).

5. "Abbess Delivered by Our Lady." Suggested by a similar legend in John of Garland's *Liber metricus*, fol. 16^b. This legend—one of the most popular of the miracles of Our Lady—may be identified with PEZ No. 36. It appears in a great number of the Latin collections, including Vincent de Beauvais, *Spec. Hist.* (VII. 86); John Gobii, *Scala coeli* (No. 11), Etienne de Bourbon, *De Septem Donis* (Pars II., Titulus VI. "De B. Maria," No. 135) and Herolt, *Promptuarium exemplorum* (No. 24). This miracle is introduced as a "Narratio" in the *Northern Homily Collection*.⁴ The Northern Homily version introduces a new element—the accusation of the abbess to the bishop by a nun whom she had taken in as a foundling.

The English version in B. M. Addit. MS. 39996, does not give the incident of the ungrateful foundling-nun, but offers a different peculiarity: it is not Our Lady, but two angels sent by her, who help the prioress in her trouble.

⁴ For texts of the version in the *North Hom. Coll.* see Small, *Medr. Homilies*, pp. 164-7 and Herrig's *Archiv* LVII. 257.

6. "Cancered tongue healed by the touch of the Virgin's Finger." See above, p. 338.

7. "Jew-Boy." See above, p. 324.

8. "Woman's Son Restored to Life by Our Lady." Suggested by a similar legend in Garland's *Liber metricus*, f. 17. The same story is found in a XIVth century Latin collection, B. M. Addit. MS. 18346, fol. 52b, col. 2. Here the woman is the wife of a French knight. A French version appears in Mielot, (Roxburghe Club, 1885) No. XXXI.

9. "Devil in Beast-Shapes." Suggested by a similar legend in Garland's *Liber metricus*, f. 17. According to the usual version in PEZ No. 23 (one of the Toledo-Saturday group), a drunken monk met the Devil in each of these shapes successively, and each time was delivered by Our Lady. Cotton MS. Cleop. C.X., fol. 132, gives this form of the story.

10. "Barns Filled in Time of Fame." Suggested by a similar legend in Garland's *Liber metricus*, f. 17. The traditional version is given by Gregory of Tours, *Miraculorum*, Lib. I., cap. 11 (Migne, *Patrol.* XXI., col. 715), as follows: When monks in an abbey in Jerusalem were in great straits for lack of food, their barns were miraculously filled; when there was a second time of need, an angel laid gold upon the altar; both miracles were ascribed to the Virgin.

11. "Ring given to a Mary-image." Suggested by a similar legend in Garland's *Liber metricus*, f. 18. This miracle contains elements found in two different Latin versions—one in PEZ, and the other in B. M. Addit. MS. 15723, a late XIIth and XIIIth century collection. According to PEZ, No. 16, a pious clerk of Pisa, who was devoted to Mary, influenced by his kin, became betrothed. On his wedding day Mary reproached him and bade him not to marry; he stole away in the night. Mussafia does not mention the ring in summarizing this miracle. B. M. Addit. MS. 15723, fol. 72b, introduces the ring incident, but in this case the young men married in spite of good advice; the image seemed to intervene between him and his

bride, and he became a monk. A similar version appears in the *Spec. Hist.* (VII. 87) and in *Scala coeli*, fol. clxiv.

12. "The Broken Tun of Wine." Suggested by Garland's miracle, "Mead" (*Liber metricus*, f. 18, col. 2). Cotton MS. Cleop. C.X., fol. 137b, gives the traditional version: A lady in England received sudden notice of the King's coming to dine with her; finding that she had scarcely any mead in the cellar, she prayed to the Virgin and obtained abundance. In the biographies of Dunstan by "B," Osbern, Eadmer, and William of Malmesbury (Stubbs, *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, Rolls series, pp. 17, 86, 176, 266) this miracle is said to have occurred on the occasion of King Athelstane's visit to the Lady Æthelfleda (or Elfgifu) at Glastonbury. The version in which the occasion is a feast in honor of Our Lady instead of the King, seems to be original with our text.

13. "The Nativity." Suggested by a similar legend in Garland's *Liber Metricus*, fol. 19. This is the traditional account of the origin of the Feast of the Nativity. Mussafia cites it first from the *Speculum ecclesiae* of Honorius of Autun.⁵ It also appears in S. Germ. No. 48; *Spec. Hist.* VII., 119; *Scala coeli*, No. 36; and in the French metrical collections, Adgar, Egerton MS. 612, fol. 9b, col. 2, and Royal MS. 20 B. XIV., fol. 114, col. 2.

14. "Mary image in a Synagogue." Suggested by the story "Libia" in Garland's *Liber metricus*, fol. 19. Again the English narrator has succeeded in mangling a traditional miracle. The Libia story as given in PEZ No. 20 (one of the *Toledo-Saturday* group) is the conventional form: The Jews near Lydda (Libia is evidently a mistake) complained to the Emperor because the Apostles had turned their synagogue into a church; the Emperor ordered the church closed; after three days a portrait of the Virgin was found to have appeared miraculously on the wall. The Emperor Julian later ordered the Jews to remove it, but they were afraid to touch it. The story is founded on a legend told by John of Damas-

⁵ Migne, *Patrol.* CLXXII., cols. 689, 769, 1001.

cus († c. 760) in his *Epistola ad Theophilum Imperatorem*.⁶ How a portrait of the Virgin appeared on the wall at the opening of the church dedicated to her (in her lifetime) by the Apostles Peter and John; and how, in the time of Julian, the Jews' efforts to remove it only made its colors brighter.

15. "Incest." Suggested by a similar legend in Garland's *Liber metricus*, f. 19, col. 2. The most common form of this miracle is the version found in Paris MS. 14463 (formerly S. Victor 248), a large XIIth century collection of miracles of Our Lady, closely related in contents to PEZ. This version includes details not given in the English MS. viz., the murder of the infant, and the woman's confession to the Pope. The same story is narrated by Jacques de Vitry (*Exempla*, No. CCLXIII). Egerton MS. 1117, fol. 176, gives a more sensational rendering of this miracle, in which the Devil introduces himself to the Emperor as a skilled counselor, and is made judge; in the end he vanishes like smoke with a whirlwind, carrying part of the palace-roof away with him (Ward, *Cat. Rom.* II, 669)

Another story of incest and child-murder is found in Royal MS. 5 A. VIII., a XIIIth century Latin collection (see Ward, *Cat. Rom.* II, 650), but in this case there is no Devil-accuser, and the woman is saved by the Virgin from the poisonous effects of a spider which she had swallowed in an attempt to commit suicide

16. "Mary-image Insulted." Compare the similar legend in Garland's *Liber metricus*, fol. 19. This miracle is an adaptation of a legend found in the older collections. According to the XIIth century MS. Paris 14463 (S. Victor 248), a Jew threw a Mary-image into a privy; he died, and the rescued image afterward emitted oil. Ward notes that this story is told by Adamnan, *De Locis Sanctis*, III., 5. (Migne *Patrol.* LXXXVIII., col. 813), on the authority of Arculfus, a French Pilgrim.⁷

⁶ Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, XCV., col. 350.

⁷ A translation of Adamnan's work has been published by the Palestine Text Soc., under the title *Arculfus*, (London, 1889).

The miracle of the Mary-image insulted as given in Cotton MS. Cleop. C.X., does not mention the miraculous oil. Ward speaks of John of Garland's version as similar to that in Cotton Cleop.; whether Garland also omits the oil is not clear.

17. "Our Lady is Surety for a Merchant." See above, p. 337.

18. "Lily from the mouth of a Clerk." See above, p. 329.

19. "Emperor of Rome." The four lines of this miracle which are preserved are not enough to identify the story.

IV. SCATTERED TEXTS

Thus far we have considered only Miracles of Our Lady which appear in more or less definitely organized groups or collections. Besides these, one comes upon a considerable number of Legends of the Virgin in English verse either standing separately or sometimes joined in pairs. The earliest of these is the Legend, "How Our Lady's Psalter was first Found," which first makes its appearance in Digby 86, a MS. of the second half of the 13th century.¹ Next in chronological order is the imperfect text of "The Clerk who would see the B. V.," which appears in the Auchinleck MS. (first quarter of the XIVth century).² Chaucer, Lydgate, and Hoccleve each relates one Miracle of Our Lady: Chaucer's Prioress tells the story of "The Boy Slain by the Jews"; Lydgate translates from Vincent of Beauvais, under the title "The Legend of Dan Joos,"³ the miracle of the monk from whose grave sprang five roses bearing the letters M, A, R, I, A; Hoccleve in his legend, "The Virgin of the Sleeveless Garment,"⁴ gives a later version of the miracle, "How Our Lady's Psalter was first Found."

In the Thornton MS (Lincoln Cath. A. 5. 2, *circa* 1440)

¹ Ed. Horstmann, *A. E. Legenden: Neue Folge*, pp. 220-224; Furnivall, *EETS*. Orig. Ser. 117, 777-785.

² Ed. Horstmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 499-502.

³ For discussion of this miracle see above, p. 329.

⁴ Ed. A. Beatty, *A New Ploughman's Tale*, Chauc. Soc. 2nd Ser. 34, 12-21.

one finds "The Wicked Knight Reformed," unfortunately a defective text, of which only the beginning and the end are preserved.⁵ MS. Ashmole 61 (late 15th century) tells the story of "The Good Knight and His Jealous Wife"⁶—the only instance of this legend in English.

The miracles enumerated in the foregoing list are already accessible in print, and consequently it will not be necessary to include texts of them here. There are, however, two other manuscripts which contain Miracles of Our Lady hitherto unprinted. Of these the first is MS. Tanner 407 (end of the 15th century) which contains versions of "Saved by Learning Two Words" and "The Devil in Service." The other is MS. Harley 2380 (beg. of the 16th century) which contains the legend, "The Child and the Abbot," otherwise unrepresented in English. The texts of these three miracles are presented herewith.

1. SAVED BY LEARNING TWO WORDS—Tanner
MS. 407 (fol. 58^b).¹

- Serys a merakyl or to I schal þou telle
That for oure ladyis loue somtyme be-felle
Of to gentylnen þat knyghtys weren kyd
4. And both her doyinggys and what of hem betyd
On of hem was no clerk but a lewyd man
But he was sette to skole to lere sertayn
He was set to þe boke for to spel and rede
8. His a b se and pater noster his aue and his crede
But when aue maria was his lesson
He myght lere no ferther be no reson
But aue maria euermor in his mende he kept
12. And seyde it wit his mowth saf only quan þat he slept

⁵ Ed. Horstmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 503, 504.

⁶ Ed. Horstmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 329-333.

¹ In this MS. the same character has been used to represent þ and y: I have distinguished between them as the sense required. I have also disregarded a stroke placed over certain words where it seemed meaningless, as in *toun Mir. 2, l. 14*; *doun, Mir. 2, l. 25*; and *renoun, Mir. 2, l. 26*.

- And so þis wordys aue maria forgat he nought
 Wher þat he went or quat þat he wrought
 So be-fel afterward as goddys wille was
16. This knight schuld be ded and fro þis werld pas
 His body was beryed in a cherche jerd
 Among þe comon pepyl lewyd and leryd
 But witinne a fewe dayes þat al men myght sene
20. þer grewe a lylve on his graue ful gay and ful grene
 And fyue ful fayr levys had þat lelya .
 And on euery leef was wretyn Aue maria
 And meche folk went to se þat semely syth
24. Of þat lovely lely þat was so fayr and so bryth
 Som men seyð þat it grewe neuer of þat same lond
 But þat it was sette there wit som mannys hond
 And therfor wit a spade þei dede deluyn in þe grounde
28. On-to þe tyme þat the rote þer-of myght be founde
 So depe they doluyn in þat stede
 On-to þat þei comen to þe dede mannys hede
 And there þei south þe rote as wel as þei cowth
32. And þei sey þe rote stonde in þe dede mannys mowth
 And than alle þe pepyl seyð thus sertaynly
 That it was a merakyl of god and of oure lady
 Al þe pepyl aftyrward for þat chesoun
36. Seyð ther Aue mary with good deuocioun
 And god geue vs grace to seyn oure Aue mary
 þat it be plesyng to hym also to oure lady. Amen.

2. THE DEVIL IN SERVICE—Tanner MS. 407
 (fol. 59^a).

- The tother knyght was keper of a castell
 And there he robbyd many men as oure bokys tell
 And there he leuyd as a theff many days & jerys
4. And maynteynyd many fals folk þat wern his comperys
 But it was his custom for sothe euery day
 Onys at þe lest fyve Aue maryes to say
 And for ony besynes þat myght be-falle
8. He for-ȝate hem nouth to seyn hem alle

- Of al day after þat ded he no good dede
 But oure lady at þe last a-qwyth hym wel his mede
 Ffor as ȝe schul here and vnderstond
12. Ther cam a good man throw þat lond
 Sent barnard a man² of religyon
 That went be þat castel to a nother toun
 Anon þis man was taken & fowly dyffoulyd
16. And of al þat he had robbyd and dyspoilyd
 And afterward they brouth hym to a preson
 þer other men worn with-owten ony reson
 And than gan he preye þe men þat hym gan take
20. Serys I preye ȝou alle for oure ladijs sake
 That I myght speke wit þe lord of þis castel
 Ffor a prevy councel to hym I schal tel
 And so þis men þat token hym fellyn to a-cord
24. And bowden hym & þei browte him a-forn her lord
 And a-forn þe lord þei dede hym knelyn doun
 To do hym wurcheþ reuerens and renoun
 And he preyd þe lord to graunten hym a bone
28. And þe lord answered and seyde *quat* for to done
 Lord ȝeue me leue for oure ladijs sake
 In þe worcheþ of oure lady a sarmon to make
 And a-non þe knyght consentyd ther-to
32. And what so euere he bad it³ schuld be do
 Than he preyd þe knyght⁴ at þe be-gynnyng
 That alle his men myght comyn to here his prechyng
 And a-non þey wern bodyn and charged sertayn
36. That þei schuld comyn thedyr euery man
 And alle his men gladly and wit a good chere
 A-forn þis holy man a-non þey gone a-pere
 Than seyde þis holy man be ȝe come euery-schone
40. They seyde ȝa and he sayde nay ȝet wantys her one
 And þan þis men answered & seyden alle in fere
 All þe men of this place stondyn a-forn þe here

² MS. *aman*.

³ MS. *h crossed out before it*.

⁴ MS. *knygth*.

- Than seyð þis holy man to hem a-geyn
 44. Qwer is myn lordys owne chambyr layn
 Than euery man ful besely lokyd hym a-boute
 But he was not there witowten ony dowte
 And a-non be þe lordys wyll and be assent
 48. After þe chamberleyn to chamber they went
 And whan þat he was brouth forth in to þat place
 He mad a foul semlawnt and a foule face
 And ther he was coniurid of þat holy man
 52. Be þe vertu of cristys passiouⁿ certayn
 And bad hem telle alle men what þat he were
 And why þat he com thedyr & quat þat he dede there
 Than seyð þis man I can no more say
 56. I must do as þou byddyst me I can not sayⁿ nay
 I am a-knowe to alle men in this castel
 That I am no man but a fynde of hel
 And why and wherfore þat I com hedyr
 60. I schal þou tellen al to-gedyr
 I haue dwellyd wit þis knyght xiiij yeer
 And be his chamberleyn and mad him good cher
 Ffor his fals leuyng & his wykkednes
 64. And for mayntenawns of fals men in her falsnes
 And her-to I have temptyd hym many day & long
 And I haue loyn in a wayte eu^er mor a-mong
 þat jif he had fayled onys on a day
 68. On aue maria at þe lest for to say
 And for þat he seyð euery day his aue mary
 Fforthi of hym I myght noth han non maystry
 Ffor jif that he þerof on day had fayled
 72. Sodenly for sothe he schuld a be asayled
 And sodeynly a be ded and gon to helle
 Trowe þis tale for trewe as ony gospelle
 But mary modyr and may
 76. She is oure ful enmye bothe nyght & day
 Ffor alle þe folk that her may plese
 We may on no wyse do hem desese
 And than þis knyght knelyd doun a-non

80. And cryed god mercy and mad mechil mon
 And alle his felawis þer in fere
 They cryed to god wīt dolful chere
 And mad a wow to god & to oure lady
84. þat þey schuld neuer after vse no swyche foly
 And preyd þis holy man of religion
 Of penauns and of absolucion
 And he ȝaf hem in penauns specially
88. þat þei schuld euer mor worchep our lady
 And this holy man coniueryd þe fend
 And on goddys name he bad hym wend
 And to wyldernesse take þou þe way
92. And neuer more tempte man be nyght ne be day
 The fend went anon as he hym bad
 And when he was gon al men wern glad
 And on her knes þei gone doun glyde
96. And þis holy man mercy þei cryede
 And he forȝaf hem her trespass for cristys sake
 And ȝouyn hym ageyn al þat he wold take
 And wern trewe men afterward as I wene
100. Throw help of oure lady blyssyd mote she bene
 And leddyn a good lyf and maden a good ende
 And for ther good leuyng to heuen gun þei wynde
 To þat plas bryng vs cryst god and man
104. Throw þe preyer of oure lady & of sent Anne Amen.¹
3. THE CHILD AND THE ABBOT—Harley MS. 2380 (fol. 74^b).¹

þe blyssed Barne In betlem Borne
 þat wīt Is blod full dere vs bought

¹ This MS. is in very bad condition; moreover, the scribe's writing is poor, and his spelling inconsistent. In some lines where the text is plain, it is evident that his version is a corruption. I have not attempted, therefore, to supply what he might have written in passages which are torn or blurred, except in lines where the meaning is obvious.

The scribe uses many of his symbols lavishly, and without meaning or consistency; and in interpreting these abbreviations my object has been to

- And lete hys brayne be tyrled wit thorne
 4. And he gyltles in vord & thowt
 Blys þane abbode euyn & morne
 And menske þam þat mars me nought
 Mani maruell has ben beforne
 8. And wondervs² has ben wrojt

- Off ferly folk þat ware ful fere
 In on my fatt fully es feste³
 Of an abbot wyttvtyn pere
 12. þat euer In prayers was full preste.
 He was full wys witoutyn were
 Hys woning was al in þe weste
 Wit duks was he lef & dere
 16. Quen þai to-geder on des ware drete

- þis holy abbotte þus lede Is lyffe
 þat lords luf was one him lentte
 And knyȝts of þe contri fouor or fyiue
 20. þare sons to þe abbott sentte
 He taught þe chylder for to thryve
 And to þam toke he so gud tente
 þat wit and wyrscype was þam to Bywe
 24. And rebaldry fro þam was rentte

Bot ane of all þe abbot add
 A chyld þat was bothe chef & chace

supply a readable text, while following conventional usages as far as possible. I have not expanded the stroke over *m*, *n*, and *gh*, except in words which the scribe elsewhere writes out with the *e*, as *one* and *downe*. I have expanded the stroke in *sone*, meaning *soon* to distinguish it from *son*, which the scribe usually finishes with a flourish. The invariable stroke through *ll* is expanded only when the rhyme requires it. Throughout the text, *m* is frequently used for *u* or *n* (*fime*, l. 19; *dyme*, l. 35); this is corrected, with the *n* in italics. *þai* is commonly written þ—*a* above the line—*ai*, or *i*; I have simply used the proper spelling, in italics. Where the sense has required the insertion of a word or letter, it is put in parenthesis.

² MS., a letter struck out between *v* and *s*.

³ A line evidently corrupted.

- He dyd bott as þe abbott bad
 Ffor he wa . . . ld ne werks waste⁴
28. In gods *seruise* he was *ful sad*
 Thurght *the*⁵ homage of þe holy goste
 Gret lufe he to hour lady had
32. And to hyre son of myts moste
- Ffor Ilka day qwen he wald dyne
 Vnto þe pantri he wald pas
 Quen he It ad he wald not fine
36. Bot hyde ym wythe scwylke as he as
 Ware it bred ale or wyne
 Better It vare qweteuer It ware
 Hys trauell thoȝt he noght to turne
40. Bot to þe kyrke he toke þe trace
- In kyrke one knes þer wald he knele
 Befor ane ymage of vre lady
 Wit aue grette þat worthy⁶ wele
44. Syne sayd hyre sauter deuotly
 Qwen he ad sayde it euerydeyll
 þan wald he set⁷ ym downe þerby
 And mak ym mery at þat male
48. Wit scwelk as he gat at pantry
- Oure lady sauter þus wald he say
 Euery day are he wald dyne
 So It fell apone a day
52. As he gun one hys knes enclyne
 In Is prayers for to pray
 Before þat ymage fayr & fyne
 Of mani I may⁸
56. Thurght myght *of mary* þat clen virgyn

⁴ MS. *blurred*.

⁵ MS. *he*.

⁶ MS. *after worthy, king struck out*.

⁷ MS. *he set he sette ym*.

⁸ *Lines 55-70 written in the margin, the edge of which is torn.*

- Thurght myght of *mary þat moder* myld
 þe lytyll.....kne
 Gone down.....oder chyld
60. And to yms.....*sayd* he
 For þou ert of no.....d
 þy nane.....sal þou be
 Wit foly þi flese.....fyld
64. Bot surly se.....me
- Qwen he ad sayd.....þerby wald say
 þe abbot chyld was *ful* fayn.....
 þai ett & dranke & s.....play
68. Ffullykandly.....to layn
 Ffyne fellowe.....þai
 þer.....
 Syne qwen It drough to tyme of day
72. To⁹ þe moder kne It styrt agayn
- Thus ayder lefe at oder has laugt
 þe abbott chyld went to þe hall
 Gretly for ym þai were distraugt
76. And sadly sougt þe chyld ouer hall
 He vent he ad bene in some scwaute (?)
 Efter ym þai gun cry & call
 Qwen þe abbote hym se he was all foyut¹⁰
80. þe chyld doune one ys kne gun fall
- The abbot sayd qwen (he) hem see
 I serton son þou ert to blame
 Mercy mayster mynd sayd he
84. In fathe I¹¹ was na fer fro hame
 In kyrk I knelyd opone my kne
 Befor a chyld & his dayme
 His aun fellow mad e me
88. I am sogete to seruie þe same

⁹ MS. So.¹⁰ MS. *blotted*.¹¹ MS. he.

- Ffor Ilka day at my dynnere
 To dyne wit me I wil ym dres¹²
 þus er we fellous both In fere
92. þis farly fode ful of farn(e)s
 þe abbot þan chaunged Is chere
 And sayd þou says nott as It es
 Bote It be sothe þou sall byd ere
96. þi lessyngs & þi lydernes
- þe abbot leuid it was a ly
 & jit he let nojt for to luke
 þe tought truly for to cry
100. Into þe kyrke þe trace he tuke
 Vpone þe morne he
 þe chylde wyst nought hys mayster
 Be-for þe ymage of oure lady
104. þe barne vn-bucyld sone ys Boke
- þe abbot preuily in þe kyrke hym ihyd
 For þe chylde sowle not ym see
 þe Barn Began hys beds to byd
108. & one ys hod ys met layd he
 þe ymage kyndnes hym kyd
 It come doune fro þe moder kne
 As þai ware went to do þay dyd
112. God lent þe abbot leue to se
- þe ymage sayd my fayre felawe
 Ouire al thyng I þe for-byde
116. Wit þi mouthe luk þou say no sawe
 Bot It be southe as god þe sped
 To þi last day it begyns to draywe
 þat þou sall dyne wit me In dede
 & for þou lufs so well my sawe
120. My moder & me I sall make þi med

¹² The MS. has been corrected (and corrupted) by a later hand. After I what appears to be wynlotte is struck out, and wylidres inserted.

- Ilka day haff I dynd wit þe
 To me þou haf done þi denere
 Hastely sall þou dyne wit me
 124. & also wytht my fader dyre
 þe chyld styrt vnto þe moder kne
 And sayd my fayre my fathefull fere
 It was a Ioyfull syȝt to see
 128. þe sembland & þere solas sere

- Wen þie abbott all at hard
 He ad gret ast Into þe hall
 For fayne E wyst noȝt hou *he fard*
 132. *And for þe chyld he gun to call*
Wen þe chyld come to yme-ward
þe abbott doun on knes gun fall
 And grett as þe chyld chastysed wit ȝehrde
 136. And sayd scwett son I am thy thrall

- The chylde sor wonder was I wys
 And was þe abbot ful wo þe abbot wepe
 Dere mayster he sayd quat mens thys
 140. þat þou to me one knes suld crepe
 Me thynk ȝe move ȝhou all one mys
 Scwylk cowrtasy lord non I kepe
 Me had leuer as haf I blys
 144. Haf lygyn in my bed doun seke

- The abbott sayd son say not soo
 Sey me son¹³ I saw þe laste
 Qqware a-bout þen hast þou go
 148. And to wat place has þou paste
 & let nought for frend ne foo
 Bot fathfully þou tell me faste
 Ffor bot I wyt I wyll be wo
 152. And catyfly in care Be caste

¹³ Error for syns?

- The chyld sade lord *je* kep counsayll
 To say *þe* sothe to say I sal nought *sese*
 I was wit ym *þat* witt *je* well
 156. *je* bad me to my fellow chese
þe chyld he to *þe* *abbot gun tell*
 All *þat þai* dyd bot *þe*¹⁴ mor & les(e)
 How e was mery at *þat mell*
 160. Wit hys denere *þat* dere one dese

- He as prayd to hys denere
 Wit hym & wit Is moder meke
þe abbot sayd wit-outyn were
 164. I hard *þhou* bothe & saw *þou* eke
þer-for son as *þou*¹⁵ lufs me dere
þat lufly chyld of chyn & cheke
þat I myȝt dyne wit *þou* In fere
 168. Sadly son *þou* hym beseke

- All bote yf I vnvorthy be
 I wald fayn dyne wit *þhou þat* day
þe chyld sayd syre haf *je* ne kare
 172. I sall¹⁶ be preste for *þhou* to prai
þe cherfull chy(l)d graunt hym full *þhare*
 In mynd to do all *þat* I may
 Vn-to *þat* barne *þat* mary bare
 176. For Is mayster to mak *þe* a way

- On *þe* morne witoutyn ani mare
 To mak Is prayers as e mente
 He did ryght as e dyd be-fore
 180. And hastely hys dener hente
þen wald he no langer yne
 Bot wyghtely to *þe* kyrke he *wente*
 And *þer* he set wit syghng sore
 184. And wy it was taks entente

¹⁴ MS. botdhe.

¹⁵ MS. as *þou* as *þou* lufs.

¹⁶ MS. after sall two letters, apparently *ju*, struck out.

- þe kne
 h..... y
 h..... e
 188. away.... ry
 e lyt noȝt lake wit þe
 w..... be tratouly
 betrayed bothe þe & me
 192. Wat þat we dyd bod þou & I

- Myckell moning þe chyld gun make
 And askyd mercy of ys mysdeed
 And sayd fellowe gud tent þou take
 196. & þink qwat þat þou me for-bed
 þat I suld neuere be land ne lake
 A lesing mak¹⁷ in ani led
 Bot southe to say ay for þe sake
 200. To uene þe it Is no ned

- And sythen it was þi awnne bydding
 I ad ben worthy mykyll blame
 Gyf I ad mad lesynge
 204. To my mayster it ad ben scame
 þerfor as þou ert comly kyng¹⁸
 þou Iuge þe ryght I þou bename
 And take gud tent to þis þyng
 208. I aske.... es at þin aun dame

- chyld wit nobyll chere
 come doun fro þe moder kne
 fine my fathful fere
 112. ight
 oure dynnere
 me wine
 besoutly in fere
 216. g. d.....

¹⁷ MS. mad.

¹⁸ From this line on the MS. is very much blurred.

-witting
say
 Of my mayster is my mynny(n)g¹⁹
220. þou graunt It me as þou well may
 þat he may for ani thyng
 Be at þe dynner of owre day
 þus he praid him specially
224. For Is mayster wit all att Is myght
- Qwere lady son. sone In þ.
 I graunt It þe as. is ryght
 þi mayster is not jit redy
228. I wyll abyð til he be dyht
day....be.....y
 And co. þat ay ys bryht
 þe abbot chyld þen was full fayne
232. þat. sayd ym soo
- þay mad.
hart thro
 Sayd mayster. þhou blyth & layn
236. I flor. of all þi.
fellow I prayd for þe
 þat þou sall com to oure denere

MS. ends here.

"The Child and the Abbot." (It is very difficult to get even the gist of this miracle, owing to the torn and stained condition of the MS. and to the many corruptions, which seem to be due to the work of an unintelligent scribe.) How a boy in the school of a certain abbot was accustomed to steal away to church with his dinner, which he shared with the image of the Christ-child in the Virgin's arms; how the abbot discovered this, and asked to be allowed to join them at the meal; how the Child warned the boy that they would soon

¹⁹ This and the subsequent lines are written in the margin of the leaf, and are so run together that it is impossible to distinguish the separate lines with any certainty. The page is badly blurred and torn.

dine together in heaven. (The manner in which the Abbot's request was fulfilled is not quite clear.)

This is a singular variation of one of the traditional legends of Our Lady "Bread Offered to the Christ-Child"—in which a boy offers bread to the figure of the Christ in the Virgin's arms, and the image announces the child's approaching death. This is the version found in the *Spec. Hist.*, Lib. VII., cap. 99; in Guibert de Nogent, *De Pignoribus Sanctorum*, Lib. I., cap. 2 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, CLVI., col. 617); in S. Germ; No. 29; and in many of the other collections. But this supplies only the skeleton of our story. The elaborations which are introduced in the English version are suggested in two other variations of the legend. The first is found in a collection in the Brussels MSS. Phillipps 336 (XIIth century), and 7797-7806 (XIIIth century). Here a young clerk learns with such difficulty that he is often chastised; he complains to Mary and the Child, who promises him help if he will each day bring him the best of his food. The youth does so, and astonishes all with his learning. His teacher discovers the matter, and the Child tells the youth that, now that the secret is known, he will repay him at the heavenly table; the youth dies three days later. The English version does not seem to indicate that the boy had any difficulty in learning; but this story of his punishment for stupidity may be responsible for a passage whose meaning is now somewhat obscure:

Wen þe chyld come to yme-ward
 þe abott down on knes gun fall
 And grett as þe chyld chastysed with jerde
 And said scwett son I am thy thrall (vv. 133-136).

Another detail which connects this version with the English miracle is the fact that the Christ-Child speaks of their secret meeting being discovered. The Child rebukes the boy for having confessed the matter to the abbot, and is only appeased when the boy makes answer that he was simply obeying the Child's injunction never to tell a lie.

The Brussels version provides an analogy for all of the English story, save the abbot's desire to share the feast. In a fourteenth century collection of religious tales, (B. M. Addit. MS. 15833, fol. 144b), there is a variation of the miracle which, though differing from our version in other respects, corresponds to it in this detail. Here a simple lay-brother in a Cistercian abbey thinks the crucifix above the altar too emaciated, and lays most of his own daily food on the altar. At Easter he tells the crucifix that he is now so weak that he needs all the food for himself, and the crucifix invites him to a feast; he asks the abbot's leave, which is not granted till the abbot, too, is invited, and they both die after mass on Easter Day.

The English version, then, seems to represent a combination of elements from several different legends. The text is evidently much corrupted, and probably does not represent the original adaptation, but is taken from an earlier English model.

RUTH WILSON TRYON

XVII. THEODOR FONTANE AS A CRITIC OF THE NOVEL

Fontane confessed on several occasions to a feeling of uneasiness in the presence of scholars, for he was always aware of the irregularity and meagerness of his education and of the consequent gaps in his knowledge. Nor did he believe that he deserved an eminent position as a critic. On the other hand, his long experience as journalist and as successful novelist, together with his wide acquaintance with European literature, make the critical utterances of the mature author particularly significant. But few of the scattered critiques which appeared in various journals, especially the *Vossische Zeitung*, during the author's lifetime, have been brought together in the posthumous volume of the collected works, under the title *Literarische Studien and Eindrücke*.¹ However, these essays, with the valuable material found in the poet's correspondence, enable one to form a very fair opinion of Fontane's conception of the novel.²

In addition to a practical knowledge of his craft, Fontane possessed one important qualification for the rôle of critic, viz., a sound, sure, and independent literary instinct. Throughout his life our author preserved a fresh and unprejudiced attitude toward new literary phenomena. "Meine Berechtigung zu meinem Metier ruht auf einem, was mir der Himmel mit in die Wiege gelegt hat: Feinfühligkeit künstlerischen Dingen gegenüber. Dabei weiss ich mich völlig frei von Namenanbetung und Literaturheroenkultus."³ Again,

¹ In Vol. IX of the second series of Fontane's collected works in 21 volumes, Berlin, no date. (Copyright dates vary from 1905 to 1912.) Unless otherwise specified, page numbers in the notes refer to this volume.

² A valuable investigation of Fontane's study of the drama is entitled *Theodor Fontane as a Critic of the Drama*, by B. E. Trebein, New York, 1916.

³ Letter, May 2, 1873, Vol. X. (All the letters are in the second series of the collected works.)

Fontane writes to Paul Schlenther that the critic is made solely by the possession of a fresh, sound and strong aesthetic reaction (*Empfinden*). "Alles andere, vor allem das Ausmessen mit irgendeiner Elle, die Elle hiesse nun Tieck oder Lessing oder gar Aristoteles, ist Mumpitz. . . . Ich freue mich herzlich, dass Sie sich selbst geben und ein Programm in der Brust und nicht bloss in der Brusttasche haben."⁴

Fontane's freedom from *Namenanbetung* is well illustrated in his papers on Goethe. According to Maync,⁵ Fontane is one of the few authors of the nineteenth century who were not influenced by the classic writer. Our critic praises *Hermann und Dorothea* as a whole, but takes exception to a number of details in the poem. Moreover, his realistic predilections led him to reject the epic as an eminent work of art.

In the discussion of *Werthers Leiden* we find an echo of Fontane's conviction that a poet has no right to arrogate to himself privileges which are not enjoyed by the common mortal. Even genius, he believed, had no right to cause embarrassment to friends, as Goethe did with his story. A second novel of Goethe to which Fontane devoted a critique is *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*. Although the female characters in this work are splendidly delineated, the male figures are not interesting and not plastic enough. "Ich bekenne aber doch, dass mir Gestalten, von denen ich glaube, die Knöpfe des Rockes und die Venen der Hand zählen zu können lieber sind als diese Richtungen und Prinzipien vertretenden Schatten."⁶ The harper, for instance, barely manages, with the aid of his songs, to keep above water. The critic believed, too, that the theme of the novel, theatrical life and freemasonry, were tiresome.

If Fontane's debt to a classic writer, Goethe, is small or non-existent, his interest in romanticism is greater than one

⁴ Letter, Feb. 10, 1886, Vol. XI.

⁵ Harry Maync, *Theodor Fontane 1819-1919*, p. 35, Leipzig and Berlin, 1920.

⁶ P. 226.

would expect in a forward-looking realist. At the beginning of his career as a novelist the author succumbed to the spell of Walter Scott and Scott's literary descendant in the Mark Brandenburg, Wilibald Alexis; and even the works of his mature years exhibit romantic tendencies. As late as 1895 the poet was planning a fantastic historical novel, *Die Likedeeler*, which was to effect a reconciliation between his early romantic ballad style and his modern, realistic fiction.⁷

It was with an historical novel, too, that Fontane made his debut in fiction. The masters with whom he served his apprenticeship, and whom he always venerated were Alexis and Scott. His first acquaintance with the British writer came to him as a boy in Swinemünde at a time when Scott's great vogue in Germany was at its height. Moreover, Fontane's enthusiasm for Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* and his residence as journalist in England in 1852 and again from 1855 to 1859 served to increase and deepen his knowledge of the novelist. Ecstatic allusions to the author of *Waverley* and his novels are scattered throughout practically every genre of our author's works.

In the long and informing essay on Alexis, which appeared originally in 1873 in Julius Rodenberg's periodical *Der Salon*,⁸ we receive a fairly complete idea of Fontane's estimate of Scott and of Alexis. After giving a sketch of the latter's life and works, the critic proceeds to characterize his author by comparing him with Scott. Alexis is a smaller edition of the great Briton, about whom Fontane rhapsodizes: "Ein Sonnenschein war um ihn her. Der ganze Mann leuchtete. . . . Sein Herz für Schottland und seine Werke für die Welt, so ist er durch die Zeitlichkeit gegangen wie ein grosser Beglückter, Segen auf allen seinen Spuren."⁹

The critic also notes several points in which the two historical novelists differ. His contrast of the romanticism of Scott and Alexis deserves quotation: "Scott war Altro-

⁷ Letter, March 16, 1895, Vol. XI.

⁸ Vol. X, Heft 10-12.

⁹ P. 212.

mantiker, Willibald Alexis Neuromantiker. Jener hielt es mit der schottisch-englischen Ballade, mit dem Volksliede, mit den Romanciers des Mittelalters. . . . dieser hielt es mit der Romantik, wie sie Tieck and Hoffmann auffassten und gestalteten. . . . Die Altromantik, nach der Stellung, die ich zu diesen Dingen einnehme, ist ein Ewiges, das sich nahezu mit dem Begriff des Poetischen deckt; die Neuromantik ist ein Zeitliches, das kommt und geht. . . ."¹⁰

Although Fontane placed little emphasis on nature in his novels, he gave the highest praise to the nature-descriptions of the wizard *Stimmungslandschafter*, Alexis, preferring his landscapes to Scott's plastic, realistic canvases. In the treatment of history, the critic again prefers Scott to Alexis, since the former dealt in a freer and more artistic manner with the past than the latter. In regard to the period which a novelist may legitimately portray, Fontane is more dogmatic than his wont, and he defines the novel as follows: "Der Roman soll ein Bild der Zeit sein, der wir selber angehören, mindestens die Widerspiegelung eines Lebens, an dessen Grenze wir selbst noch standen, oder von dem unsere Eltern erzählten."¹¹ Thus Scott in his best novels does not go back further than the eighteenth century.

However, the critic admits three exceptions to his rule regarding the time of the novel: first, the dramatic novel, in which the main element, passion, is a constant factor throughout the ages; second, the romantic novel, in which the world of fantasy never changes; third, the historical novel in certain limited cases, viz., when the author is thoroughly at home in past centuries.

Fontane's estimate of another historical work, Freytag's *Ahnen*, would meet with the approval of most critics to-day. This series is described as a mosaic of borrowings from *Kulturgeschichte*, cleverly put together by the cool hand of a scholar, but lacking the fusing inspiration of a poet. Like

¹⁰ P. 215.

¹¹ P. 242.

Alexis in his *Roland von Berlin*, Freytag gives us here shadowy mechanisms, types, instead of real people. In order to create convincing, living figures from remote ages, a number of conditions must be fulfilled: "Historischer Sinn, poetisches Ahnungsvermögen, rückwärts gewandte Begeisterung, unbedingte Musse."¹³ Scheffel, according to Fontane, has solved this problem in *Ekkehard*. This novel, which is the work of a genuine poet, is on a par with *Waverley*. Furthermore, a writer, endowed with poetic intuition as Scheffel, runs little danger of introducing improbabilities in an historical novel, for life is essentially the same at all times. "Unmöglich ist nahezu nichts, was innerhalb der Gefühlswelt liegt, unmöglich ist nur das, was man mit der Geschichtstabelle in der Hand als unmöglich beweisen kann. Wenn man die Mönche von St. Gallen nicht gerade die Piffpaffpuff-Arie singen oder Havannazigarren rauchen lässt, so ist es sehr misslich von 'Unmöglichkeiten' zu sprechen."¹³

As we have seen, Fontane looks upon the average historical novel as an illegitimate member of the fiction family. The author's main interest was directed toward the novel of manners, the social novel (*Zeit-und Sittenroman*). The great English humorists of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the critic notes, depicted their time, likewise the French novelists. In Germany Jean Paul, Goethe and Freytag himself, (in *Soll und Haben*) wrote of their world and their period.¹⁴ The English humorists referred to are doubtless Thackeray, Dickens, Smollet, Fielding and Sterne. Thackeray's novels, especially *Vanity Fair*, Fontane admired greatly, and he regrets the lack of a German work treating the various strata of Berlin society in the manner of the British satirist's masterpiece.

Fontane believed that Paul Lindau drew a truer picture of Berlin life in his *Zug nach dem Westen* than the other novelists who approached the same subject, since he did not

¹³ P. 189.

¹³ P. 236.

¹⁴ P. 242.

emphasize the brutal or repulsive side of life in his novel. On the other hand, the critic finds the opposite defect in Lindau, too much sobriety and restraint. Furthermore, his characters are mere conventional stage puppets. It is significant that Fontane, in spite of a superficial affinity with Lindau—both men were witty *causeurs*—could detect the dross in this once very popular writer.

In fact, no German social novel met with our author's unqualified approval. The painstaking artist and craftsman could find nothing to admire in Gutzkow's restless, feverish works. "Er hat die deutsche Nation düpiert. . . . denn alles ist Schein, falsch, unecht."¹⁵ In the critique which is devoted to Spielhagen's *Problematische Naturen* and *Durch Nacht zum Licht* due credit is given to the novelist for the skill with which he has recreated whole strata of society, and also for the perfection of his composition. However, Fontane, writing as early as the seventies or eighties, was not blinded by Spielhagen's popularity, and he judged the novelist very much as we do to-day, missing in these works any sympathetic figures, and finding a preponderance of shadow.

The critic's estimate of another famous *Zeitroman*, Freytag's *Soll und Haben*, given as early as 1855, the year of the novel's publication, shows the maturity and correctness of his judgment. "Ich halte es für kein geniales Produkt, aber mit für das beste, was ein Nichtgenie unter Benützung (nicht Nachahmung) grosser Vorbilder zu leisten imstande ist."¹⁶

During his early life Fontane enjoyed the great advantage of coming into close contact with eminent men of letters in the Berlin literary club, the "Tunnel über der Spree" and in his autobiographical volume *Von Zwanzig bis Dreissig* the poet discusses his relations with a number of prominent authors, including Heyse and Storm. Unfortunately for us, however, the emphasis is placed here on social rather than on literary contact.

¹⁵ Letter, Feb. 4, 1879, Vol. X.

¹⁶ Letter, June 16, 1855, Vol. X.

One might be inclined to believe that Heyse's interest in romance culture and the acute sense of form in his works would prejudice Fontane in his favor. But this is not the case. The critic writes: "Ich stehe persönlich so zu Heyse, dass ich ihn für das grösste, noch mehr für das reichste Talent, das wir zur Zeit in Deutschland besitzen, dessen Bedeutung aber durch einen falschen Tropfen in seinem Blut immer wieder in Frage gestellt, in vielen seiner Produktionen einfach vernichtet wird."¹⁷ Fontane objects to Heyse's philosophy and to his erotic creed (*Liebeskatechismus*). He also remarks on his inability to adapt himself to changing literary taste.

Our author's other famous Tunnel associate, Theodor Storm, is mentioned many times in letters and autobiography, but the references are to the man rather than to the poet. In spite of sincere admiration for the northern writer and his work, no hearty relationship was possible between cosmopolitan novelist and *Heimaldichter*. To Storm, Fontane was frivolous, to Fontane, Storm's *Husumeri* was ridiculous. The critic praised the poet's artistic conscientiousness and the consequent slowness of his production. It is to be noted that he ranked Storm's lyrics higher than his *Novellen*.

To another famous contemporary, differing even more in talent and nature, Fontane is surprisingly just. If Gottfried Keller is the naïve poet, Fontane is the conscious virtuoso, if Keller is the democrat, Fontane is the aristocrat. If Keller's genius is typically Germanic, Fontane possessed a number of Gallic traits. In a paper on *Die Leute von Seldwyla* the critic asserts that these stories disprove the statement that modern German literature is decadent, and again, he writes that Keller is the greatest narrative poet since Goethe.¹⁸ After having finished *Martin Salander* Fontane exclaims: "Er [sc. Keller] ist einer der wenigen, die einen nie im Stiche lassen, gleichviel welche Wege sie gehen, an welchem

¹⁷ Letter, Oct. 29, 1882, Vol. XI.

¹⁸ Letter, Aug. 17, 1898, Vol. XI.

Ziele sie landen."¹⁹ In the critic's estimation, Keller is fundamentally a *Märchenerzähler* and therefore at his best in those *Novellen* which are deliberately legendary in tone, as *Die drei gerechten Kammacher*, *Kleider machen Leute* and *Der Schmied seines Glückes*. According to Fontane, *Romeo und Julia auf dem Dorfe* suffers from the fact that the first half of the tale is realistic, while the second half is romantic. This change in the latter part of the story the critic ascribes to the inability of the author to maintain the realistic tone throughout the narrative.

The most serious fault which Fontane finds in Keller's works pertains to the style of his fiction. He believes that the writer should not thrust his own personality between story and reader as Keller does. This uniform, subjective style he considers particularly noticeable in the *Sieben Legenden*. On December 11, 1896, Fontane reports that he is reading Baechtold's biography of Keller, and that his aversion to Keller the man is gradually disappearing. And in the year of his death (1898) the poet regrets the fact that he never enjoyed Keller's friendship. At the same time, however, he expresses the fear that he would probably not have pleased the Swiss writer.

To Keller's great compatriot, Konrad Ferdinand Meyer, Fontane would also assign a first place in literature. "Konrad Ferdinand Meyers Sachen interessieren mich sehr; während bei Keller alles Legendenstil ist, ist bei Meyer alles Chronikenstil, den er, weil er ein Dichter ist, auf eine dichterische Höhe hebt."²⁰

But the critic's appreciation extended not merely to the early realists of the nineteenth century: he was able to go to a good distance with the aspiring young German naturalists who came to the fore in the eighties. It has been said that Fontane was discovered three times: first as a balladist, then after his Brandenburg books of travel, and finally, after his realistic novels. The poet's first modern realistic work

¹⁹ Letter, Dec. 10, 1886, Vol. XI.

²⁰ Letter, Feb. 27, 1891, Vol. XI.

l'Adultera (1882) recommended the sixty-three year old author to the revolutionary group of writers who hailed him as one of their own. Although the veteran refused an official position as leader in the radical army, he gave considerable support to the new party. His championship of Gerhart Hauptmann, for instance, is well known.

This is not the place to consider the origins or the nature of Fontane's realism. Suffice it to say that it developed to a large extent independently of German naturalism. Such literary influence as there is in his works seems to have been English rather than German. Although Fontane admired the technique of the naturalists and welcomed the cultivation of new literary fields, he could not give his approval to the pessimistic viewpoint, nor to the radical social program of the younger writers.

It is interesting to follow in Fontane's letters the poet's reaction to the pioneer French naturalist, Zola. He detects no immorality nor even frivolity in *La Fortune des Rougons*, yet he considers the author's viewpoint of life and art low. "Die Schönheit ist da, man muss nur ein Auge dafür haben oder es wenigstens nicht absichtlich verschliessen. Der echte Realismus wird auch immer schönheitsvoll sein; denn das Schöne, Gott sei dank, gehört dem Leben gerade so gut an wie das Hässliche."²¹ Gradually the critic's admiration for the French author grows: "Wenn mich einer so tadeln wollte, wie ich Zola tadle, so wollte ich ihm den Droschkenschlag aufmachen."²² After finishing *La Conquête de Plassans* Fontane is enthusiastic: "Das Talent ist Kolossal bis zuletzt. Er schmeisst die Figuren heraus, als ob er über Feld ginge und säte. Gewöhnliche Schriftsteller, und gerade die guten und besten, kommen einem arm daneben vor, Storm wie die reine Kirchenmaus."²³

Another foreign writer with realistic tendencies, Turgenev, Fontane acknowledges as master and model. It is

²¹ Letter, June 14, 1883, Vol. VII.

²² Letter, June 15, 1883, Vol. VII.

²³ Letter, June 25, 1883, Vol. VII.

the Russian's brilliant, artistic style and his accuracy of observation which excites his admiration. At the same time he points out the lack of any leavening of optimism in such works as *Huntsmen's Tales*, *Smiles*, and *Virgin Soil*. Anyone who sees life as Turgenev does, the critic believes, should write essays about Russia, not novels.

Fontane's criticism of the naturalistic novel is illustrated even more clearly in his paper on Alexander Kielland's novel *Workingmen*. The scientific accuracy of naturalistic technique represents a decided step forward. "Ich erkenne in dem Heranziehen des exakten Berichtes einen ungeheuren Literaturfortschritt, der uns auf einen Schlag aus dem öden Geschwätz zurückliegender Jahrzehnte befreit hat, wo von mittleren und mitunter auch von guten Schriftstellern beständig 'aus der Tiefe des sittlichen Bewusstseins heraus' Dinge geschrieben wurden, die sie nie gesehen hatten."²⁴ But Kielland mistakenly uses this *Reportorium* as an end instead of as a means. Furthermore, he fails to give the amount of sunlight. Pessimism, according to our author, has a right to existence as a philosophy of life, but it should not invade the sunny realm of art.

Fontane rounds out for us his idea of the novel by emphasizing in letters and critiques certain of its aspects, especially humor, style, dialogue and structure. The critic held the opinion that realists should relieve the naked ugliness of their works by means of humor, and he points to Shakespeare's works as examples of the perfection of realism.²⁵ For Fontane, Scott was the *Grosshumorist*, who best exemplified his definition of humor: "Der Humor hat das Darüberstehen, das heiter-souveräne Spiel mit den Erscheinungen dieses Lebens, auf die er herabblickt, zur Voraussetzung. . . . Wo Wilibald Alexis eine ähnliche Position einzunehmen sucht, bleibt er als Kind seiner Zeit und seines Landes, in der Ironie stecken. . . . Er war eben kein Olymper."²⁶ Our

²⁴ P. 275.

²⁵ Letter, Oct. 10, 1889, Vol. XI.

²⁶ P. 217.

author himself softens the tragic effect of a number of his novels by an ironic humor.

Similarly, in the matter of style, Fontane contrasts Scott and Alexis in vivid words: "Der eine ist leicht und glatt, der andere schwer und knorrig; über die Dialoge des einen geht es hin, wie eine Schlittenfahrt über gestampften Schnee, über die des anderen wie eine Staatskarosse durch den märkischen Sand."²⁷ At the same time the critic realizes that this God-given fluency is not the heritage of all and that it is accompanied by drawbacks. Hence, in a certain sense, very conscientious writers, as Tieck, Keller, and Storm are superior to such *Massenproduzenten* as Scott.²⁸ Fontane himself was an author who calculated carefully every word and phrase with an eye, or better, with an ear to its effect. In most German novels he missed grace, humor and real art.

A point of technique in which the poet was particularly interested was the speech and dialogue of characters in the novel. In his own works Fontane has lavished much attention on the conversation of his figures. In this point, too, our critic admires Scott's practice. Referring to the *Heart of Midlothian*, he writes: "Durch das ganze, hundert anderer Vorzüge zu geschweigen, zieht sich eine Gabe, Menschen das Natürliche, immer Richtige sagen zu lassen, die, wenn wir Shakespeare und Goethe aus dem Spiele lassen, kein anderer hat. Ich finde dies das grösste."²⁹ In one instance, at least, Scott is preferred even to Goethe. Fontane believes that Dorothea in Goethe's epic poem speaks in too sophisticated a manner for one of her station in life. The speech of Jeanie Deans in the *Heart of Midlothian*, on the other hand, is entirely genuine.³⁰

Fontane regarded the best English novels as models in the matter of structure. Spielhagen, however, equals them in the composition of *Problematische Naturen* and *Durch Nacht*

²⁷ P. 216.

²⁸ Letter, June 20, 1879, Vol. VI.

²⁹ Letter, Sept. 2, 1868, Vol. VI.

³⁰ P. 219.

zum Licht. In his own fiction the poet was usually little concerned with the structure of the whole work, although he devoted much care to single chapters. Most of Fontane's themes are borrowed from life itself. For the poet *Haupt- und Staatsaktionen* were of little moment. "In meinen ganzen Schreibereien suche ich mich mit den sogenannten Hauptsachen immer schnell abzufinden, um bei den Nebensachen liebevoll, vielleicht zu liebevoll verweilen zu können. Grosse Geschichten interessieren mich in der *Geschichte*; sonst ist mir das Kleinste das Liebste."³¹ The novelist lacked the desire or the need to create dramatic characters or plots. The absence in Fontane's novels of strong, aggressive characters who carve out their own destiny is at least partly due to the author's *Lebensanschauung*. Conscious of their unalterable fate, his figures achieve the mild optimism of resignation. Some would call it pessimism. In this connection it is interesting to note the similarity of our author's philosophy of life to that of his great English contemporary, Thomas Hardy.

The very isolation and independence of Fontane's position as author lends weight and authoritativeness to his utterances concerning the novel. Like many great writers, he had little liking for societies or for literary programs. Fontane was really a solitary figure. It is difficult for the literary historian to classify his novels. There are realistic elements in the author's early historical novels and romantic touches in his late realistic works. The German naturalists tried to claim him as one of them, but without success. The critic could enjoy Scott, and he could appreciate Keller. Fontane's discerning skepticism and his sensitiveness to beauty, wherever found, more than outweigh his lack of regular training; they explain, too, his correct appraisal of more than one ephemeral literary phenomenon. It is to be hoped that before long many of Fontane's critiques will be gathered and published in one volume.

LAMBERT A. SHEARS

³¹ Letter, May 24, 1890, Vol. X.

XVIII. THE SUBTERRANEAN GRAIL PARADISE OF CERVANTES

The *Don Quixote* of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra was written (1606-1615) in ridicule of the chivalric romance at that time so overwhelmingly popular. The sickening exaggeration of these latter-day tales of knighthood apparently not only cloyed Cervantes but excited his sense of the ludicrous as well, giving him the idea of turning upon this type of story his powers of subtle satire. Since Cervantes was a man of by no means great academic erudition, what he knew of the background of knightly romance he had doubtless secured in the everyday way of popular reading. Certain high lights must naturally enough have struck his attention in his perusal of current tales of chivalry, and such came in for especial attention in his *Don Quixote*. Each episode of the book has, indeed, its more serious counterpart in the literary background which inspired Cervantes to his task.

That the great Spanish satirist would not fail to include in the phantasmagoria of his hero's disordered brain, unhinged by continued contemplation of a by-gone romantic age, some glimpse of the most glorious eidolon of chivalric idealism, it is but reasonable to assume. Even from the general subject-matter of the satire, therefore, we have every reason to expect somewhere within it a burlesque of the legendary paradise of the grail.

During the late middle ages and the early renaissance the beautiful legend of the grail, as told by Chrestien de Troyes and Wolfram von Eschenbach, had undergone, with numerous related legends, what Grimm has termed "*Bergen-trückung*," that is to say, a transference of scene from the surface of the earth, often the summit of a lofty mountain, to a subterranean region, usually the interior of a hollow mountain. Thus was reflected in popular mythology the

disapproval of the church for this essentially pagan paradise, in its banishment to a nether limbo, to a region supposed to be the abode of evil spirits. The grail realm came, indeed, at length to be regarded as a sinful transcendental paradise of the departed Arthur and his knights, buried somewhere from the sight of men, until the idea finally passed over into the frankly sensual renaissance legend of the Venus Mount.¹

The popularity of the legend of the grail did not seem, however, to diminish, but rather to increase, as it thus degenerated, if we can judge from the many allusions and descriptions with which the literature of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries abounds. No tale of knighthood from the *Wartburgkrieg* on was quite complete without it. It is not at all surprising, therefore, to find that Cervantes' humorous review of things chivalric does not overlook so salient a feature. As is to be expected, the Spaniard's rendering of the legend is, partly from the very nature of his work and partly no doubt from his scanty knowledge of the earlier sources, somewhat distorted and meagre. It lacks, too, that unity and beauty which give to the legend of the grail its unequaled charm, but there remains enough of the old to make the background unmistakable.

Cervantes' representation of the tale of the grail-paradise appears in the second part of *Don Quixote*, in chapters XXII and XXIII. The somewhat prolix account I shall, for the sake of clearness in discussion, paraphrase, in the hope, too, that its outstanding similarities may thus more forcibly strike the attention of the reader.

The doughty Don Quixote de la Mancha, the flower of existing chivalry, hears of a famous cave, the Cave of Montesinos, and resolves to explore its wonders. To this end he, with two companions, his faithful Sancho Panza and a young scholar, arrive at the mouth of the pit, equipped with a considerable length of rope for the purposes of the

¹ Cf. the author's *Tannhäuser and the Mountain of Venus*, chapters I and II.

descent. Don Quixote is lowered, amid much misgiving on the part of his associates, into the bowels of the pit, where he remains upwards of an hour. When at length he is drawn up, he is in a state of coma, and is revived only after considerable effort on the part of his two friends. Upon being questioned as to his experiences, the worthy knight finally tells a most remarkable tale, which runs as follows. Part way down the cavern he had, at length, come to a ledge in the rock upon which he had paused. Coiling the rope by which he had been lowered and which his companions continued to let down even after he had ceased his descent, he lay down upon it to rest, and straightway fell asleep. Soon he awoke to find himself confronted by a marvellous sight. By pinching himself and otherwise making certain that he was not dreaming, he felt at length convinced that the vision before him was real. He was in a beautiful meadow of greenest grass and in the distance he saw a wonderful castle built all of crystal. While he stood marvelling at this spectacle, he beheld an aged man with flowing beard and robes of purple coming towards him. This man told the astonished Don Quixote that he was Montesinos, the guardian and keeper of the castle, which was enchanted. When Don Quixote had been conducted within the castle he saw other strange things. Here dwelt a large rout of men and women who had been there enchanted for upwards of five hundred years. A few had returned, Montesinos said, to the world above; others had arrived but lately therefrom. In the middle of the great hall of the castle stood a magnificent marble tomb and upon this cenotaph reposed a figure of a man, not of bronze or marble, but of flesh and blood. This was the knight Durandarte, killed at the battle of Roncevaux, in the reign of Charlemagne. Nor is Durandarte as one dead in this enchanted realm. Even as Don Quixote beheld him he stirs and speaks, as though from a deep sleep. Next our knight sees a long procession of maidens coming into the hall, followed by a lady, Balerma, the beloved of Durandarte, who carries in her outstretched hands the heart

of her lover. Montesinos assures Don Quixote that they have all been thus enchanted by Merlin, and that they await a deliverer who shall break the charm. He also tells Don Quixote that Queen Guinevere is there. The time soon approaches when, as Montesinos says, Don Quixote must return to the world above, and with this the story ends.²

To one familiar with the legend of the grail paradise and its later nuance, the legend of the Mountain of Venus, the tale of Don Quixote offers many points of striking similarity.

First in importance, we are dealing here with a very evident case of "Bergentrückung," with an enchanted court below the surface of the earth. The grail realm was often so represented in later medieval and early renaissance accounts. Thus in the *Wartburgkrieg*:

Felicia, Sibillen kint,
und Juno, die mit Artus in dem berge sint.³

And Caesarius von Heisterbach: "In monte Gyber; ibi eum habet dominus meus Rex Arcturus."⁴ Likewise in a passage from Dietrich of Niem: "Ad quatuor miliaria prope [near Puteoli] cernitur mons sanctae Barbarae in plano campo eminens et rotundus, quem delusi multi Alemani in vulgari appellant der Gral, asserentes prout etiam in illis regionibus plerique autumant, quod in illo multi sunt homines vivi et victuri usque ad diem iudicii, qui tripudiis et deliciis sunt dediti, et ludibriis diabolicis perpetuo irretiti."⁵ And an old chronicle tells of the youth Helias (Knight of the Swan) as "gekomen uthe dem Berghe, dar Venus in den Grale iss."⁶ By all this is meant that the place is the transcendental abode of departed spirits, a later Valhalla from which occasionally some return to the world above, as in the story of the *Schwanritter*.⁷

² *Adventures of Don Quixote de la Mancha*, trans. Charles Jarvis.

³ Von der Hagen, *Minnesinger*, III, 182.

⁴ *Dialogus Miraculorum*, ed. Strange, Bk. XII, chap. xii.

⁵ Schilter, *Thesaurus Antiquitatum*, vol. III, under "gral."

⁶ Caspar Abel, *Sammlung Etllicher . . . Alten Chronicken*, p. 56.

⁷ Barto, *op. cit.*, chapter III.

Secondly, we have here, as in all accounts of the grail realm and the *Venusberg*, a large number of men and women. Through degeneration, this idea, as first it appears in stories of the grail, later turned into that of a realm of sensual love. The fundamental conception is, however, that of a complete court, removed unaltered to the other-world. In the *Wariburgkrieg*:

Wie Artus in dem berge lebe und sine helde maere,
der si mir hundert hat genant,
die er mit im vuorte von Britanien lant.⁸

Thus too the account of Dietrich of Niem, cited above, tells of how a great number of people are living in a mountain and will continue to live there to the day of doom, and are given over to wantonness.

That this is the realm of the dead, of departed spirits, is evident from the presence of the *sleeping* Durandarte and from the fact that the whole court has been here apparently alive for over five hundred years. In all the principal accounts of the grail realm and of the *Venusberg*, as well as in the closely related legend of the *Schwanritter*, we find either allusions or direct statements that the inhabitants are asleep, or are dead, which, in mythology, amounts to the same thing.⁹ Lohengrin comes from the place asleep:

. . . ein wizer swan
flouc uf dem wazzer dort her dan
und nach im zoch ein schiffelin
an einer ketene silberin . . .
ein ritter in dem schiffe slief.¹⁰

In Keller's "Romvart" the idea is carried a step farther, in the line: "Hie furet ein swan ein schiffelin vber mer zu kvnic artus hofe vnd einen toten ritter drinne."¹¹ Johann Fischart writes of the Venus Mount: "Dieweil man bey uns Teut-

⁸ *Wariburgkrieg*, ed. Simrock, stanza 84.

⁹ On mythological identity of sleep and death, see article by Müller, *Germania*, I. 430 ff.

¹⁰ Konrad von Würzburg, *Der Schwanritter*, ed. Roth, II. 107 ff.

¹¹ P. 670.

schen vil geschriben Gedichts vom Venusberg bey Brisach/ und ihren darinn schlaffenden Rittern/singet und umtraget."¹³ Türilin's *Crone* puts into the mouth of the king of the grail realm the words:

Ich bin tot, swie ich niht tot schin,
Unde daz gesinde min
Daz ist ouch tot mit mir . . . ¹⁴

In the "Perceval le Gallois" the knight is borne in on a ship *asleep on a bier*, laid out as though dead.¹⁴ Barbarossa in the old legend sits asleep in his underground realm, and Arthur, after his *mortal* wound, is borne away to the realm of his sister Argante to be healed.¹⁵

In the grail legend and in the story of the Mountain of Venus there are frequent instances of the temporary return of some of its inhabitants to the mortal realm. Lohengrin (Knight of the Swan), Scaef, Arthur and Tannhäuser are the most noteworthy examples. In the *Wartburgkrieg* we are told explicitly that at the ringing of a bell certain of the knights of the grail are summoned to the world above.

Artus hat kempfen uz gesant,
sit er von diser welte schiet, in Kristen lant.
Hort, wie die selben botschaft eine glocke
Wol über tusent raste warp¹⁶

So too in the tales of the *Venusberg* we also hear of new arrivals in that realm, particularly in the later accounts.¹⁷ Cervantes has introduced this feature in his mention of the few who have returned to earth and have been there transformed into lakes and rivers, and in his mention of Dulcinea and her maidens but lately arrived in the enchanted realm.

One of the striking incidents in Wolfram von Eschenbach's account of the grail castle is a procession of maidens into the

¹³ "De Magorum Daemonomania," translation² by Fischart, p. 201.

¹⁴ Stutt. Lit. Ver., vol. XXVII, ll. 29532 ff.

¹⁵ Cf. Barto, *Jour. Eng. and Germ. Phil.*, XIX, 190 ff.

¹⁶ Maynadier, *The Arthur of the English Poets*, p. 57.

¹⁷ *op. cit.*, stanza 85.

¹⁷ Barto, *Tannhäuser*, etc., pp. 18 ff.

hall, followed by one in particular who carries the grail itself. This Cervantes seems to have reproduced, probably at second hand, from romances embodying the same idea, in the procession of maidens all in black, followed by Belerma, bearing, not the grail, but the heart of her lover. In Wolfram the account reads:

Uf einem gruenen schmardi
 truoc si den wunsch von pardis,
 bede wurzeln unde ris.
 das was ein dinc, daz hiez der Gral, . . .
 Vorem grale komen licht:
 diu warn von armer koste nieht;
 sehs glas lanc luter wolgetan,
 dar inne balsem der wol bran.
 do si komen von der tür
 ze rehter maze alsus her für,
 mit zühten neic diu künigin
 und al diu juncfröwelin
 die da truogen balsemvaz.:
 mit zuht die sibene giengen dan
 zuo den ahzechen ersten . . .
 zwelve iewederthalben ir,
 diu maget mit der krone
 stuont da harte schone.¹⁸

Cervantes account reads: "I turned my head, and saw, through the crystal walls of the palace, a procession of beautiful damsels, in two lines, all attired in mourning. . . . These were followed by a lady . . . clad also in black . . . who carried in her hand a fine linen handkerchief in which I could discern a human heart, withered and dry like that of a mummy."¹⁹

The grail was characterised by its miraculous power to support all those who lived within the sphere of its influence; thus the whole court in the grail castle is fed by it, and thus the wounded Anfortas is kept alive despite his mortal injury.

¹⁸ *Wolframs von Eschenbach, Parsival*, Martin, 235, ll. 20 ff.

¹⁹ Jarvis translation, p. 516,

spise warm, spise kalt,
 spise niwe unt dar zuo alt,
 daz zam unt daz wilde . . .
 da het der kiusche und der vraz
 alle geliche genuoc . . .
 allez von des grales kraft.
 diu werde geselleschaft
 hete wirtschafft vome gral.²⁰

True, the idea is here rather vividly and materially expressed, as is Wolfram's way; others give a more vague and spiritual interpretation, but with both agrees in principle Cervantes' account: "'I hope,' said the scholar, 'your worship was not without food all this time?' 'Not one mouthful did I taste,' said the knight, 'nor was I sensible of hunger.' 'What, then, do not the enchanted eat?' said the scholar. 'No,' answered Don Quixote . . . 'And pray, sir,' said Sancho, 'do they never sleep?' 'Certainly never,' said Don Quixote: 'at least, during the three days that I have been amongst them, not one of them has closed an eye, nor have I slept myself.'"²¹ In short, some supernatural power makes full provision for all the needs of the court of Montesinos, just as the grail for its court.

Still another point of similarity between the story of Cervantes and the *Venusberg-Grail* is to be found in the miraculously swift passage of time within the enchanted region. Particularly in various accounts of the *Venusberg* is this feature present. Thus Hemmerlin in his account of the paradisial mountain writes: "A well-meaning old man warned the Swiss and his companions at the entrance not to stay longer than a year, lest they be obliged to remain there forever. At the close of the year he repeated his warning to the terror-stricken visitors for whom the time had passed as though it had been a month."²² In Türlin's "Crone" the old king of the grail realm says:

²⁰ Wolfram, *loc. cit.*

²¹ Jarvis translation, p. 517.

²² Dübi, *Zs. des Ver. f. Volkskunde*, XVII, 252.

Daz ez morgen waere ein jar,
Daz er waere komen dar²³

Cervantes' account runs as follows on this point: "Here the scholar said: 'I cannot imagine, Signor Don Quixote, how it was possible, having been so short a space of time below, that your worship should have seen so many things, and have heard and said so much.' 'How long, then, may it be since I descended?' quoth Don Quixote. 'A little above an hour,' answered Sancho. 'That cannot be,' replied Don Quixote, 'for night came on, and was followed by morning three times successively; so that I must have sojourned three days in those remote and hidden parts.'"²⁴

The guardian of the grail castle, the fisher-king, the faithful Eckart of the *Venusberg* are here represented by the aged Montesinos and by Durandarte. The former is described as aged, with flowing beard and venerable mien; the latter lives on in this enchanted realm, mortally wounded and awaiting his deliverance, as did the fisher-king of the grail-castle. Montesinos tells Don Quixote that they await some one who shall effect a deliverance from the spell which holds them. Thus the grail court awaited the coming of a deliverer (Parzival) who, by asking the fateful question, should break the charm. The spiritual significance of the question-motif in this episode Cervantes has overlooked, probably because it had largely faded out of the accounts with which he was familiar. But of Don Quixote he says: "Behold in your presence that great knight, of whom the sage Merlin has foretold so many wonders—that same Don Quixote de la Mancha, I say . . . by whose prowess and favor it may, perhaps, be our good fortune to be released from the spells by which we are here held in confinement."²⁵ Like Parzival, too, Don Quixote must after a time leave the enchanted court.

One of the most striking resemblances between Cervantes'

²³ *loc. cit.*

²⁴ Jarvis translation, 517.

²⁵ *ibid.* p. 516.

account and the story of the *Grail-Venusberg* is the method by which Don Quixote reaches the enchanted realm. True, he descends into a cave, which conveys the idea of the place as being below the earth, but, in addition, he falls asleep. As has already been pointed out, sleep and death are in mythology synonymous symbols, and one of the most common features of later accounts of the *Venusberg* is that the mortal who visits it falls asleep and awakes therein. This is but a symbolical way of expressing the idea that the place is transcendental, is the abode of departed spirits, just as is conveyed by the sleeping Lohengrin and Scaef. Scaef comes from the other world asleep on a sheaf of wheat, and returns dead; similarly the hero in "Perceval le Gallois" comes asleep, laid out like a corpse. Fischart says:

Oder wollen wir wecken auff
Inn Venusberg den schläffrigen Hauf²⁶

That we are here dealing with the Arthurian grail-paradise is further attested by the mention of the necromancer Merlin, Queen Guinevere and Quintoniana, cupbearer to Launcelot. Even Launcelot would seem, by implication, to be here, since it is said of his cupbearer that she served him "when he came from Britain."²⁷

As I have indicated before, it is obvious that Cervantes was not familiar or dealing directly with sources in writing the account here under discussion. He was simply handling the story as it had come down to him through the welter of later chivalric romance. In this connection his own words are of interest. In the chapter next following the ones which we have been considering we find the following bit of literary mummery: "The translator of this great work from the original of its first author, Cid Hamet Benengeli, says, when he came to the chapter that records the adventure of the Cave of Montesinos, he found on the margin these words

²⁶ "Ernewerte Beschreibung vom Herrn Petern von Stauffenberg," ll. 55 ff.

²⁷ Jarvis translation, p. 518.

in Hamet's own hand-writing . . . 'I write it without affirming either its truth or falsehood; therefore, discerning and judicious reader, judge for thyself, as I neither can nor ought to do more—unless it be just to apprise thee that Don Quixote, on his death-bed, is said to have acknowledged that this adventure was all a fiction, invented only because it accorded and squared with the tales he had been accustomed to read in his favorite books.' ²²

It is indeed striking how many essential features of the old story of the grail have been preserved but little changed even to the time of the *Don Quixote*, so that in a burlesqued and popular account such as this we can yet see the original with little effort. It is true that Cervantes has made certain substitutions, introducing Spanish legendary characters such as Montesinos, Durandarte and Belerma, but this is for several reasons to be expected. In the first place, such a change would increase the appeal to Spanish readers. And again, the account, as Cervantes gives it, lends itself somewhat better to humorous exaggeration, such as Durandarte's living after his heart has been cut out, the laughable story of the sending of the heart, and the picture of Belerma carrying in her hands, instead of the holy grail, the mummified heart of her lover. These modifications are, however, only minor, and in no way cloud the outlines of the original story which the great Spaniard wished to satirize.

PHILIP STEPHAN BARTO

²² *ibid.* pp. 520, 521.

XIX. UNPUBLISHED POEMS BY BEAUMARCHAIS AND HIS SISTER

Only in a few favored instances did Beaumarchais' minor poems rise to the level of true poetry. Yet it would be a misconception of their significance and historical value to decry them as devoid of importance. They illustrate his talent for improvisation, the causticity of his ready wit; they unveil the complex character of this man, who, by some, was villified as a daring and unscrupulous adventurer, and acclaimed by others as "bon père, bon mari, bon maître, ami sincère."¹ Ever alert in pugnacious attack or cautious defense, his irrepressible and scintillating repartee reminds one of the flash of a stiletto striking with an almost invisible but mortal wound. Everywhere in his *Mémoires* and plays this pungency flavors the dusty records of practical contentions or a romantic intrigue and even his minor poems are not devoid of it.

But these occasional improvisations, ephemeral satires and miscellaneous compositions only serve to show this quality in a lesser degree. Beaumarchais, no doubt, improvised with whimsical ease, but—strange enough—his best witticisms are those which he laboriously changed and perfected, not those inspired by the effervescence of the moment.² He never seems to have been eager to preserve these songs and epigrams for which he had so brilliant a facility. Gudin de la Brenellerie, his secretary, biographer, and editor even claims that he persistently refused to write them down: "Jamais nous n'avons pu le déterminer à les écrire."³ But here Gudin amiably exaggerated his great friend's modesty, a virtue not

¹ From a quatrain by Gudin de la Brenellerie for Beaumarchais' portrait. Cf. E. Lintilhac, *Beaumarchais*, 1887.

² See on this Lintilhac, *op. cit.* the second part.

³ Ed. Gudin, 1809, VII, 153.

over-conspicuous in his character. At least a certain number of them have been preserved, although not all of these are published. One of the tasks of the future editor of Beaumarchais' works—let us devoutly hope that he will soon appear—will be to gather both from manuscripts and from printed sources, his rather extensive correspondence and his minor verse, which will help to complete the picture of an author about whose real character even modern biographers disagree profoundly.⁴

Since the most complete edition of Beaumarchais' works issued by Ed. Fournier in 1876, several discoveries have successively added to the bulk of his minor poems.⁵ Moreover, E. Lintilhac, in his biography states that he has seen among the papers of Beaumarchais, belonging to his descendants, a number of unpublished poems, of which he has sometimes given the text or the title with a few lines.⁶ Other poems may be recovered from the manuscript *Recueils* of the time, for it must be observed that Beaumarchais' poems must have been circulated in manuscript either anonymously or in his own name. An epigram would have been of little use if kept among the author's papers. Or, again, he would

⁴ See, for instance, A. Bettelheim, *Beaumarchais, une biographie*, 1886 and E. Lintilhac, *op. cit.*

⁵ In 1883, Henri Cordier in his *Bibliographie de Beaumarchais (Appendix)* revealed an unknown *Chanson à mes Amis*. Paul Bonnefon added a variant version of the *Galerie des Femmes* and pointed out that an anonymous song which had already appeared in Raunie's *Chansonnier historique du dix huitième Siècle* must be ascribed to Beaumarchais: "*Chanson de M. de Beaumarchais qui l'a présentée au Roi et à la Reine*." See P. Bonnefon, *Beaumarchais* 1887.

⁶ He prints an *Impromptu* of four lines which Beaumarchais wrote at the age of seventeen (p. 20). On p. 73 he gives a letter to Wilkes partly in verse. He refers to unpublished poems on p. 32, note 6: translations from Tibullus; on p. 57, note 7, an epigram; on p. 123, note 1, a short poem addressed to Talleyrand; on p. 131, note 1, verses on the new invention of the Velocifère; on p. 131, *Chanson pour l'anniversaire d'Eugénie*.

de Loménie, *Beaumarchais et son temps*, 1856, vol. II, p. 522, printed a *Romance qui doit être chantée lentement et avec un grand sentiment*, which seems from Beaumarchais' hand.

naturally send out the verses addressed to certain persons with whom he was acquainted; and these persons were generally not averse to having them copied, especially after the famous *Mémoires* had made Beaumarchais the hero of the nation.

A manuscript in my possession dating from the end of the eighteenth century bound in two volumes entitled respectively *Recueil de Poésies* and *Recueil d'Épigrammes*,⁷ contains an epigram by Beaumarchais against Mirabeau, not found in the most complete edition of his works and which seems unpublished. It is followed by Mirabeau's answer. The enmity between the two authors dates from the end of 1785 when Mirabeau with his flaming eloquence attacked Beaumarchais as an exploiter of the needs of the poor in his *Sur les Actions de la Compagnie des Eaux de Paris*. At that time Beaumarchais sent but few and blunt arrows against his "lion-maned" adversary and, much to the surprise of his contemporaries, remained silent as "un homme las qui se retire."⁸ However, he did not forget and when in 1787 Mirabeau published his *Dénonciation de l'Agiotage au Roi et à l'Assemblée des Notables*⁹ he launched against him the following epigram:

Sur l'ouvrage de M. Mirabeau, intitulé *Dénonciation de l'Agiotage au Roi et à l'Assemblée des Notables*, au mois de Mars 1787. Par M. de Beaumarchais.

Puisse ton homélie, o pesant Mirabeau,
Ecraser les fripons qui gâtent nos affaires:
Un voleur converti doit devenir bourreau

⁷ In this manuscript are also found other unpublished poems, for instance of Gresset. See my article "Unpublished poems of Gresset" in *Modern Philology*.

⁸ See Lintilhac, *op. cit.*, p. 108 and *Oeuvres de Beaumarchais*, ed. Fournier, p. 663: *Réponse à l'ouvrage qui a pour titre: Sur les Actions de la Comp. des Eaux de Paris*.

⁹ This pamphlet appeared on February 20, 1787. Cf. *Mémoires sur Mirabeau*, 1823, III, 83 sq. Two answers were published: Rulhières.—*Considérations sur la dénonciation de l'Agiotage*.—and, Anon.—*Réponse à M. le Comte de Mirabeau sur sa Dénonciation de l'Agiotage et à l'Auteur des Considérations sur le même ouvrage*.

Et prêcher sur l'échelle en pendant ses confrères.¹⁰
 Réponse de M. le Comte de Mirabeau à M. de Beaumarchais.

Pour un bourreau tu m'a choisi,
 Un roué s'y connaît sans doute:
 Mais ne crois pas que je redoute,
 Le criminel que j'ai flétri.¹¹

MS. 15027 of the Bibliothèque Nationale contains several poems in Beaumarchais' handwriting among which is found an *Epttre à mon ami* which can be called unpublished. It is rather astonishing, however, to note that in this poem Beaumarchais has plagiarised himself. It resembles closely a part of his poem *Les Délices de Plaisance* (Oeuvres, p. 773) which he sent to the financier Paris—Duverney. Yet, the *Epttre à mon Ami* shows considerable differences and additions in its text; and is dedicated to another of his friends whom he calls "Cher Monville." This Monville is very probably Thomas Charles Gaston Boissel, baron de Monville (1763–1832).¹² The Monville of whom the *Epttre* speaks was a poet for Beaumarchais implores him: "Invoque ton Phébus. . . ." He also wrote fables which have remained unpublished and three plays of which he had all the printed copies destroyed shortly before his death. The *Epttre à mon Ami* must have been written after 1783—when Monville was twenty years old—for the text makes it clear that he was no longer a boy; and before 1790, for the whole tone of the poem is so lighthearted and Epicurean in spirit that Beaumarchais could hardly have written it during the storm of the French Revolution which ruined him—endangering his life at times and causing his banishment to Germany. I give the poem here, italicising the additions and changes from *Les Délices de Plaisance*.

¹⁰ *Recueil d'Epigrammes*, p. 133.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 136.

¹² See, *Biographie Gem. Michoud*.—Querard, *Suppl.* II, p. 119.—After the Revolution he became a magistrate and later Pair de France.

Eptre à mon Ami

*Cher Monville, apprends-moi quelle heureuse magie
Soumet à les plaisirs les arts, les tons, les goûts,—
Quoique divers entre eux, on les voit s'unir tous
Pour obéir à ton génie.*

*Un instant développe à ton oeil pénétrant
Un talent étrange dont tu fais ton talent;*

*Ton ingénieuse industrie
Vient à bout sans effort et même en te jouant
De la plus abstraite entreprise.*

*Heureux mortel, phénomène vivant,
Apprends—moi donc quel Dieu te favorise . . .*

Tu servais autrefois l'impérieux enfant

*Qui règne sur toute la terre:
Tu le traitas, dit-on, très cavalièrement.*

*Un système aussi téméraire
Méritait de sa part un juste châtiment:
J'admire ton bonheur, ton audace sut plaire,
Ce Dieu que tu brusquais n'en fut que plus charmant,
Il parsema de fleurs chaque instant de ta vie,
Le plaisir qui le suit, sur tes pas voltigeant,
Mit bientôt en tes bras, Fanny Laïs, Silvie:
Trompé par elles et les trompant,
Jouer fut ta philosophie.*

*Notre maître Epicure en a fait tout autant!
Depuis ce temps un dieu plus sévère et décent,
Ami, te mène enfin en triomphe à sa suite:*

*A son aspect peu caressant
Souvent le tendre amour soupire et prend la fuite;
Mais de la jeune Eglé la beauté, la conduite,*

*Ont arrêté ce dieu charmant;
En sa faveur l'hymen est devenu galant:*

*Les jeux, les ris, troupe chérie,
S'empressent à former sa cour,
Les Grâces auprès d'elle ont fixé leur séjour
Et je sais que Vénus, la voyant accomplie,
A dit en rougissant d'un peu de jalousie:
Quoi, ne suis—je donc plus la mère de l'amour?
Il n'est plus temps que ton désir chancelle,
Ami, crois-moi, tu possèdes un trésor
Que l'on n'acquiert pour argent ni pour or.
Rends grâces aux dieux qui la firent si belle*

*Et la douèrent à l'envi:
Jouis de tout mais n'aime qu'elle;*

*Tu devras ton bonheur aux conseils d'un ami.
 Unie à ces plaisirs les arts que tu cultives:
 Ne deviens—tu pas possesseur¹³
 Avec autant de qualités actives,
 De tous les biens de l'esprit et du coeur?
 Garde-toi d'éplucher mes rimes redoublées
 Mes syllabes peut être au hasard enfilées.
 Invoque ton Phébus! Lorsque le coeur écrit
 La plume court toujours, l'amitié la conduit.*

An unpublished poem by Beaumarchais' fourth sister, Julie Caron, shows a similitude of expression with the preceding *Epttre*, which is a sufficient proof that either she echoed her brother's verse or that he knew hers:

*Malésieu, prodige étonnant,
 Dis par quelle heureuse magie
 Tu réunis les goûts et les talents;
 Comment les arts, entr'eux si différents,
 Obéissent à ton génie . . .*

These lines are almost identical with the first lines of the *Epttre à mon Ami* printed above.

It is well known that Julie de Beaumarchais wrote verse¹⁴ and helped her brother in the composition of the *Mémoires* against Goezman.¹⁵ She published anonymously and at a few copies a volume: *L'Existence réfléchie ou coup d'oeil moral sur le prix de la Vie*, composed of thoughts borrowed from Young and other authors interspersed with some original remarks. M. de Loménie who has seen her manuscript states that it was followed by some prayers and by a paraphrase of the *Miserere*, probably also by her.¹⁶ Both

¹³ Erased MS correction: N'es-tu pas l'heureux possesseur?

¹⁴ Goezman in his *Mémoire* against Beaumarchais says: Le sieur Caron emprunta d'une de ses femmes le nom de Beaumarchais qu'il a prêté à une de ses soeurs.—Cited by Loménie, I, p. 90.

¹⁵ Cf. de Loménie.—I, Chap. XIV.

¹⁶ The booklet by Julie de Beaumarchais has been ascribed to a certain Demandre by the *Biogr. Gén. Mich.* but de Loménie testifies that the manuscript is in her handwriting. She speaks of her book in her correspondence and in her will. De Loménie, I, p. 64-65, and p. 371 gives verses by her. See, also Lintilhac, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

M. de Loménie and M. Lintilhac have printed some of her verse. To this I can add a short poem derived from the Manuscript *Recueil de Poésies*, described above:

(P. 96): *Portrait de Mlle de Malésieu par Mlle de Beaumarchais.*

Toi qui, dès le printemps de l'Age,
Sais réunir à l'enjouement
La raison sévère du sage
Et le charme du sentiment,
Toi, dont l'esprit avec courage
Va se portant avidement
Vers la doctrine du savant
Et lui rend un sincère hommage;
Malésieu, prodige étonnant,
Dis par quelle heureuse magie
Tu réunis le goût et les talents;
Comment les arts, entr'eux si différents,
Obéissent à ton génie.
Tu possèdes ces dons charmants,
Qui font naître l'amour et captivent l'estime:
Sous ton heureux pinceau la nature s'anime,
La harpe sous tes doigts, trouble, agite nos sens.
Mais tous ces biens ne font pas ton mérite:
Un esprit juste, un caractère heureux,
Docile à tout, que rien n'irrite,
Un coeur sensible et généreux,
Une âme douce et complaisante,
Une figure intéressante,
Voilà tous les présents que tu reçus des dieux.
Heureux l'époux qui pourra faire éclore
Un sentiment délicieux
Dans ton âme naïve encore!
Fidèle à tes devoirs, peu sensible à l'amour,
Tu ne connus jamais la douceur du retour,
Mais, s'il est un mortel qui doive un jour te plaire
Je chante son bonheur; c'est à lui de se taire.

GUSTAVE L. VAN ROOSBROECK

XX. LUIS VIVES AND RABELAIS' PEDAGOGY

In an article entitled "Ce que Rabelais doit à Erasme et à Budé," published in the *Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France*, in 1904, Mr. Louis Delaruelle points out in very definite terms that Rabelais, in his writings, was not original, did not attempt to be, and that his most novel and daring ideas were not the product of personal thought but a reproduction of contemporary humanistic expressions. The author then entered into a discussion of the methods of investigation most likely to yield results and stated that a complete investigation of the humanistic literature of Rabelais' days would probably reveal many sources of the latter's inspiration and philosophy.

During the last twenty years the patient researches of enthusiastic "Rabelaisiens" have fully vindicated Mr. Delaruelle's opinion. They have cleared up much of Rabelais' life that was obscure; they have accounted for almost all the famous myths of Gargantua's history; they have largely contributed to our knowledge of the works, ancient as well as contemporary with Rabelais, that were laid under contribution by the genial French writer.

Working along the lines indicated by Mr. Delaruelle I came across an English translation, by Dr. Foster Watson, of Luis Vives' *De Disciplinis* published at Antwerp in 1531. On going over the book my attention was called to certain ideas of Vives on education which Rabelais had expressed in his book Gargantua, and on closer examination I came to the conclusion that although there seemed to be no literal parallels between the two texts yet the similarity of ideas was close enough to justify a more careful investigation into the matter.

It is evident that in such a comparison we shall have to remember that Rabelais had many ideas in common with

the humanists of the times and that his theories on education were, on the whole, those of the Renaissance, but it seemed reasonable to assume that if some of Rabelais' ideas on education have been, so far, considered as original by competent authorities and are found now to have been formulated by Vives previously to the publication of the *Gargantua*, that either Rabelais obtained his material from Vives or that the authorities were mistaken.

That some of Rabelais' pedagogical ideas were original is affirmed by no less an authority than Mr. Jean Plattard, who, in collaboration with Mr. Abel Lefranc, wrote a chapter on the education of *Gargantua* in the critical edition of Rabelais' works which appeared in 1912. Mr. Plattard states the following:

The letter of *Gargantua* to Pantagruel expresses the enthusiasm of the humanists for the progress accomplished by the Renaissance. It also described their ideas of culture. It failed to take into account Rabelais' individual ideas which were the results of his experience and his temperament. Therefore it is not surprising that he should have taken up those ideas in his *Gargantua* to develop them freely. There he shows originality. Others before him had advocated discarding the insipid texts of the middle ages and sterile scholasticism to return to the sources of science, that is, to the writers of antiquity. Others had conceived the idea of an encyclopaedic education; but among his predecessors neither Erasmus nor Budé, nor Agrippa had imagined means or methods adapted to secure this vast and diversified culture. Rabelais contributes the elements of a new pedagogy. One may find in the *Institution of Gargantua* three ideas that one would seek in vain among the pedagogical treatises of the epoch.

The first is a desire to associate education to life. That is, to take in realism and in the incidents of everyday life the material for instruction such as, for instance, *Gargantua's* field excursions and close observation of nature; his visits to shops, artisans, druggists, etc.

The second is the union of physical, intellectual and moral culture, that is, the education of the body carried on side by side with the education of the mind.

The third is the introduction of hygiene in education. The education of *Gargantua* carries with it the idea of hygiene and dieting; hygiene governs the time of rising, working, eating, and sleeping; the nature and duration of exercise, and the nature of food. The physician attends to all the needs of the body and the normal functions of its organs; dieting is adapted to atmospheric conditions.

I shall now turn to Professor Watson's translation of Vives' work on education¹ and give excerpts of what, in my opinion, were possible sources of Rabelais' program of Gargantua's education. I shall group these selections into three divisions so as to correspond with Mr. Plattard's ideas of Rabelais' originality.

He who would advance still further must study outward nature by close observation, and this will be as it were a pleasant recreation. All that is wanted is a certain power of observation. So he will observe the nature of things in the heavens, in cloudy and in clear weather, in the plains, on the mountains, in the woods. Hence he will seek out and get to know, many things from those who inhabit those spots. Let him have recourse, for instance, to gardeners, husbandmen, shepherds and hunters for this is what Pliny and other great authors undoubtedly did . . . Such students bring great advantage to husbandry, for the culture of palatable fruits, for food and for drinks and in the remedies and medicines for the recovery of health (pp. 170, 171).

By this time a man of age, ability and learning has become ripener in knowledge and experience of things. He should now begin to consider more closely human life and take an interest in the arts and inventions of men . . . All these topics must be included in an encyclopaedic course of knowledge, and in summarised form . . . There is no need of the school to teach these subjects but there is need that the pupil should cultivate a keenness for hearing and knowing about these matters. He should not be ashamed to enter into shops and factories, and to ask questions from craftsmen, and get to know about the details of their work . . . Charles Virulus was the head of the Lilian Gymnasium at Louvain, and because he had many boys entrusted to his care, men of different callings in life came to see their sons or relatives in his school . . . Before their arrival he would read and meditate upon his visitor's particular kind of work. Then he would come to the table prepared to delight his guests by conversing on matters familiar to him, and he would induce him to talk on his own affairs (pp. 208-210).

The teacher will read thoughtfully all these authors unfolding the secrets of Nature, and by selecting from them, he will put together for his pupils a work supplying the foundations of nature study, with such clearness and brevity of method as to enable them to clearly comprehend and grasp these subjects. First he will speak of the four material elements, first in their simple forms then with what is mixed and incomplete. Next come the phenomena engendered in the air, which the Greeks term meteora;

¹ *Vives: On Education*, tr. by Foster Watson, Camb. Univ. Press, 1913.

then stones; then all which has life, on life itself, on metals and all mineral bodies; on herbs, fruits, trees, quadrupeds, birds, fish and insects (p. 213).

These extracts, and others which space will not allow me to include, cover practically every point in Gargantua's so-called practical education. The second point is the union of physical and intellectual training. This is what Vives says:

But inasmuch as the powers of our minds and bodies are not only limited but sometimes weak and feeble, we must give them food and recreation so they may be able to accomplish further work. Boys must exercise their bodies frequently for that age demands growth and the development of the strength which has been acquired. In the same way they must not be pressed too much or driven to study, but they must be allowed some respite from attention lest they should begin to hate work before they begin to love it . . . There are games which combine honor and pleasure, such as throwing the javelin, playing ball or running. The aim of such games is to promote the growth of the body not to make boys wild and ferocious, and to attain what Cicero most desired from the gods, *mens sana in corpore sano* (p. 121).

When the weather will not allow them to exercise their bodies out of doors, or in the case of those whose health will not permit them to take part in games, then happy and pleasant talks will afford great delight . . . Sometimes also a fairly concentrated indoor game should be permitted which will exercise their minds, their judgments and their memories, such as that of draughts and chess. They should have porches and wide halls in which to recreate themselves in rainy weather (p. 122).

Relaxation from studies must be provided for, since the judgment is far more vivid if the mind is absolutely fresh. Running, leaping, and in a word all physical exercises should be pursued steadfastly and vigorously at intervals (p. 300).

As to the third point, that of hygiene, the parallel is as follows:

The body must not be neglected and brought up in dirt and filth for nothing is more detrimental both to the health of the body and to that of the mind. A system of good nourishment conduces very much in every way to the sharpness of the mind and the strength of the memory. Food should be taken at suitable times of the day and should be varied to suit the constitution of every individual so that no noxious humour may strike its roots in the body (p. 122).

Vives writes a great deal more on this subject. In fact the whole matter of dieting and hygiene is fully developed

in a chapter entitled "The Training of the Physician." This chapter is pregnant with ideas, which, at the time, were exceedingly novel, and it should have made a powerful appeal to Rabelais, himself a physician.

In general Vives constantly and consistently emphasizes the idea of nature study, of education through the senses, through practical experience and observation. He was the first of the humanists to introduce the inductive method and this idea permeates all his writings on education. Finally the impression left after reading "*de Tradendis Disciplinis*" is that all the main pedagogical principles advocated by Rabelais in his education of Gargantua, with the exception of his training in the art of chivalry, which may have been imitated from Castellone's *Il Corteggiano*, had been fully developed by Luis Vives three years before the appearance of the Frenchman's work.

Mr. Plattard's claim of originality for Rabelais' ideas of education may therefore be very much disputed. Indeed the general consensus of opinion, strengthened by new investigation and discoveries, emphasizes the fact that in the realm of philosophy, Rabelais showed no originality whatever. He was an adept in the art of vulgarizing the knowledge of antiquity, an expert in the use of fantastic or farsical relations, a skillful manipulator of comical neologisms, and a master of satire, but the works of Le Duchat, Delaruelle, Lefranc, Clouzot and others, as well as the researches of Mr. Plattard himself have shown that for the treatment of serious thought Rabelais went for material to the writers of antiquity, to the Italian scholars, and to the great humanists of his day: Agrippa, Budé, and Erasmus.

On the other hand Luis Vives was a close friend and collaborator of Erasmus, by whom he had been openly acknowledged as a philosopher of the first rank. He had also known Budé, the French scholar, since 1519, when the two had met at Paris and had begun there an abiding friendship. And in that same year Thomas More was writing to Erasmus that a visitor from Louvain had shown him some works of

Luis Vives "than which I have not seen anything so elegant and learned." In fact the prominence of Vives as a humanist was such that he was held by his contemporaries as the third member of a trinitate, the first two of which were Erasmus and Budé.

The fact that Rabelais, during his student days, had been befriended and encouraged in the study of Greek by Budé, through a correspondence which has fortunately been preserved, shows that Rabelais and Vives belonged to the same little group of enthusiastic humanists. It seems to me unlikely, therefore, that while interested in attacking scholasticism and the obsolete methods of the Sorbonne, and perhaps seeking material for constructive criticism, the attention of Rabelais should not have been directed to the educational theories of a man who was then a literary associate of Erasmus, a correspondent of Budé, and a recognized authority on education.

That the influence of Vives should have been felt by his contemporaries but not acknowledged is not surprising when it is remembered that the Spaniards, at that time, were feared and not particularly liked in Europe. Professor Watson, in the introduction to his translation has shown, for instance, that Ben Jonson, in his work *Timber*, borrowed several passages from one of Vives' smaller works, and Señor Bonilla y San Martín² reminds us that the *Animadversiones* of Peter Ramus could lay no claim to originality since most the principles advocated therein had already been expressed by the Spanish philosopher.

G. L. MICHAUD

² Luis Vives y la Filosofía del Renacimiento Madrid. 1903.

XXI. AN ACKNOWLEDGMENT

In a study of Chateaubriand's *La Maison de France* (PMLA XXXVIII, No. 1, pp. 99-114), the present writer, after examining and placing in their respective parts, books, and chapters a series of excerpts from the *Génie du Christianisme*, declared himself baffled by the fifth excerpt, which reads: "Je remarque qu'Horace, Virgile, Tibulle, Tite-Live, moururent tous avant Auguste, qui est en cela le sort de Louis XIV; notre grand prince survécut un peu à son siècle et il se coucha le dernier dans la tombe, comme pour s'assurer qu'il ne restait rien après lui." This passage, which looked as though it might belong to Part III, Book 4, Chapter 5 of the *Génie*, was not to be found either there or elsewhere in the work, and so the writer concluded that it must have been one of Chateaubriand's London notes to his manuscript of the *Génie* and that it had been inserted, somewhat at random, among the excerpts from that work in the *Maison de France*.

Thanks to Mr. Louis Hastings Naylor, a graduate student in Romance languages at The Johns Hopkins University, the source of the excerpt in question has been discovered. The passage is to be found in a letter of Chateaubriand "A. M. de Fontanes" of January 10, 1804 (*Oeuvres complètes*, Paris, Pourrat frères, 1836-38, vol. 13—*Voyages*, vol. 2—p. 86; *Voyages et mélanges littéraires*, Paris, Furne, Jouvet et Cie., 1867-72, p. 278). It may be noted, *en passant*, that, in the *Oeuvres complètes*, we read: "moururent tous avant Auguste, que *eut* en cela——," which would seem to be more correct than the *Maison de France* reading of "qui *est* en cela." I take this opportunity to express my thanks to Mr. Naylor for thus clearing up an obscurity that had troubled me from the very beginning of my work on the *Maison de France*.

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XXII. FLORISMONDO:

*EX DAMNATISSIMA AMADISI BIBLIOTHECA**

Several years ago, while pursuing certain studies in the Harvard Library, there came into my hands, quite by accident, a certain "square old yellow book" of quarto size bearing on its first title-page the inscription: "Della Piacevole/ Storia/ dello 'nvitto, e valoroso Principe/ Don Florismondo/ Libro Primo." The second page gives the fuller title: "Istoria/ dello 'nvitto, e valoroso Principe/ Don Florismondo/ E d'altri famosi cavallieri erranti di quel tempo; o-/ve si raccontano le loro maravigliose/ imprese,

*The primary object of this paper is to call attention to a hitherto unnoticed Italian continuation of the Amadis romances. The secondary object is to indicate, in no greater detail than the artistic value of the work warrants, the literary, folklore and other materials which the author had at his disposal. A complete study of the romance would naturally be divided into a number of chapters dealing with such subjects as: Author, date, dialect, MS; Mediaeval and other lore; Use of French romances; Use of Italian romances; Debt to *Amadis de Gaula* and its continuations, etc. But the literary value of *Florismondo* in its incomplete state is not such as to merit so detailed a study. Matters which, in case it did, would be dealt with under one of the above-named heads, have been treated here in the footnotes according as they are suggested by the present analysis of the narrative. The footnotes, then, have been made very full and must be regarded in the light of a running commentary to the resumé of the story. References to the chivalresque romances may be controlled by consulting the table on p. 469 below.

e piacevoli/ amori./ Composta da Anton Vincenzio/ Magnani./ In Trevi." Between the words "Magnani" and "In Trevi," below the former and above the latter, is inserted the drawing of a lily; at the top and bottom of the same are the words: "Sicut lilium inter/ spinas"; on the left-hand side: "Manibus da-/te lilia plenis"; on the right-hand side: "Sola/ fides." On the following page is a "Tavola delle cose notabile non appartenenti alla storia nel presente primo libro di Florismondo contenute." Among the "cose notabile" figure *Alessandro Magno*, *Antipatro*, *Balena mostruosa*, *Cavalleria a chi obblighi*, *Diaspro e sua virtù*, *Superbia odiosa*, etc., etc. Following the *Tavola* comes the text of Book I in twenty chapters and 216 pages, to which is appended a "Tavola dei Capi del Primo Libro della Storia di Don Florismondo"; this is followed by the *Registro* and the colophon. In the center of the latter is the drawing of a lily with the same quotations as on the title-page; at the bottom the author's name has been ingeniously worked into the design. Book II, which remains unfinished, is numbered to 109 pages and is in seven chapters; pages 65 to 80 inclusive have been lost.

The whole manuscript seems to have been written by the author himself, for in many places the writer started a sentence, left it unfinished, scratched it out and completed it in another manner, the change being usually one of syntax. The romance was in all probability composed not far from the second decade of the 17th century; the handwriting of the manuscript seems to belong to that period.

A search through the authorities on romance literature in general and on Italian romance in particular, failed to reveal any clue, either to the identity of the author, or the title of his romance. Brunet, Henrion,¹ Ferrario,²

¹ *Istoria critica e ragionata di tutte l'istorie o romanzi . . . de'secoli xv e xvi*, Firenze, 1794.

² *Bibliographia dei Romanzi e Poemi Romanzesche d'Italia*, Milano, 1829.

Melzi and Tosi³ are silent. Their columns contain many names of romances similar to "Florismondo"⁴ an inspection of those romances, however, reveals the fact that they have nothing to do with Magnani's work; the latter is not even a translation of any of them under a slightly different name. *Florismondo* seems to be an independent composition by an author till now unknown.

Extensive consultation of source-books and the printed catalogues of the principal libraries has brought to light only eight persons by the name of Magnani. One was Anna Maria Magnani;⁵ another was a "contadino matematico"; a third was Geminiano Magnani (middle of the 17th century), who composed some verses on the liberation of Vienna;⁶ a fourth, Antonio Magnani, was the author of *Orationes Habitæ in publico archigymnasio Bononiensi*, published at Parma in 1794; this work is listed in the catalogues of the Harvard College Library, the British Museum and the Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus. A work by the same man, *Elogio di L. Bassi Bolognese*, Venezia, 1806, is listed in the catalogue of the British Museum. The fifth, A. Magnani wrote a book on international law in 1895, and the sixth, Antonio Maria Magnani, was author of the *Essilio Amoro*, published in 1639.⁷ The seventh, Antonio Magnani, was author of an *Elogio in Vincent Martinellium*.⁸ The eighth, Anton Vincenzo Magnani, listed in the catalogue of the Harvard College Library, is the author of *Florismondo*. None of these persons bears any relation to Anton Vincenzo, save possibly Antonio Maria, who lived early enough to have been his son.

³ *Bibliographia dei Romansi e Poemi Cavallereschi Italiani*, Milano, 1865.

⁴ Such as "Florisello," "Florismarte," "Florisandro," etc. Nor is *Florismondo* related to the unedited O. French *Florimont*, B. Tasso's *Floris-mante* or T. Tasso's *Torrismondo*.

⁵ Quadrio, V, 538.

⁶ A. Belloni, *Il Seicento*, 246.

⁷ Cf. the catalogue of the British Museum.

⁸ Cf. G. Passano, supplement to Melzi.

ANALYSIS OF THE STORY

Where the great Ocean bathes the western part of France there stretches into the sea an arm of land about the size of Cornwall. Here, long ago, was born the valorous and incomparable knight whose deeds we are about to relate in this book. But it is desirable that at the outset we should give a description of this country so that the succeeding events may be better understood.

This arm of land is called Little Britain to distinguish it from England. Formerly, in the ancient idiom of the place, it was called Armorica, signifying *terra maritima*. Formed like a horseshoe, it is bounded on the south by Poitou, on the east by Anjou, and on the north by Normandy. It is a fertile country of many inhabitants and many towns, especially sea-ports, while its castles are strong and well-built. Many islands belong to the realm, among them Bellisola⁹ and Penmarche.¹⁰ Formerly the land was ruled by an independent lord, but when Anna, his sole heir, married Louis XII, it became united to the crown of France.¹¹ In days of yore a king by the name of Armato¹² ruled the kingdom, and with him his wife Auriana,¹³ sister of King Cario of Scotland.

At the time of the year when Mars is in the ascendant the Queen gave birth to a son. Aurora and Ciprigna presided over the birth; flowers had never bloomed with greater profusion or greater beauty; the sky had never seemed so clear and bright, while above the body of the new-born child hovered a flame of fire; at the same time an invisible hand cast into the room a cloud of flowers as a signification

⁹ Belle Isle, south of Vannes; cf. Isola Bella in P. Lauro, *Leandro il Bello*, ch. vi.

¹⁰ Penmarch Point, a headland near Quimper, a little south of Brest.

¹¹ Louis XII married Anne of Brittany in 1499.

¹² The name of a pagan sultan in *Splandiano* (the fifth book of *Amadis de Gaula*), ch. 66 ff.

¹³ The Oriana of *Amadis* and *Amadigi*?

of the joy which this child in the course of time was to bring to the realm.¹⁴

Soon the Queen sank into slumber. It seemed to her that she dreamed of a flower which tried to reach a rose growing beside it in the same garden; the flower strained toward the rose, and the rose bent toward the flower till they finally joined. Soon, however, a gnawing worm caused the rose to lose its color, and the flower dried up and sank to the earth in sorrow; they were both resuscitated by a generous shower of rain.¹⁵

King Armato rendered thanks to God for the birth of his son, and since he was born in the season when the earth is covered with flowers, named him Florismondo. The whole realm, informed of the birth by "Fama, la rapportatrice,"¹⁶ joined the King and Queen in rejoicing.

Inasmuch as Mars was in the ascendant at the birth of Florismondo,¹⁷ the King soon bethought himself of the training proper for a prince and knight, for he realized that it is of no less importance for a child to have good training than to have excellent progenitors. Many children born of the noblest families not only lose their virtue, but by their vices obscure the brightness of the family name. On the other hand, many born of the lowest estate have not only cancelled the ignobility of their parents with their good deeds, but have become the fathers of virtuous descendants.¹⁸

¹⁴ Flaubert, in *La Tentation de St. Antoine*, Paris, 1874, p. 146, makes Apollonius say that his mother bore him dreaming of flowers: "La nuit de ma naissance ma mère crut se voir cueillant des fleurs sur le bord d'un lac."

¹⁵ For an allegorical dream before birth and the allegorical prophecy connected therewith, cf. *Eledus et Serene* (ed. J. R. Reinhard) vv. 137 ff. and 183 ff. See also *Amadis*, I, iii, iv, II, xviii.

¹⁶ For "Fame" cf. *Aeneid*, IV, 173-190; *Yvain*, vv. 4158 ff.; *Erec*, v. 4939; Chrétien's *Lancelot*, vv. 4446 ff.; *Gerusalemme Liberata*, I, xxxiii, 7-8, lxxxi, 1-2, XI, xxxi, 4.

¹⁷ Tirant lo Blanch is also a native of Brittany; cf. Barcelona ed. 1879, ch. 29, p. 91.

¹⁸ Cf. *Amadis*, III, xi; *Il Cortegiano*, ed. Cian, I, xv; *Il Principe*, XIV, §2. See further, Calderon, *La Vida es Sueño*, Tacitus, *Germania*; Folengo, *Il*

The King, therefore, wished to prove whether or not there was any natural defect in Florimondo, and if so, to cure it by education. Accordingly he entrusted him to Erminio,¹⁹ one of the best knights of his kingdom, who, together with his own son, Pompeo,²⁰ trained Florimondo in all things becoming a prince and knight, not excepting the languages, Greek, Latin, English, Persian, Arabic and Italian; for a prince would have been held in but small esteem without the knowledge of them;²¹ moreover, they were necessary to the calling of knight-errantry.²² Under Erminio's tutelage Florimondo became the marvel and admiration of the court.

The eager youth could not long restrain his natural cravings, and, being descended from Alexander the Great,²³ longed to prove himself in arms. Indolence seemed to him the greatest of crimes, for he remembered the infamy which Antipater, Sardanapalus, Domitian, and even that thunderbolt of Mars, Hannibal the Carthaginian, had brought upon themselves by that vice. His father was overjoyed at this manifestation of spirit and willingly granted him the boon of becoming a knight-errant.

After the tables of their evening meal had been removed, the earth was suddenly shaken by a terrible quake, and the sky became overcast by clouds. One cloud detached itself from the others and moved towards them. When it had

Baldus; Hartmann, *Gregor auf dem Stein*; *Lancelot* (prose, ed. Sommer), I, p. 31; W. Foerster, *Guillaume d'Angleterre*, vv. 1178-81, 1362-91; *Clerk's Tale*, 99 ff.; Roswell and Lillian; Erasmus, *In Praise of Folly*, London, 1900, p. 44.

¹⁹ *Ger. Lib.* III, 12; VI, 56; VII, 22; XIX, 77, has Erminia.

²⁰ A reminiscence of Pompides, *Palmerin d'Inghilterra*?

²¹ The customary equipment of the heroes of French and Italian romance. Durmart le Galois was likewise educated under the guidance of a faithful knight, in this case the king's seneschal.

²² Cf. *Silves de la Selva*, French Bk. XIII, 70. The equivalent Italian Bk. XII, I have not been able to consult.

²³ Trebacio, *Specchio de' Principi*, is a descendant of Achilles; Febo el Troiano is descended from Hector and Penthesilea.

entered the palace, it dispersed in bright colors, disclosing an old man seated in a chariot of crystal drawn by two eagles which he governed with a wand.²⁴ The newcomer was an old friend of Armato, a magician, "il savio Heliodoro,"²⁵ and at once announced the object of his visit. "Hora, havendo io saputo per l'arti mie il desiderio che questo generoso principe ha d'esser armato cavalliero, voglio con vostra licenza condurlo in luogo, dove con la maggior impresa, che mai imprendesse cavalliero, alle sue alte cavallerie darà glorioso principio; e sarà armato cavalliero dal più valoroso Rè che hoggi al mondo si ritruovi." Permission was given, and Florismondo mounted the chariot with Heliodoro. The latter touched the eagles with his wand and they bore them into the air,²⁶ setting them down at last on an island, Heliodoro's domain.²⁷ The island appeared to be but a barren rock and was called *L'Isola Perduta*.²⁸ Heliodoro explained that it was situated 500 Italian miles from the island of Hibernia, or Ireland,²⁹ in 53 degrees of latitude; in the future its name would be *L'Isola di S.*

²⁴ Astolfo makes a celestial journey in a chariot drawn by "quattro destrieri"; cf. *Orlando Fur.*, XXIV, 68 ff.

²⁵ Not the author of *Theagenes and Chariclea*; E. F. M. Benecke in his translation of Comparetti's *Virgilio nel Medio Evo* notices an 8th century magician by the name of Heliodorus; cf. p. 317, note 25 and pp. 329-330.

²⁶ Cf. above, note 24. See also *Inferno*, XVII, 91 ff., where it is recounted how Dante and Virgil were transported on the back of Geryon. For other means of aerial transportation, cf. J. D. M. Ford, *Romances of Chivalry*, p. 572, note to *Orlando Fur.*, IV, 16.

²⁷ In P. Lauro's *Leandro il Bello* the Sage Artidoro carries away the newborn son of Lepolemo to the Isola Bella, ch. x; cf. H. Thomas, *Spanish and Portuguese Romances of Chivalry*, p. 306.

²⁸ Cf. *Ger. Lib.*, "Isola incantata d'Armida in parte remota dell'Oceano," XIV, 69, XV, 37. Such enchanted islands abound in the chivalresque romances; cf. *Isola Pericolosa*, *Palm. d'Inghilterra*, III, i; *Isola disabitata*, *Amadis di Grecia*, p. 107; *Isola del Fuogo*, *Sferamundi*, I, xxiii; *Isola malfata*, *Palm. d'Oliua*, ch. 104.

²⁹ Cervantes, *Persiles y Sigismunda*, speaks of the island of Hibernia, near Ireland!

Brandan;³⁰ formerly it was the abode of the magicians Alchifo and Urganda la sconosciuta.³¹

Florismondo and his guide entered a corridor lighted by a carbuncle³² from the mountains of Taprobana,³³ where, by means of a magic stairway, they mounted instantly to the top of the island, where they found themselves in the midst of a plain adorned with pillars and columns of rich marble. A palace at one end of the plain contained many statues; among them, seated upon two thrones, were the figures of a man and a woman; each of them held in one hand a book and in the other a key: they represented Alchifo and Urganda. After meat, served by invisible hands, Florismondo retired, for on the morrow he was to enter upon the adventure *dell'Eternità*.

³⁰ Saint Brandan has given his name to many portions of Ireland: cf. Brandon Head, Brandon Bay, Brandon mountains (south Munster); even the Atlantic was known as Mare Brendanicum. See further Gerald de Barry, *Topographica Hibernica*, ed. Wright, Dist. II, cap. xl, ff. An island of St. Brandan is actually found on the old maps. Cf. the 1492 globe of Martin Behaim, Mercator's map of 1587 (Nordenskjöld, *Facsimile Atlas*, xlvii); A. Ortelius' 1370 map (Nordenskjöld, *Fac.* xxi).

³¹ Characters who appear throughout the Amadis romances.

³² The incandescent properties of the carbuncle were well-known. Cf. G. Bartoni, *Il Lapidario Francese Estense*, ZfRP, XXXII, 693, vv. 482 ff.; Marbodius, *De Lapidibus Enchiridion*, [Paris?], 1531, p. 15; Cleandro Arnobio, *Tesoro delle Gioie*, Venetia, 1670, pp. 32 and 36; K. Volmöller, *Ein Spanisches Steinbuch*, p. 23; Andreæ Baccii, *Elpidiani Philosophi*, Frankfurt, 1603, p. 55; L. Pannier, *Les Lapidaires du Moyen Age*, pp. 52, 95, 163; *Morgante Maggiore*, VI, 18; XIV, 86; *Orlando Innamorato*, II, viii, 27; III, ii, 25, 29; *Huon of Burdeux*, EETS es 40, p. 440; *Le Bel Inconnu*, vv. 1896-99; *Voyage de Charlemagne*, vv. 442-43; *Cligès*, v. 2751; Comparetti, *Virgilio nel Medio Evo*, tr. E. F. M. Benecke, p. 307; J. M. Ludlow, *Popular Epics of the Middle Ages*, I, 288; R. Thurneysen, *Sagen aus dem alten Irland*, p. 28 ("Bricrius Gelage"), p. 116 ("Fraechs Werbung"); W. A. Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, I, 414; *Amadis de Gaula*, III, xi.

³³ The mediaeval name for the island of Ceylon. Cf. *Amadis*, (French) Bks. VII, VIII, XV; *Orlando In.*, I, iv, 23, 31, vi, 64; Pliny, *Natural History*, Lib. XXXII, cap. xi; Camoens, *Os Lusíadas*, I, i, 4; Burton, *Nights*, VI, 33 and note 3, 59 and note 1; see further Ælian, Diodorus Siculus, Nicolo Conti and Fra Mauro.

After an almost sleepless night, Florismondo was encouraged for his undertaking and set on his way by Heliodoro; the latter then vanished. Florismondo found himself locked within an enclosure, but he bethought himself of the keys held by the figures of Alchifo and Urganda; they fitted the locks of the door as though they had been made for no other purpose.³⁴ When he had passed through, he found himself upon a very narrow path; along this he attempted to progress, but was opposed by invisible hands.³⁵ He overcame this resistance, "benche con molta fatica," and issued into a broad street; at the head of the same he saw a marble pillar supporting a tablet on which were engraved the words: "O knight, whoever you may be who have penetrated this far, let not pride deceive your mind; no one can pass alive beyond these bounds which I indicate to you, unless he is the best knight in the world."³⁶ Nothing deterred by this warning, he pressed forward, and very soon, on every side, felt the weight of innumerable blows from unseen enemies;³⁷ the blows sapped his strength, but did not wound. Finally he arrived at "una bellissima stanza . . . ove gl'invisibili nemici vinti riposar lo lasciarono." Here he saw a statue holding in its hand a letter with this purport: "Valiant knight, who, through your valor, have progressed this far to see the happy house of mortal luxury, enter within, and rest from the fatigues you have undergone,

³⁴ Amadis finds a key and unlocks an underground gate therewith, I, xix. Palmerin of England finds keys with which he unlocks the doors of a fair hall; cf. Southey's translation, II, ch. 97. See further, *Huon of Burdeux*, EETS es 40, p. 408.

³⁵ Florestan, Galaor and Amadis are wearied by invisible blows in the enchanted palace on the Firm Island, *Amadis*, II, ii.

³⁶ This is the first of a series of messages written or engraved on some object; cf. the similar experience of Palmerin of England, Southey, II, ch. 53; *Amadis*, I, xxv, II, i. The Biau chevalier au lion, in *La Dame à la Lycorne*, ed. Gennrich, is instructed by the magic writing on the back of a boar; cf. vv. 4188 ff. See further L. M. J. Garnett and J. Stuart-Glennie, *The Women of Turkey and their Folklore*, II, 317.

³⁷ Cf. above, note 35.

for here you will find a sweet and happy hostel for all your days."

Florismondo doubted whether he should enter; to overcome his reluctance there issued from the house "due lascive donne"; they addressed him in winning terms and "accarezzandolo, gli additarono un bellissimo leto porto nel mezzo di quella stanza nel quale giaceva ignuda una donzella di bellezze sopra humane che a lui faceva cenno d'aspettarlo, e che a lei sen gise." But Florismondo resisted both the beauty of the mistress and the importunities of the maids; these latter followed him a long way in vain.³⁸ Not far ahead he saw "una horribil figura in forma di donna ma con la faccia di leone," similar to that by which the ancients used to represent Terror.³⁹ He was not dismayed, but pushed on, "e quel mostro, che solo nell' apparenza havea qualche potere, visto gli sforzi suoi vani, da gli occhi di lui disparve."

Florismondo congratulated himself that Reason had saved him from the "lascive donne,"⁴⁰ and so thinking, he arrived at a bronze statue in the form of Hercules. A magic letter was again his advisor: "You, whoever you may be, if you are so hardy as to attempt the adventure *dell' Eternità*, know, then, that every effort of yours will be vain unless you can succeed in taking the club from the hand of Hercules." Florismondo made the attempt, and the statue defended itself cunningly; but by a trick, Florismondo forced it to drop the club, whereupon it again became motionless.⁴¹

³⁸ On the Enchanted Island, Roboan is thrice tempted by two devils in the guise of beautiful women; cf. *Cavaller Cifar*, III, ch. xxx.

³⁹ Terror is personified in Apuleius, *Melam.* X.

⁴⁰ As in *Ger. Lib.*, XV, 62 ff.

⁴¹ Automata are common in mediaeval literature. Charlemagne and his knights on their way to Jerusalem see and hear bronze children blowing horns (ed. Koschwitz); two statues on the tomb of Blanche fleur embrace each other (cf. ed. of E. Du Meril, vv. 585 ff.). Fighting statues are more rare. In the *Sept Sages*, ed. Keller, v. 3938, an archer who guards a fire has about his neck a script which warns: "Ki me ferra, je trairai ja." In *La Dame à la Lycorne*, ed. Gennrich, vv. 3885 ff., the Biau chevalier meets

Though much wearied by his struggle, the prince continued on his way till he came to a certain door above which he read: "It is a more difficult task to conquer one's self than to subjugate all the nations of the world." Scarcely had he touched the threshold with his foot than there issued from the doorway his double; this apparition began to fight with him at once. The struggle was long and arduous, but, as in his previous encounters, Florismondo was the victor. He was so much refreshed by this victory that it seemed that he had been in continual repose up to the present time. Now "era il sole poco dal mar lontano";

and conquers two copper statues fighting each other on a tree. In the M. H. G. poem *Virginal*, ed. Zupitza, *Deutsches Heldenbuch*, a bronze statue guards a bridge; cf. stanza 188, line 7 ff. In *Das Eckenlied*, Zupitza, *Deutsches Heldenbuch*, two metal statues aim blows at Dietrich as he passes into Fasolt's castle (cf. F. E. Sandbach, *Pop. Stud. in Myth. Rom. and Folklore*, p. 43). See further the personage of Talos in Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica*, IV, 1638-93 which Spenser has copied in *Faerie Queen*, V, i, 12 and 20 ff. In Burton, *Thousand Nights and a Night*, V, pp. 1-2, a man of gold guards a city. *Huon of Burdeux*, EETS es 40, p. 96, tells how the tower of Dunather is guarded by two brass men who continually brandish flails. J. Ulrich, *Aeltere Novellen*, novella 29 of Zambrini's ed. of Matteo Corsini's *Novelle*, Albertus Magnus' speaking statue is destroyed by his servant. E. Cosquin, *Romania*, VI, 580, La Ramée steals a candle, and by lighting it causes to appear l'Homme de Fer, its servant. In Walpole's *Castle of Otranto*, blood drips from the nose of a statue. Cf. S. Evans' *High History of the Holy Grail*, branch xviii, title 10, and Potvin, *Perceval le Galois*, two men of copper hold great mallets of iron. Bédier, Thomas' *Tristan*, a personage guards the door of Tristan's palace in the wood. *Sir Tristrem*, III, 50; *Tristrans Saga*, ed. Kölbing, cap. 80. See further, Herbelot, *Bib. Orient.* under "Rocail"; Benecke's tr. Comparetti's *Virgilio nel Medio Evo*, p. 307; Lamprecht's *Alexander*, vv. 5850, 5878; *Aymeri de Narbonne*, v. 3507; prose *Lancelot*, ed. Sommer, I, p. 144. In Carlo Gozzi's *L'Augellino Bel Verde* a statue representing the philosopher Calmon lectures the children Renzo and Barbarina. There is a half-iron man in the Albanian tale of the "Three Brothers and the Three Sisters"; cf. Garnett and Stuart-Glennie, *The Women of Turkey*, p. 331. Cf. Méon, *Nouveau Recueil*, II, 293; P. F. Baum, "The Young Man Betrothed to a Statue," PMLA, XXVII, no. 4, Dec. 1919; *Amadis*, II, i, xdi.

unseen hands prepared food and drink and "un rico letto" where he took his rest.

The following morning Florismondo rose to find he had slept that night upon "the hard bosom of the ancient mother," nor of that did he marvel much, the strength of the enchantments being by this time apparent to him. He had stirred but a little way forward when a letter upon a column announced to him that no one could think to arrive at "Eternità" if he were not led there by "Amore." When the meaning of these words was clear, there appeared before him a boy whose eyes, though bandaged, cast rays that illumined all the surrounding air with brilliance; in his hands he held a very beautiful bow of fine gold, the cord of which seemed to be composed of the most beautiful tresses of women. All the boy's arrows were tipped with gold.⁴² Choosing one of the sharpest arrows he shot Florismondo in the side so quickly that he had no time to guard himself; "la saetta . . . facendo l'usato officio passoli per lo fianco al core, uscendo dall' altra parte senza lasciar alcun segna di ferita."⁴³ Florismondo felt the sharpest pains, however, and fell into a swoon. While he was unconscious, a very beautiful woman appeared to him,⁴⁴ saying that very precious things are not possessed without travail; then she vanished and he awoke healed from the pain of the arrow, but more deeply wounded by the flame which the eyes of the beautiful damsel had kindled in his breast.⁴⁵

⁴² Cupid more often has arrows of more than one sort: Arrows of lead and gold, Guiraut de Calanso, *A leis cui am de cor e de saber*, ed. O. Dammann; arrows of gold, steel and lead, Pierre Guilhem, Raynouard, *Lexique Roman*, I, 405-17; arrows of lead and gold, *Li Fablel Dou Dieu d'Amours*, ed. Jubinal, p. 31; arrows of lead and gold, Boccaccio, *Amorosa Visione, Opere Volgari*, Florence, 1833, XIV.

⁴³ Cf. Langlois, *Roman de la Rose*, vv. 1707-1708.

⁴⁴ Palmerin d'Oliua also makes the acquaintance of his lady, Polinarda, in a dream; cf. French version, Lyon, 1592, chs. 8, 16, Italian version, Venetia, 1620, chs. 12, 18. Trebacio, in the *Espejo de Principes*, dreams of his lady, Briana; cf. H. Thomas, op. cit., p. 125.

⁴⁵ Compare Dante's description of the effect of ladies' eyes in the *Vita*;

Florismondo was now anxious to see the end of the adventure, and pressing forward, came up to a great rock, in the midst of which was a grotto; therein continually turned an immense serpent with its tail in its mouth.⁴⁶ Determined to enter the grotto, Florismondo struck the serpent on the head with his mace, whereupon it ceased to gyrate, though it had received no hurt. He stepped forward and the dark grotto became light at his approach. On one side he saw a decrepit old man in tattered rags, a crown upon his head, a great scythe in his hand, and two wings to his shoulders; he was the figure of Time. On the other side of the grotto was "una bella donna nuda" with many children about her and in her arms: she was the figure of Nature with many breasts⁴⁷ as depicted by the ancient Romans. In the middle of the grotto was a magnificent throne upon which sat a grave matron with three crowned heads; in one hand she held a figure of the world and in the other a serpent of azure stone which had its tail in its mouth. Upon the highest part of the throne Florismondo saw written: "AETERNITAS TEMPORUM." On his entrance into the grotto he was challenged by Time, who menaced him with his scythe.

see also *Hysmene and Hysmenas*, ed. R. Hercher, *Erotici Scriptores Græci*, II, 161-286; K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der Byz. Litteratur*, 754-766.

* "In Coptic literature the Apep serpent is a monster which lies in outer darkness encircling the world and clutching its tail between its jaws like the Midgard serpent of Norse mythology."—D. A. Makenzie, *Egyptian Mythology and Legend*, 160-161. F. Noël, *Dictionnaire de la Fable*, Paris, 1823, II, 588, under "Serpent" writes: "Cet animal est un symbol ordinaire du soleil, dit Macrobe, en effet, il est très commun dans les monuments; dans quelques uns il se mord la queue, faisant un cercle de son corps, ce qui marque le cours ordinaire du soleil." "A serpent coiled in a ring with its tail in its mouth suggested the circle of infinitude and was taken to mean omnipotence and omniscience."—W. W. Westcott, *The Serpent Myth*, p. 2. On a monument in a grave-yard in the French town of Luxeuil-les-Bains there is a figure of a serpent coiled round the shaft, having its tail in its mouth.

⁴⁷ The statue of the Ephesian Artemis had many breasts. In the gardens of the Villa d'Este, near Tivoli, Italy, there is a statue of the Diana Polymastos.

He thought to sustain little harm from such an old man, however, and took pains to guard himself only. But as he fought, Time grew younger and stronger, and Florismondo found himself forced to fight in earnest; at last Time was vanquished.

At this point appeared Alchifo and Urganda saying: "Welcome to the valorous prince whom we have awaited so long and so long desired to see." Then Alchifo took him by the hand and said: "Now come to receive from us the prize, conquered with so many pains and such noble valor." All three approached the throne of "Eternità," and Urganda, reading in a book,⁴⁸ took from the figure's hand the shining serpent and crowned Florismondo with it;⁴⁹ then removing the figure of "Eternità," she made Florismondo sit on the throne for a short time. Alchifo then explained to him the allegorical significance of the adventures through which he had passed; they were all in imitation of human life. In order to obtain glory, he had first to enter a very narrow path, for the path of earthly glory is narrow; the invisible enemies represented the companions of evil life; the tempting women represented earthly luxury and idleness: Hannibal, Solomon and the city of Rome were unable to resist these vices. But it is of no avail to conquer the difficulties of hard adventures if high virtues are not the stable possessions of the human soul; so Florismondo had to conquer the club of Hercules, which represented all the virtues. The last battle signified that he must conquer himself if he would remain glorious in the world; and since he had overcome Time and sat in the seat of Eternity, his fame should live. Alchifo foresaw that in Italy, in the beautiful country bathed by the Adda and the clear Serio, irrigated by the fecund Brembo,⁵⁰ a hand would make ready, after a long time, to

⁴⁸ The usual procedure; cf. *Orlando Fur.*, III, 21, IV, 17; *Amadis*, I, xx.

⁴⁹ This crown, as explained later (below, p. 446), has properties similar to those of Mandeville's crown of Albespine.

⁵⁰ The Adda is the outlet of Lake Como; the Serio and the Brembo are affluents thereof.

rejuvenate the long-buried memory of his deeds. With these words all three had arrived at the palace, and here we take leave of Florismondo at the end of the sixth chapter of Book I.

The court, exercised over the unusual mode of Florismondo's disappearance, feared treachery, and many knights had taken leave to search for him; among the first was Erminio, his foster-father. To Pompeo, his foster-brother, it seemed a crime to remain in idleness at the court, and having been dubbed knight by the king, he, too, set out in search of his prince.⁶¹

Pompeo had prosecuted his journey but a short time when, one day, his attention was attracted by the sound of lamentation; it proceeded from a damsel driven before four knights. When he questioned them, he received only insulting answers, so he killed the four of them. Scarcely had he turned toward the damsel, who was of great beauty, when there appeared a giant and four mounted knights leading with them two other damsels. The giant was no more courteous than the first four knights, and after a long and strenuous battle, in which Pompeo received several wounds, the giant was finally killed and the four knights saved themselves by flight. The victor, "nettata la sua buona spada dal sangue nel fodero la ripose; e trattosi l'elmo per riposare dalle havute fatiche, fecessi seggio delle verde herbe." ⁶²

Pompeo and the three damsels set forth to find a place where his wounds might be cared for. On the way, she who appeared to be the noblest of the three gave an account of their case. She was Darinda, daughter of the King of Normandy. For a considerable time she had been annoyed by the unwelcome attentions of a knight of noble blood,

⁶¹ Galaor, Florestan and Agrajes set out in search of Amadis, II, v; Palmerin de Oliva sets out to search for Trineo, cf. Italian version, Venetia, 1620, ch. 102.

⁶² For similar rescues, cf. *Amadis*, III, ii; *Orlando Fur.*, IV, 69; *Amadigi*, II, 17; Pulci's travesty of the same, *Morgante Maggiore*, XIX, 2 ff.

but of evil and ungraceful character, named Ellanio.⁵³ The King refused him Darinda's hand; hereupon he withdrew his attentions and feigned to have lost his affection for her. The princess, on her part, favored Evagrio with her love. With this knight Ellanio made it his business to become very friendly, with such good success that Evagrio followed him in everything; he withheld none of his secrets from Ellanio, not even concerning the letter which he had received from Darinda in which she confessed some of her passion for him. Ellanio, bent upon revenge, caused Evagrio to be assassinated in his garden,⁵⁴ and possessed himself of the letter, not, however, without receiving a wound. He then buried Evagrio in the garden and gave out that important business had called him away. Darinda was suspicious and lost her spirits. The King ordered a chase to bring back her cheer. During the hunt the princess became separated from the others, and she, with two maids, was borne off by the minions of Ellanio. The latter, sure of his prey, no longer hesitated to accuse, publicly, Evagrio of treason and Darinda of unchastity, producing the letter as proof.⁵⁵

Pompeo was touched by her piteous plight and by her tears, and already felt some of that fire with which he was later to burn.

The knight and the ladies shortened the way with other *ragionamenti*, however, and soon arrived at a castle where they were courteously received. Here Pompeo's physical wounds were cured in a few days. But still he could not rise from his bed,—he was sick with love for Darinda,⁵⁶ “che

⁵³ The name is found in *Amadis*, French Book XVI, Italian Book XIII (*Sferamundi*, Part I), where he is a lover of Silvanie.

⁵⁴ A reminiscence of Machiavelli's *Principe*?

⁵⁵ Cf. the remarkably similar situation of Ginevra, Polinesso, Ariodante in *Orlando Fur.*, IV, 58, V, 16, 27, 44. See also the plot of the *Viuda Reposada* against Carmesina and Tirant lo Blanch, Barcelona ed., 1879, III, p. 221, ch. cclxviii.

⁵⁶ Cf. *Amadis*, I, i; Marie's lay of *Guingemar*; *Faerie Queen*, III, v, 42; *Tirant*, Barcelona ed., 1879, II, p. 13, ch. ciii.

ratto in gentil core con l'esca di pietà s'accende amore."⁵⁷ She was not unconscious of his passion, returned it even, and accepted him as her knight to challenge Ellanio. Pompeo being now healed, all four started for Roano,⁵⁸ for the month set by Ellanio for a knight to appear to champion Darinda had just about expired.

The story now recounts the adventures of Erminio, who had also set out in search of his prince. He took ship "alla ventura" for Italy, but was ship-wrecked off Cape S. Vincenzo on the coast of Portugal,⁵⁹ whereupon he decided to continue his journey on land. He had not gone far when he met a damsel, who, upon being assured of his Christian faith, told her woes and solicited the aid he was bound to render under the laws of chivalry.⁶⁰

According to the damsel's story, the Moors had occupied Spain for fifty years. On a slight pretext they declared war against the Christian king of Portugal and conquered him. The new (Moorish) king of Portugal, Lurcone,⁶¹ deeming it a shameful thing to have the small kingdom of Algarbe⁶² the only state not subject to Moorish law and religion, declared war against it when its queen, Deianira, proudly refused his unjust demand for tribute. At the

⁵⁷ *Inferno*, VI, 100; *Squire's Tale*, 479; *Knight's Tale*, 1761; *Prologue to Legend of Good Women*, 503; Marlowe, *Hero and Leander*, 2nd Sestiad. See also Guido Guinizelli's *canzone* beginning: "Al cor gentil ripara sempre amore."

⁵⁸ Rouen, Dept. of Seine Inférieure, or Roanne, Dept. of Loire.

⁵⁹ Tirant, on his way to Rhodes, passes St. Vincent without incident; cf. op. cit., ch. 86.

⁶⁰ *Amadis*, French version Book XIII (Ital., XII), p. 487 ff.; prose *Lancelot*, ed. Sommer, I, 114-116; Barbazan-Méon, I, 59 ff.; *Tirant*, op. cit., ch. xxxii, ff.; *Amadigi*, XII; R. Lull, *Ordre de Cavalleria*; *Amadis*, I, v.

⁶¹ The name occurs in *Sferamundi*, VI, lxii.

⁶² A province of Portugal, situated at the southern extremity thereof, separated from Spain by the river Guadiana. It formerly belonged to the Moors, but Alfonso III reconquered it in 1250. The Italian history of *Oliviero et Arius*, Venice, 1612, has the form *Dalgarve*. Boccaccio, *Decamerone*, ii, 7, has a king *del Garbo*.

present time his great army lay without the walls of Guadiana (on the Guadiana), and the Queen had no means of succor unless by secretly sending damsels abroad she could enlist the aid of Christian knights-errant.⁶³

Erminio promised his aid and accompanied the maid toward Guadiana. But since there was no entrance to the city save through the ranks of the Moors, Erminio achieved entry through a trick. He had scarcely entered the Queen's presence when they were joined by another damsel bringing with her three knights of noble appearance; they were the Italian noblemen Lucio and Flamminio in the service of Cesare, minor son of the Grand Duke of Florence.

The French knight constituted himself leader of the little band, and under his direction the forces of the city were divided into four equal parts, himself at the head of one, the three Italian noblemen leading the others. They sallied out at dead of night to attack the Moor's encampment on four sides,⁶⁴ with the result that the latter were entirely put to rout and in the morning took to flight. Thus Deianira's kingdom was saved.⁶⁵

The Queen thanked all the knights very graciously for their services; but to Cesare, with whom she had fallen in love at first sight, and he with her, she showed particular affection. Their tongues were dumb, but Love has no need of words: he speaks by means of the eyes.⁶⁶

The story now returns to Florismondo, who heard from Alchifo where he was and why he had been brought there. Alchifo and Urganda had always been good friends and protectors of Amadis de Gaula and his descendants; but they knew by their arts that the fame of their deeds would sink

⁶³ Cf. the exploits of *El Cavallero Cifor*, ed. Michelant, Bk. I, at Galapia.

⁶⁴ Tirant lo Blanch makes a successful night attack on the Turks; cf. ed. cit., ch. cxviii.

⁶⁵ Amadis and his friends restore her kingdom to Briolanja; cf. Southey's *Amadis*, I, xliii, Barcelona ed., 1847, I, xli.

⁶⁶ *Amadis*, I, v.: "But their eyes delighted to reveal to the heart what was the thing on earth they loved best."

more and more into oblivion. They knew, too, that in the course of time, Christianity would be pressed harder and harder by the infidels.⁶⁷ Therefor, to rekindle the fame of the race of Amadis, they took, after the last battle which the Christians had won over the pagans,—which is recounted in the last book of the pleasing story of Sferamundi,⁶⁸—all the scions of Amadis who fought there and placed them, enchanted, in this castle, so that when the time arrived, they might save the Christian faith and die gloriously for it.⁶⁹ The magicians also knew that before the time came for the enchantment to end, there would be born of the race of Amadis a very valiant prince who would do much for the cause of Christianity. They desired very much to see this knight, and doubting very much that any of the princes of the line of Amadis whom they already knew could have a peer, prepared such enchantments for Florismondo as could be overcome only by Sferamundi, in their estimation the best knight of them all. Since Florismondo had conquered all these enchantments,⁷⁰ he would be knighted by Sferimundi. But first he would receive certain gifts from Urganda. Her gifts consist in a very rich suit of armor, a helmet and shield, and a sword, the hilts of which she had formed of the serpent which Florismondo wore on his brow.⁷¹ The armor was made of a metal not yet known to man, and if the magicians had not softened it somewhat,—for Florismondo would have scorned to be invulnerable,—it would have been too tough for any human weapon to pierce. The shield and the helmet had the same quality,

⁶⁷ Constantinople, attacked by the infidels, is covered by Daliarte by a dense cloud of smoke; he knew that in the future the Turks would win; cf. Southey's *Palmerin of England*, chs. 166-171.

⁶⁸ The Italian continuation of the Amadis cycle; French books XVI-XXI are drawn from its six parts.

⁶⁹ *Amadis*, V (*Splandiano*), ch. clxxxiii.

⁷⁰ Eutropa prepares many enchantments on the Perilous Island to subdue Palmerin; cf. Southey's *Palmerin of England*, Part II, ch. 53 ff.

⁷¹ Urganda presents Amadis with only a lance in *Amadis*, I, vi, *Amadigi*, IV. At Galaor's knighting she gives him a sword, *Amadis*, I, xii.

but in addition, would protect their bearer from enchantment of any kind, and render null all blows from enchanted weapons; moreover, they were proof against fire. Nothing in the human or natural world would be able to resist the sword, so fine was it; the hilts protect its owner from lightning, poisonous herbs and from harm by monsters.⁷² Urganda deemed these gifts sufficient requital for his labors.

Alchifo now summoned Sferamundi for the purpose of giving Florismondo the accolade, and with him came Amadis d'Astra⁷³ and other princes of the line of Amadis de Gaula. That night Florismondo watched his arms in a nearby chapel. Toward morning he had two visions, in both of which appeared to him the lady who had healed him of the wounds of Cupid's arrow. He was somewhat disturbed by this vision, but Urganda explained to him that she was a princess of high lineage temporarily languishing under enchantment, and that his love for her would end happily.⁷⁴

Sferamundi, though Alchifo had convinced him that Florismondo was the most valorous youth in the world, could not proceed otherwise than according to form. Don Florisello⁷⁵ was therefor deputed by him to receive the oaths of the candidate upon the "sacrosanto libro de' Vangeli." When the oaths had been sworn, Amadis d'Astra and Amadis di Grecia⁷⁶ led Florismondo before Sferamundi, who laid upon his neck the naked sword and knighted him.

⁷² Cf. *Sir Eglamour*, ed. Halliwell [!hillips], p. 132, vv. 265 ff. An enchanted sword cuts all armor in *Amadis*, IX (*Amadis di Grecia*, Italian Bk. IX, French Bks. VII-VIII). For magic talismans see A. Hertel, *Verzauberte Oerlichkeiten*, Hannover, 1903.

⁷³ A character in the Italian continuation of *Amadis*, *Sferamundi*; cf. also the French version, Bks. XIV, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XIX.

⁷⁴ The sister of Anastarax also languished under enchantment; cf. *Amadis*, IX (Italian *Amadis di Grecia*, Pt. II, ch. 20, French books VII, VIII).

⁷⁵ The exploits of Florisello are recounted in *Amadis*, X, XI (French books IX, X, XI) named respectively *Florisel di Nichea* and *Rogel di Grecia* in Italian.

⁷⁶ Cf. *Amadis*, IX (Italian *Amadis di Grecia*, French books VIII, XIII, XIV, XIX.).

Then came Agesilao,⁷⁷ Don Silves de la Selva,⁷⁸ Anassarte and Alastrasserca,⁷⁹ "e tutti e quattro gli calzaron gli sproni d'oro." Nor was there one lacking to gird on his sword, for Urganda summoned Rosaliana, the lady of his dreams,⁸⁰ who performed that office and accepted him as her knight to free her from the enchantment under which she labored.

The ceremony over, all the enchanted actors disappeared; so also did Alchifo and Urganda after each had given Florismondo a book to deliver to Heliodoro. Alone in Heliodoro's palace, Florismondo was soon joined by the magician himself; the latter instructed him in magic, and, at parting, presented him with a wonderful ship in which to continue his adventures. The vessel was in the form of an immense winged serpent. When it arrived at the shore it extended its great tongue and became motionless. In such a ship Florismondo had nothing to fear from the terrors of Neptune. When the serpent felt that Florismondo had entered, it sped into the sea more swiftly than an arrow shot by the most expert hand of Scythia.⁸¹

During the voyage the prince's mind was occupied by a struggle between Love and Reason in which the former triumphed. Marine monsters of every description, astonished at this strange beast of the sea, accompanied him in his course; all the horrors of Libia and Africa, "i pithoni, le spingi (sfingi?), le chimere" of Greek antiquity were no match for them in their uncouth appearance. While he was

⁷⁷ Cf. *Sferamundi*, VI, cxxvii.

⁷⁸ Cf. *Amadis*, XII (Italian, *Silves de la Selva*, French books XIII, XIV, XVII, XVIII); *Sferamundi*, II, 59; III, 118.

⁷⁹ Cf. *Amadis*, X (Italian *Florisel di Nichea*, French books IX, X).

⁸⁰ Cf. above, note 44.

⁸¹ Cf. *Amadis*, V (*Splandiano*), I, xxv, xxviii, lix, xciii; Burton's *Pentamerone*, II, 543, 5th day, 8th diversion, which tells of a monster fish containing within itself valleys, gardens, palaces. Curtin, *Hero Tales*, 278: Lawn Dyarrig is drawn into the belly of a serpent and finds three men playing cards there. A magic boat of a different kind is found in Crawford's *Kalevala*, II, p. 732. Trebacio, *Espejo de Principes*, also enters a magic boat and lands on a magic island; cf. Thomas, op. cit., p. 125 ff.

watching these beasts with interest and delight, Florismondo observed that the vessel which carried him had stopped at the shore of an island, "la qual pareva più tosto scoglio deserto, che luogo atto ad alcuna habitazione." The serpent had extended its tongue, however, a plain indication that Florismondo was intended to disembark, so he took his arms and went to find what adventure was reserved for him in that savage place.⁸²

When Florismondo had landed he saw nothing about him but a plain, which, by its color, seemed of stone; in the middle was a ridge; this he climbed and from the top he saw that the island was oval in shape and barren of all vegetation. Thus engaged in observation, "vide quell' isoletta a poco a poco muoversi, e gire hor quà, ed hor là, a guisa a punto come stimavano gli antichi dell' isola di Delo."⁸³ The island was a great whale; there were many of them in the sea, and seeming to be islands, caused great peril to sailors.⁸⁴ Florismondo now realized his danger and

⁸² Cf. *Amadis V (Splandiano)*, cap. xxv: Come partito Splandiano da l'Isola ferma sul gran serpente, giunto in una terra deserta vinse duo fieri giganti, e cavò di servitù Gandalino, e Lasindo con molti altri Christiani.

⁸³ Cf. the *Hymn to Delos* by Callimachus of Alexandria.

⁸⁴ As we have seen (above, p. 434), our author was familiar with the story of St. Brendan's voyage; from it he may, though not necessarily, have drawn this motif of the whale-island. Besides the versions in Latin and in the vulgar tongues of Europe, there existed four Italian texts of the *Navigatio Sancti Brendani*, dated respectively, end of the thirteenth, middle of the fourteenth, end of the fourteenth and end of the fifteenth century; even the latest of these was early enough for Magnani. (For reference to these four texts, cf. F. Novati, *La Navigatio Sancti Brendani*, Bergamo, 1896, Introd. For the passage concerning the whale-island, cf. p. 16.) The 'whale' passage is found in the various versions of the Brendan story as follows: *Les Voyages Merveilleux de St. Brandon*, ed. Michel, P. 1878, vv. 435-479; *Brendans Meerfahrt*, ed. C. Wahlund, Upsala, 1900, pp. 24, 25, 124, 125; *Acta Sancti Brendani*, ed. P. F. Moran, Dublin, 1872, p. 97. Three German versions are printed by C. Schröder, *Perigrinatio Sancti Brandani*, Erlangen, 1871. Magnani may have been indebted to the famous passage in *Orlando Furioso*, VI, 37, 40. The story of the whale-island, however, is found in all parts of the civilized world: Cf. *Ein Tosco-Venezianisches Bestiarius*, ed. Goldstaub u. Wendriner, Halle, 1892 [dated 1468 in the Padua Codex]; *Il Bestiario*

was constantly on his guard. But the whale suddenly struck him a blow from behind with its tail and knocked him into the sea with all his armor. He would have perished had the whale not swallowed him; when he regained consciousness, he found himself extended on the shore of a real island. He took up his shield and set forth to seek whatever adventure lay in store for him.

Toscana, ed. Garver e McKenzie, Roma, 1912 [middle 15 C.], p. 60. Occasionally some other animal is substituted for the whale; in the *Zendvesta* it is a large serpent: cf. Tiele, *Hel Parzisme*, p. 159. A monster of the same sort occurs in an Egyptian story cited by E. Rohde, *Der Griechische Roman u. seine Vorläufer*, 2nd ed. Leipzig, 1900, p. 197 ff. In al-Kazwîni the monster takes the form of an immense turtle: cf. *El Kazwîni's Kosmographie*, tr. H. Ethé, Leipzig, 1863, I, p. 280 (Section V, no. 17), Arabic text, *Adjâib el-Mahlakat*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Gött. 1849. Edw. Lane gives a vague reference to one of Kazwîni's sea-monsters: cf. *Thousand and One Nights*, London, 1841, III, p. 83. The story occurs in the *Talmud*: cf. T. Benfey, *Orient u. Occident*, p. 354, lines 7-12. See further J. C. Mardrus, *Mille Nuits et une Nuit* (tr. from Persian and Hindu MSS), III, p. 199; Burton, *Thousand Nights and a Night*, VI, pp. 5 ff.; the same, tr. J. Payne, V, 154; R. Hole, *Remarks on the Arabian Nights*, London, 1797, pp. 20 ff.; *Pseudo-Kallisthenes*, tr. H. Weismann, Frankfurt, 1850, II, pp. 188 ff.; the same, J. Zacher, Halle, 1867, p. 147; Julius Valerius, Bk. III, ch. 16; Lukianos, tr. Wieland, 1789, p. 184; Sanctus Ambrosius in the *Corp. Script. eccl. lat.*, ed. C. Schenkl, xxxii, 1, p. 166; *St. Basil's Homily on the Hist. of Creation*, cf. C. Hippeau, *Bestiaire d'Amour*, notes, p. 155, note 3; Brunetto Latini, *Tresor*, Bk. I, v, ch. 133; Guillaume le Clerc, ed. R. Reinsch, Leipzig, 1890, pp. 320 ff.; the same, ed. C. Hippeau, Caen, 1852, p. 261; *Bestiaire d'Amour*, ed. C. Hippeau, Caen, 1860, p. 241; Raoul Glaber, *Historia sui Temporis*, Bk. II, ch. 2; Philip de Thäun, *Bestiaire*, ed. Walberg, London, 1900, vv. 1915 ff.; Olaus Magnus, *Hist. de Gentibus septentrionalibus*, Romæ, 1555, Bk. XXI, ch. 25, p. 754; the same, Frankfurt, 1618, Bk. XXI, ch. 7, p. 431; Wright and Halliwell, *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, I, 208 (the Middle English Bestiary here referred to is printed by Maetznar and by Emerson in their Middle English readers, pp. 68 and 19 respectively); Morris, *Specimens*, I, 133; C. W. M. Grein, *Angelsächsischen Poesie*, Gött. 1857, I, 235 ff.; Trevisa's tr. of Bartholomew Anglicus *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, ed. R. Steele, London, 1893, p. 112; also *Batman uppon Bartholome*, London, 1582, p. 200; Milton, *Paradise Lost*, I, 200 ff.; *Facrie Queen*, II, i, 51; Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica*, II, 285, 297; T. J. Westropp, *Proc. Royal Irish Acad.*, XXX, Sect. C, p. 231, note 2,

Florismondo saw no signs of habitation on the wild island, but after a time he encountered an old hag riding upon a scrawny horse; she held a book⁸⁵ in one hand, reading therefrom with great interest, and a wand in the other. She answered nothing to his request for information, but fled; Florismondo followed until she disappeared in a wild tangle of forest; thence issued twenty armed knights on horseback to oppose him; but they were only incantations, and disappeared on touching his magic shield.

The prince continued on his way. Soon he was opposed by two giants armed with great knives; their courtesy,—for they attacked him unwillingly,—persuaded Florismondo to try to conquer them with only the flat of his sword. He succeeded in doing so and went on to the court of the castle; there he was met by another giant whom he also conquered.⁸⁶ In the hall of the castle he saw two columns of jasper upon each of which stood a damsel, immobile, a knife in one hand, a man's head in the other; there was a wound in the breast of each, but no blood flowed, for it is well known that jasper stanches blood.⁸⁷ Their lamentations filled the air and aroused his pity. Scarcely had he made these observations when he was attacked by two lions, both of which he soon overcame.⁸⁸ He had scarcely rested

⁸⁵ The usual magic book; cf. *Orlando Fur.*, III, 21; IV, 17.

⁸⁶ Giants abound in the chivalresque romances. See further, Child, *Ballads*, no. 103; Halliwell [Phillips], *Sir Eglamour*, p. 134; the Irish romance *Eagle Boy*, E. I. T. S. *Amadis*, I, xiii; II, xiii.

⁸⁷ There is abundant reference to this quality of jasper in the lapidaries and other works to which the author doubtless had access. Cf. Cleandro Arnobio, *Tesoro delle Gioie*, Venetia, 1670, p. 97; Mandeville, *Le Lapidaire du Quatorzieme Siècle*, pp. 49, 78; Marbodius, *De Lapidibus*, p. 77; *De Lapidibus Enchiridion*, p. 39; *De Gemmis*, p. 17; Andreæ Baccii, *Elpidiani Philosophi*, p. 75.

⁸⁸ Perion of Gaul fights with a lion, *Amadis* I, i; on Eutropa's island Palmerin of England fights with two lions and two tigers at a fountain; cf. Southey's *Palmerin of England*, II, ch. 54.

from this struggle when two giants with scimitars attacked him; after a hard struggle he overcame them both.⁸⁹

The old hag, her last defender killed, now appeared before Florismondo and upbraided him for the shameful victory he had won over an old woman to whom nothing now remained but death. So saying she plunged a knife into her heart and was visibly borne to hell by black demons.⁹⁰ At her death all the enchantments gradually dissolved.⁹¹

The damsels were now released from their positions and descended to be embraced by the two courteous giants. All the people ran to Florismondo, loudly thanking him for their deliverance; he was very desirous to hear the explanation of all these wonders, so Dario, the elder of the two giants, proceeded to tell the story of their sufferings.

The island which they inhabited, though its true name was Brasil, was called, on account of its inhabitants, "L'Isola de' Giganti," and was situated "nell' Oceano Occidentale," 250 miles from Ireland.⁹² It was under the lordship of three sovereigns: the largest part belonged to the father of the two damsels; another to Formione, father of the two giants, Dario and Carpentio; the third to Drumalda,—the wicked sorceress,—and her two sons, whom Florismondo had conquered in the castle. On the death of his wife, the lord of the largest portion married Drumalda. When he

⁸⁹ Cf. *Amadis*, I, xiii; *Yvain*, 5470 ff.

⁹⁰ Palmerin of England drives Eutropa to suicide by undoing her enchantments; cf. Southey, op. cit., II, ch. 55.

⁹¹ Cf. a similar rescue, *Amadis*, II, i.

⁹² The island of Hy Brasil or O Brasil, was believed to be situated near Porcupine Bank; this belief was doubtless caused in prehistoric times by mirage or fog-bank. The Aran people still believe that Brasil may be seen once in seven years. The cod-bank of Imaire Buidhe, some forty miles to sea, was believed to be an enchanted, sunken island, identified by the fishermen of North Mayo with O Brasil. Cf. Westropp, *Proc. R. I. Acad. XXX*, Sect. C, pp. 257, 258. Before the end of the 15th century the merchants of Bristol sent seven expeditions in search of Brasil, Cf. Westropp, op. cit., p. 230.

In the old maps Brasil was actually represented as an island somewhere to the west of Ireland; see the maps of Dulcert, Solerio, Bianco, Gratiotus

died, she sought to marry her step-daughters, Canziana and Dorizia, to her two sons, for the sake of the dowry.⁸³ Dario-ro and Carpentio, however, loved the two sisters, and their love was returned: they were forced to resort to a secret marriage; when this was discovered, the sorceress placed the whole realm under enchantment. Drumalda told the sisters that Dario-ro and Carpentio were dead, showing as proof two magic heads. But instead of killing them, she had placed these two under enchantment as Florismondo had found them,⁸⁴ unwilling guards of her wickedness, together with their father, Formione. The sisters, who had attempted to kill themselves, she placed upon the two pillars.

Drumalda knew by her art that the enchantment would be overcome by a certain knight; to avoid this impediment to her scheme, she enchanted all the inhabitants, and the island itself, against strangers.

When Dario-ro had finished his story, all the people rendered thanks and homage to Florismondo. Soon the giants and their rescuer were healed of their wounds and the latter prepared to depart. The two brothers begged leave to accompany him and he willingly granted it. " . . . per ora lasciamogli andare . . . perciocche la fretta di Pompeo mi tira quasi forzatamente a ragionar di lui."

In Roano Pompeo and his lady secretly awaited the last day set by Ellanio; no one had yet appeared to challenge

Benincasa, Fra Mauro, Martin Behaim, Freducci, Juan de la Cosa, Argento-rati, Diego Ribero, Georgio Calapoda, Domingo Olives, Mercator, and the Catalan portolano of 1339 in E. Nordenskjöld's *Facsimile Atlas and Periplus*. See in general the excellent article of Westropp, op. cit., loc. cit. See further Guillaume Delisle's map of the British Isles in his *Atlas* (1714-20). See also Gerald Griffin's ballad "O Brasil, the Isle of the Blest," *Poetical and Dramatic Works*, Dublin, 1895. According to Westropp, Brasil was not removed from the charts till 1865.

⁸³ Compare the situation in the ballad *Rose Red and White Lily*, Child, no. 103.

⁸⁴ In *Amadis*, II, xv, the wife of a dead giant keeps two knights prisoners in revenge.

him save Ferrante, the young brother of Evagrio, to whom, on account of his youth, the King hesitated to trust his honor and that of his daughter. Ferrante was about to enter the lists when Pompeo arrived and with well-reasoned words induced him to withdraw in his favor. When Ellanio saw his new antagonist, his uneasy conscience gave him some forebodings as to the outcome of the battle and he attempted to avoid it. But Pompeo refuted all his arguments and he was forced to fight or be declared recreant. It was a drawn battle between them for so long that Darinda began to fear for the life of her champion. During a moment when both knights had drawn apart to rest, Pompeo saw his lady in tears and reproached himself bitterly for his cowardice.⁹⁶ The battle began again; thanks to Pompeo's renewed ardor and Ellanio's uneasy conscience, the latter was killed; but Pompeo was so grievously wounded that the leeches forbade anyone to see him for many days.

After the trial by combat Darinda spoke in her own behalf. Her words caused a search to be instituted for the minions of Ellanio's treachery, but none of his men were to be found. Galarte,⁹⁶ however, knew and confessed his brother's guilt. The remains of Evagrio were found and properly interred; Ellanio was condemned for the crime *majestatis læsæ*, Darinda was exonerated, S. Michele, which had reverted to the King on Ellanio's death, was bestowed on Ferrante.⁹⁷ Here we reach "il fine del primo libro."

Just as an able company of gentle musicians is accustomed to hum a few low notes in order the better to prepare them-

⁹⁶ The sight or thought of his lady often has a strengthening effect on the fighting knight; cf. *Amadis et Ydoine*, ed. J. R. Reinhard vv. 6287 ff.; *Erec*, vv. 911 ff.; *Cligès*, v. 4192. It has a contrary effect on Amadis; on seeing Oriana his sword hangs loose in his hand, *Amadis*, I, xiv. See also Gawain's fight with the demon at the tomb, *Atre Pcirilos*, vv. 1334 ff.

⁹⁶ Is the name a reminiscence of *Gavarte*, *Amadis*, II, xx, III, v?

⁹⁷ Ginevra is dowered with the duchy of the dead traitor Polinesso, cf. *Orlando Fur.*, VI, 15.

selves for the coming concert, before the tuneful voices fully break forth into song; or as the little song-bird, not well taught in the parental lays dares not at once mingle in the choirs of sylvan singers, but first, withdrawing to the green foliage of a solitary myrtle, strives gently there alone to strengthen his still uncertain notes, and then, among the most harmonious songsters sweetly pours forth to the stars his master voice so that he renders the vocal Echo, the wandering wind and the murmuring wave amorous of his most sweet accents,—thus the wise Heliodoro, author of this story,⁹⁸ has not yet spread the sails of his genius: one might say that up to this time he has sung softly, solely to prepare himself better for future composition. Up to this time he has but sorted the threads and designed the work; now it behoves him to weave, and to paint with lively colors the projected narration. Let the reader be gently inclined to him in the heavier labor he is now about to undertake; the reader's sympathy will give him courage for the task and inspire him to perform greater ones.⁹⁹

When Florismondo and the two giants entered the magic ship, they were borne, in the course of a few days, to a certain island; there Florismondo descended, accompanied by his two friends, from whom he had exacted a promise that they would not impede him in the discharge of his duties as a knight-errant. Some distance from the coast they came upon a rugged mountain surrounded by a moat of black and putrid water. In attempting to cross the bridge they were warned to proceed no further toward the "casa

⁹⁸ Needless to say, neither Heliodorus the bishop, nor Heliodorus the magician, had anything to do with it; this is a convention of the chivalresque romances. Montalvo pretends that *Las Sergas* (*Amadis* V) was written in Greek by Elisabad. The Sage Alchifo is supposed to have written *Amadis* VII, VIII, IX; *Don Belianis* purports to have been written by the Sage Friston, *Florando de Inglaterra* by Polismarco and Palurcio, *Lepolemo* by Xarton, *El Espejo de Principes* by Artemidoro the Grecian, *Florisel de Niquea* (*Amadis* X) by the Queen Zirfea.

⁹⁹ This paragraph has been given almost literally for the sake of showing the author's style.

della crudeltà"; they ignored the warning, and the two giants were swept by a furious wind into the filthy ditch, and thence each was borne in turn to the top of the mountain by a huge bird. With much difficulty Florismondo also reached the top of the mountain. There, in a little ravine, he discovered a cavern whence came a black smoke deadening the air with the stench of sulphur and bitumen. He was unable to proceed further, so he took up his position before the cave. Night came and with it a vision. He seemed to hear a heavy murmuring, and saw issue from the cave a number of women, clad in black and weeping brokenly; behind them came a smaller band of men, each man carrying a knife. The two bands placed themselves one on either side of the little valley, paying no attention to Florismondo. Servants then brought forth two seats and placed them between the two groups. Next came a deformed giant carrying a knife in his hand; behind him came a beautiful damsel, weeping. The giant sat in one seat, caused the lady to be seated in the other opposite him, and began a discourse on love. Desire, hope, sorrow, and, when the loved one proves obdurate, cruelty, said he, are the ministers of love. Did not Medea, Phædra, and Arsinœ grow cruel when Jason, Hippolytus and Agathocles spurned their love? And had she not heard how Sthenobea, the wife of Prætus, persecuted the valorous Bellerophon? and how Antigonus, the son of John Hyrcanus, was persecuted by the wife of Aristobulus?¹⁰⁰ and the chaste Joseph by the un-

¹⁰⁰ John Hyrcanus, High Priest of the Jews, son of Simon Maccabeus (whom he succeeded in 135 B.C.) died in 103 B.C. and left the kingdom to his son, Alexander, who was succeeded by his son John Hyrcanus II. The brother of the latter, Aristobulus II, usurped the throne, but Hyrcanus drove him from it with the help of Pompey. Antigonus, son of Aristobulus II, deposed John Hyrcanus II with the aid of the Parthians but was soon afterward supplanted by Herod. According to our romance, the wife of Aristobulus fell in love with her nephew-in-law, Antigonus, son of John Hyrcanus II, if the latter had a son by that name; or with Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus (and herself?). Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, Bk. I, ch. iii, tells of the death of Antigonus through the calumnies of the Queen

chaste wife of his master? Did not Cleobea, the wife of Fabius Nelidus, prince of the Milesians, kill Antheus of Halicarnassus¹⁰² with her own hand because he scorned her love?¹⁰³ In view of these facts the giant, Rodoante by name, advised the lady to yield to his love if she would avoid his cruelty.¹⁰⁴ Diana,¹⁰⁵ the lady, refused with great courage and disdain. Angered by her resistance, Rodoante signed to his servants to carry out his orders: one by one the women opposite them were led to Diana, their breasts bared and their hearts cut out and laid in Diana's lap. These women did not die, but continually besought Diana to yield to Rodoante; on her refusal they were cut to small pieces before her eyes. Florismondo could not stir to punish

and her favorites, though there is no hint of a love affair. But later writers, translators, commentators, or even Magnani himself could easily have supplied one.

¹⁰² The son of Assesos and Hellamene; he was a hostage to Phobius Nelidus; the wife of the latter, Philaichme or Kleoboia, sought his love; he repulsed her and she, in revenge, brought about his death. Cf. Aristotle, *Milesian Historians*, and Alexander Aitolos as cited by Parthenius.

¹⁰³ The author here shows considerable knowledge of the wide-spread motif of Joseph and Potiphar's wife; cf. *Genesis*, xxxix, 7-20; *Seven Sages*, vv. 491-559; *Purgatorio*, VI, 19 ff., also note in P. B. Lombardi's ed., Firenze, 1830; Chestre's *Launfal*; Marie's *Liaval*, ed. Warnke; Schofield, PMLA, XV, 147, note 1; *Guingamor*, Schofield, *Harr. Studies and Notes*, V, 237-238; Rhys, *Studies in Arthurian Legend* (Móirigu's antipathy to Cuchullain); *Fornmanna Sögur*, III, 469 (Hjalmters og Öivers Saga, ch. 8); Child, *Ballads*, no. 301; Ker, *Folklore*, V, 121; *Iliad*, VI; Clouston, *Popular Tales*, II, 500; Landau, *Quellen*, p. 28; P. Meyer, *Guillaume de la Barre*, vv. 4258, pp. xxiv, xxxix; Sansovino, *Cento Novelle*, iii. 1; *Decamerone*, ii. 8; Maspero, *Pop. Tales of Ancient Egypt*, first story; *La Historia de los nobles Oliveros de Castilla y Artur d'algarbe*; *Volsunga Saga*, Norroena series, pp. 167 ff.; Abbattutis, *Pentamerone*, tr. R. F. Burton, II, 400, iv. 6; Pauli, *Handbuch*, under "Kleoboia"; Reinach, *Orpheus*, ch. ii, no. 9; Xenophon of Ephesus, *Ephesiaca*; Heliodorus, *Aethiopica*; Euripides, *Phædra*; *Chastelaine de Vergi*; *Sanas Cormaic*, ed. K. Meyer, p. 58 ff.

¹⁰⁴ Amadis, I, xix, rescues a damsel from the unwelcome embraces of Arcalaus.

¹⁰⁵ The name occurs in *Florisel di Niquea* (*Amadis*, French Bks. IX, X, Italian Bk. X).

this cruelty. On Diana's further refusal, Rodoante cut out her heart, and having eaten it, disappeared within the cave.¹⁰⁵

Morning was now at hand and Florismondo understood that his vision had been the work of magic; he also remembered his fire-proof shield and magic-proof helmet, and resolved to enter the cavern.

The prince passed through the flames unharmed and came forth upon a plain. There he saw a forest of horrible aspect, for each tree was formed like a human being. The leaves of the trees were long and resembled hair; the boughs and twigs seemed like arms and fingers; where the stem entered the earth it was divided, representing legs and thighs; at the top was a round portion which left no doubt as to its representation of the human head. The black trunks of the trees were stained with the blood which dropped continually from the leaves; in the midst of the stem was an incision in which was fastened a human heart. Above the forest hovered great black birds that came to peck at will at these hearts; their cries, together with the lamentations of the trees, filled the air. Florismondo put the birds to flight with his sword; as he attempted to move forward, the trees left their places and crowded about in a circle so compact that he had to clear a way with his blade. He cut one of the trees in two and at once it dropped to his feet in the form of a woman;¹⁰⁶ the others now redoubled their cries, and Florismondo knew that these were the women whom he had seen mutilated in the valley. Not far forward he saw a palace situated in the midst of a field of herbs which were really so many different colored adders with

¹⁰⁵ Cf. the enchanted chamber, *Faerie Queen*, III, xii, 20.

¹⁰⁶ The similarity of this passage with that in the *Gerusalemme Liberata*, XIII, 41-45, is very striking. For other speaking and bleeding trees see *Æneid*, III, 27-45; *Inferno*, XIII, 31 ff.; *Orlando Fur.*, VI, 26 ff.; *Orlando In.*, III, vii, 17; *Faerie Queen*, I, ii, 30-32; Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica*, IV, 604; R. E. Dennett, *Folklore of the Fjort*, p. 42; L. Holberg, *Nils Klim's Underground Journey*.

their heads in the air; the field was irrigated and the vipers nourished by the blood distilled from the leaves of the forest. Unmindful of the vain opposition of these vermin, Florismondo proceeded to the palace: it was surrounded by a blood-filled moat; in the niches of its black, blood-stained hall were, instead of statues, men upon whom great birds preyed.¹⁰⁷ At the prince's approach the big, open, steel doors closed of their own accord with a dull clangor. The doors continued to open and shut swiftly,¹⁰⁸ but Florismondo held one of them in place with his sword and entered the palace. In the court he conquered two knights and then looked about him. In a corner of the hall he saw a block of stone upon which was bound "una bellissima donna nuda"; a great bird held her with its talons and lacerated her flesh with its beak. Florismondo attacked the bird and killed it; it fell to earth in its natural form, that of the giant Rodoante; therewith the enchantment vanished and Florismondo fell into a swoon.

When the prince returned to consciousness he found himself on a flat, barren island; beside him were the damsel who had lain bound on the stone and the knights with whom he had fought; there also were the women formerly imprisoned in the form of trees and the men who had taken the places of statues in the palace; among these were Dariocco and Carpento.

After thanking him for their delivery, the company considered how they might leave the island. Florismondo set their minds at rest by saying that he had a ship already

¹⁰⁷ Cf. the twelve copper men on twelve marble pillars beside the brook on the Firm Island, *Amadis*, II, xxi.

¹⁰⁸ The Symplegades motif; cf. Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica*, II, 595-606; Lowie, *Jour. Am. Folklore*, XXI, 106 ff.; A. C. L. Brown, *Harr. Stud. and Notes*, VIII, 81 ff.; Larminie, *West Irish Folk Tales*, pp. 10-30; Curtin, *Hero Tales*, pp. 327 ff.; Curtin, *Myths and Folklore*, pp. 93-113; O'Foharta, *ZfCPhilol.*, I, 477 ff.; Gonzenbach, *Sizil. Mär.*, I, 99; R. Köhler, *Klein. Schr.*, I, 397; Laistner, *Rätsel der Sphinx*, I, 263; Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 360, no. 141; Boas, *Tsimshian Texts*, Smithsonian Inst., Bur. of Amer. Ethnol. Bulletin 27, 1902, pp. 129-130.

prepared. It was only with great difficulty that they, especially the women, were persuaded to enter it, reassured somewhat by the example of Darioarco and the two giants. On the following morning Florismondo asked the first of the knights with whom he had fought to tell the story of their enchantment. The knight, who was Alvredo, prince of Scotland and brother to Diana, complied with his request.

Roldone, King of the Goths, visited the Scottish court disguised as a knight-errant. He fell deeply in love with Diana and performed many feats of arms in her honor. But because he announced himself as only an unknown and foreign knight, neither Diana nor her father would incline to his suit. Moreover, Diana already had a lover in the person of Aldrovando, Duke of Iceland (with whom Florismondo had fought last).¹⁰⁹ King Cario sought to remove the jealousy between the rivals by removing the cause of it, entrusting his son Alvredo with the mission of carrying Diana to his brother-in-law, Armato, king of Little Britain. Alvredo was almost in sight of Brittany when evil fortune, in the guise of a storm, drove him upon an island identified by the sailors as one of the Sorlinghe islands.¹¹⁰ Here he was courteously received by the lord of the place, Rodoante. The latter fell in love with Diana, and one night transported Alvredo and his men to the ship while they slept. When the prince realized that his sister was not on board, he armed his men and went ashore; no sooner had they touched land than they became the victims of enchantment and were placed as Florismondo had found them. Here the story was continued by Aldrovando.

The Duke of Iceland decided to follow Diana, but since he did not know whither she had gone, returned to Iceland to avail himself of the services of a magician; the same revealed to him her evil case, and Aldrovando determined

¹⁰⁹ A hint of the Ginevra episode again; cf. above, note 55.

¹¹⁰ The Sorlingues or Scilly Islands, S. W. of Land's End. See also W. Foerster, *Guillaume d'Angleterre*, v. 1050, Sorling, a town in Scotland.

to free her, but was detained for more than a year by illness. At the end of this time other circumstances prevented his departure: Roldone, declaring himself King of the Goths, had formally asked the hand of Diana; since he was a pagan, his suit was declined. Hereupon he returned to his own land, collected an army and conquered Scotland. St. Andrews¹¹¹ fell and the King was driven to *Edimburgo*. Aldrovando came to his aid, but their combined forces could not raise the pagan's siege. The Scots took counsel, and decided to apply to King Armato for assistance. Aldrovando undertook the embassy, and was about to land at St. Malò when the temptation to land at the Sorlinghe nearby overcame him. There he also fell under the enchantment from which Florismondo had happily delivered them all.¹¹²

On hearing this tale, Florismondo decided that he would secretly,—for he did not yet wish to discover his identity,—aid the oppressed kingdom as far as lay in his power.

The ship was now approaching a land which the voyagers took to be Little Britain; they were not deceived, for it stopped at St. Malò, to the great wonder and no little terror of the inhabitants. Here, committing to Alvredo a message for his father couched in such terms as to conceal his identity, Florismondo left the company to continue on his way.

The Scottish prince and his people proceeded to Rennes; there they laid their case before Armato. The King was quite willing to help them, but first he had to ask counsel of his assembled barons. Oronzio, an old knight of much wisdom and experience, was invited by the King to speak first. This Nestorian person eloquently considered the matter from every angle, weighing each point with marvellous precision.¹¹³ His arguments were heard with "incredible

¹¹¹ Sant'Andrea occurs in *Orlando Fur.*, V, 76.

¹¹² This story-telling is quite in the manner of Cervantes, *Persiles y Sigismunda*, and of Lesage, *Gil Blas*.

¹¹³ Oronzio's speech occupies fourteen pages and is remarkable not only

attenzione." No one had a word of opposition,—he had answered all the objections in advance,—and the aid to Scotland was voted.

Now Armato's kingdom was astir with warlike preparations; arms long unused were brought into the daylight and burnished; footman, squire and knight bestirred himself.¹¹⁴ When the army had assembled, its various divisions were reviewed by the king; three days later they sailed for Scotland with light hearts.

The story now returns to the activities of Florismondo's foster-father. After the siege of Guadiana had been raised, Erminio bethought himself of returning to his quest for Florismondo, but he was deterred somewhat by the thought that the other knights would then depart also, thus leaving the little kingdom a future prey to the Moors. Erminio considered that the way out of the difficulty lay in marrying the two lovers, Deianira, Queen of Algarbe, and Cesare, the Italian nobleman. The parties concerned were nothing loath and the nuptials were accordingly solemnised with great splendor and rejoicing. Now Erminio prepared to take his leave and the two other knights begged leave to accompany him; he granted their request, for they were valiant warriors, and he was fond of companionship. In order to conceal their identity, all three had their arms painted blue, bearing on their shields "imprese" which differed only in details. Lucio's shield represented dark night obscured with clouds, through which a few bright stars shone, and bore the motto: PIÙ BELLE. Flamminio's shield also showed a dark night with the sky full of stars and the motto: IN TENEBRIS CLARIORE. Erminio's shield had the same device with the words: TENEBRE ALTRUI, A NOI SPLENDORE E LUME.¹¹⁵

for its eloquent diction, but for its clear and sound principles of statecraft; it also suggests Magnani's knowledge of Machiavelli.

¹¹⁴ Compare the preparations for war in *Amadis*, III, i.

¹¹⁵ Cf. the blazons of the shields on the wall of the Forbidden Chamber on the Firm Island, *Amadis*, II, ii.

The three friends went about performing deeds of valor till they were known throughout Spain as the knights of the stars. One day they arrived at a castle situated on the sea-shore at the eastern foot of the Pyrenees where France joins Spain. As knights-errant they were received with all possible courtesy by the valets and the ruler of the castle; the latter was a woman. In the evening, after the tables had been removed, there appeared "alquante damigelle . . . con diversi strumenti nelle mani" with which they rendered most marvellous music. The musicians were about to withdraw when the mistress of the castle asked one of the maids to sing. She allowed herself to be persuaded, protesting, however, that her voice was rough. Nevertheless, she took up her lute again, and touching it softly, began to sing with an angelical voice and more than human grace the following song:¹¹⁶

L'alma rosa in su la spina
Porporina
Su 'l mattin vaga rossegia;
Porporeggia, e coi colori
Con gli onori
Della bell' alba gareggia.

Fra 'l rossor delle sue foglie
Si raccoglie
Vergognosa vermiglietta;
Vezzasetta si nasconde
Tra le fronde,
E si chiusa più diletta.

Fra vermiglio si gentile
Ride Aprile
E vi fà dolce dimora:

Leonoreta, fin roseta
Blanca sobre toda flor,
Fin roseta, no me meta
En tal cuita vuestro amor.

Sin ventura yo en locura
Me metí;
En vos amar es locura
Que me dura
Sin me poder apartar;
Oh hermosura sin par,
Que me da pena é dultzor.
Fin roseta, no me meta
En tal cuita vuestro amor.

De todas las que yo veo,
No deseo

¹¹⁶ Out of twenty stanzas I give six, printing in parallel column the poem which may have served as their inspiration if not their model. Compare these verses also with the ode of Gabriello Chiabrera (1552-1638) beginning:
 Belle rose porporine Ma, ministre degli Amori,
 Che tra spine Bei tesori
 Sull' aurora non aprite; Di bei denti custodite;

Ivi Flora ancor soggiorna.
Meno adorna
Per dolor piagne l'Aurora:

E di stille lagrimose
Le dogliose
Gote sue piangendo bagna;
E si lagna, ch'onorata,
E pregiata
Più la rosa si rimagna.

Ma pur anco accresce il vanto
Il suo pianto
Della rosa a la beltade;
Perchè cade a lei nel grembo
Un bel nembo
Non di pianto, di rugiade.

Che sue stille lagrimose,
Rugiadose
Stille sono, e cristalline;
Molli brine, ch' a vederle
Sembran perle
Tra le foglie porporine.

Servir otra sino a vos;
Bien veo que mi deseo
Es desvaneco,
Do no me puedo partir,
Pues que no puedo huir
De ser vuestro servidor.
No me meta, fin roseta
En tal cuita vuestro amor.

Aunque mi queja parece
Referirse á vos, Señora,
Otra es la vencedora,
Otra es la matadora
Que mi vida desfallece;
Aquesta tiene el poder
De me hacer toda guerra;
Aquesta puede hacer,
Sin yo se lo merecer,
Que muerto viva so tierra.¹¹⁷

The maid at last finished her most sweet singing, and still touching her lute very softly, gave opportunity to the souls of her listeners to return to their accustomed habitations and offices from the realms beyond every human sentiment whither the sound of such great sweetness had transported them. The knights considered her rather more divine than human, and their wonder at the singer increased their desire to know who their hostess was, and the circumstances which had placed her in command of the castle. At Erminio's request she willingly, though not without a few tears, related her case.¹¹⁸

In times gone by Faramondo¹¹⁹ became king of the great

¹¹⁷ Cf. *Amadis de Gaula*, Barcelona, 1847, pp. 129-130; P. de Gayangos, *Libros de Caballerías*, Madrid, 1857, p. 134.

¹¹⁸ Cf. above, note 112.

¹¹⁹ The name is unhistorical; it occurs, as Faramont, in *Foulque de*

and beautiful realm of France. On the advice of his courtiers he took to wife Attalanta,¹²⁰ daughter of Boleslas, king of Poland. In the course of time his wife blessed him with twins: Childerico,¹²¹ a boy, and Rosaliana, a girl. The boy died at an early age, but Rosaliana grew so beautiful that at the age of thirteen the King's counsellors deemed it advisable, for the safety of the realm and the peace of mind of its knights, that she be removed to some pleasant place of retirement till she should have arrived at a marriageable age.¹²² At this time Faramondo was prosecuting a grievous war with the king of the Lombards, and for that reason had moved his capital to Marseille. A mile from the city, on the seashore, he provided for his daughter a beautiful castle guarded by three hundred foot and one hundred knights. There Rosaliana retired with her mother.

But the imprudent queen wearied of the rigors of quasi-incarceration; one day, with her daughter and three maids,—Lavinia, daughter of the Duke of Lorraine, Daria, daughter of the Duke of Savoy, Clarice¹²³ (the present narrator), daughter of the Duke of Picardy,—she went to divert herself in a neighboring wood. The ladies lost themselves in the tangle of the forest, and only with great difficulty did they find their way back to the shore, about four miles distant from the palace. Here they rested and amused themselves on the sand. While they were thus engaged, they were espied by a band of pirates whose ship was hidden not far distant. The pirates, seeing the women unguarded by

Candide, p. 13, v. 23. Rabelais, *Gargantua et Pantagruel*, Bk. II, ch. 23, has Pharamond.

¹²⁰ The name is unhistorical; it occurs, as Atalante, a male, in *Orlando In.*, II, i, 73, xxvi, 18, xxix, 49 and elsewhere.

¹²¹ The name is unhistorical.

¹²² Miraguarda was so lovely that she had to be kept secluded in the castle of Almourol; cf. Southey's *Palmerin of England*, Pt. II, chs. 63, 68. Gridonia likewise was hidden for safety in a strong castle; cf. *Primaleone*, Venetia, 1559, Bk. I, ch. xxx.

¹²³ *Orlando In.* has Clarissa, the betrothed of Rinaldo; cf. I, i, 22, ii, 106.

any man, approached stealthily and bore them off,¹²⁴ all save Clarice, who had strolled apart from the others. She feared to suffer a like fate and fled through the forest, icy fear at her heart, thinking ever "d'avere le loro predatrici mani in su le spalle."

Here, in the middle of Clarice's narrative, the story of Florismondo breaks off abruptly. The main lines, however, as the author himself indicated at the beginning of the second book, have been drawn. It would be hazardous and useless to guess at the remainder of the story in all its probable "maraña . . . inextricable de personajes y aventuras"; but with a little ingenuity we may postulate, as far as concerns the chief characters at least, the principal episodes that we lack. We may presume that Pompeo, on recovering from his wounds, was rewarded with the hand of Darinda. Erminio and the two Italian knights, on hearing to an end the tale of Clarice's woes, would probably offer her their services, set out to rescue her mistress, Rosaliana, and get themselves enchanted in the attempt. It was the intention of Florismondo, when he left St. Malò, to go to the aid of the Scots king; he may have raised Roldone's siege either alone or with the help of his father's army,

¹²⁴ Rape by pirates is a prevalent motif in the chivalresque romances. El Cavaller Cifar's lady was carried off by pirates, cf. *Historia del Cavallero Cifar*, ed. H. Michelant, Stuttgart, 1872, Pt. I, ch. 41, p. 68; Albayzar carried off Targiana to Constantinople where she was rescued by the Black Knight, cf. Southey's *Palmerin of England*, Pt. II, chs. 84, 85; in the same work, ch. 153, it is recounted that griffins carried away the Queen of Thrace as she was amusing herself with her ladies. Cervantes adopted the motif in *Persiles y Sigismunda*, cf. ch. ii, which tells how pirates made way with Auristela as she was walking along the shore.

Such rapes are almost constant in the Greek romances; in the *Ephesiaca*, Anthia and Habrokomes are carried off together, later Anthia alone; Clitophon and Leucippe meet identical fortunes in the romance by that name; in the *Ethiopica*, Theagenes and Chariclea are borne off together; in *Chareas and Callirhoe* and *Daphnis and Chloe*, only the heroines are forcibly abducted.

whereupon the two lovers, Aldrovando and Diana would be married. Thus he would have accomplished his special Christian task of putting to rout the pagans. After many adventures, and after undoing many enchantments, we may suppose that Florismondo would be permitted to rescue (from enchantment) Rosaliana, the lady of his dreams,—the same Rosaliana who had been borne off by pirates,—freeing at the same time Erminio, Lucio and Flamminio who had failed in the attempt. The flower would now have joined with the rose, as in Auriana's dream.

Beyond this we cannot proceed, nor can we supply the allegory of human life which Florismondo's adventures represent. Alchifo explained for us the adventure "dell' Eternità, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that the enchantments encountered by Florismondo on the island of Brasil and the Sorlingues would have had a similar explanation.

From the foregoing analysis it may be seen that the author of *Florismondo* was familiar with a respectable body of fact and pseudo-fact, some of it peculiar to his own time, much of it pertinent to all times. He was acquainted with folklore, mythology and religion, with history, geography and literature, especially the last. Automata, the whale-island, the peculiar properties of jasper and carbuncle are pure mediæval lore. The references to *Fama*, *Natura*, *Terrore*, *Eternità* and the island of Delos indicate special reading, whereas Mongibello and Taprobana were common Renaissance names for Mt. Ætna and the island of Ceylon. The use found by him for St. Brandan's *terra repromissionis sanctorum* would have astonished that holy man. Brasil, or Hy Brasil, however, appears in its proper form, that of a magic island. The author seems to have been familiar with other Irish lore, too, for Florismondo's voyages, though they are not without prototypes in other chivalresque romances, remind one forcibly of those of Maelduin and

other Irish heroes.¹²⁵ Did Magnani have access to materials left in one of the seats of Irish ecclesiastical activity in the peninsula, at Bobbio or elsewhere?

His classical learning is wide but not astonishing,¹²⁶ save possibly in the case of Prætorius and Sthenobea. But these personages were well known to his contemporary, Spenser, and here, as in other instances, it would seem that he and the English poet had dipped into the same sources.

That he was familiar with such matters connected with religion as the Bible and the shrine of St. James of Campos-tella needs no comment. But it is rather unusual to find him (presumably) familiar with the writings of Josephus. Also, he seems to have known Bishop Heliodorus other than by name.¹²⁷

In writing a chivalresque romance Magnani could hardly omit to mention the Moors. His account of their activities may easily have been founded on fact. His reference to Louis XII and Anne of Brittany is more exact than that to the daughter of King Boleslas of Poland. The great figures of the ancient world, Darius, Alexander the Great, Hannibal, Domitian and others were known to him.

More extensive, perhaps, is his geographical knowledge: it extends from Persia, Milesia and Macedonia through Poland, Sweden, Denmark and Scotland to Iceland, thence south through the mythical islands of Brandan and Brasil to Brittany, Spain, Portugal and Africa. Nor are Lybia, Babylon, Scythia, Constantinople and Zeeland (island belonging to the Netherlands) forgotten. It should be ob-

¹²⁵ Cf. the voyage-tales or *immrama* of Brain Maic Febail, Curaig hua Corra, Brendain, Curaig Máiledáin, and Snedgusa ocus Maic Ríagla. For editions and translations of the same, cf., under *immrama*, the index of R. I. Best's *Bibliography of Irish Philology and Printed Irish Literature*, pp. 115-116.

¹²⁶ He mentions, among others, Aurora, Apollo, Bellona, Venus, Vulcan, Hercules, Deianira, Echo, Jason, Medea, Jove, Juno, Mars, Medusa, Perseus, Neptune, Tethys and Tithonus.

¹²⁷ Cf. above, note 124.

served that, unlike his predecessors', Magnani's place-names, with a few minor exceptions, are actual, not imaginary. Two of his enchanted islands, Brandan and Brasil, never were other than fictitious, it is true, though they were real enough on the charts of his day;¹²⁸ but the third, the Sorlingues or Scilly Islands are authentic. His knowledge of Brittany is minute and surprising: he mentions the names of no less than thirty-five of its towns, rivers, counties and the like.

Magnani's indebtedness, or presumable indebtedness, to other than romantic literature and to romantic literature other than the *genre* with which we are dealing has already been cited in the notes. To Virgil, Dante, the two Tassos, Pulci, Boiardo, Ariosto, the lapidaries and bestiaries, his work shows direct obligation. There is doubt how closely he was acquainted with Homer, Euripides, Castiglione, Machiavelli, Brunetto Latini, Boethius and Boccaccio; still, in the case of his country-men, it may be supposed that he had read their works. But concerning the *Amadis* romances, their continuations and imitations, there is no doubt whatsoever; his love for them was hardly less than that of the ingenious gentleman of La Mancha himself; from them he took with both hands what he needed. Out of the forty-six (titles counted only once) romances of chivalry published between 1490 and 1602, not counting Mambrino Roseo da Fabriano's supplements to the Italian versions, he was familiar with the 12 books of *Amadis*, 6 books of *Sferamundi*, Fabriano's supplement to the Italian *Silves de la Selva* and 7 miscellaneous romances by direct evidence; one can only imagine how many others he had read.¹²⁹

¹²⁸ Cf. above, note 92.

¹²⁹ For his work Magnani probably used the Italian and possibly the French and Spanish versions of the romances which have been cited above in the footnotes. He did not use any French or Spanish version, save possibly *Cavaller Cifar*, of which there was not an Italian equivalent. His chivalresque material may be seen advantageously in the adjoined table.

<i>French</i>		<i>Italian and Spanish</i>		<i>Italian</i>
<i>Book: date</i>		<i>Book: date</i>	<i>Italian Name</i>	<i>date</i>
I 1540←		I 1508→	Amadis di Gaula	1546
II 1541←		II 1508→	Amadis di Gaula	1546
III 1542←		III 1508→	Amadis di Gaula	1546
IV 1543←		IV 1508→	Amadis di Gaula	1546
V 1544←		V 1510→	Splandiano	1547
not tr.		VI 1510→	Florisando	1550
VI 1545←		VII 1514→	Lisuarte di Grecia	1550-51
not tr.		VIII 1526	not translated into Italian	
VII 1546←1}		IX 1530→	Amadis di Grecia, Cavallier dell' Ardente Spada	1550-51
VIII 1548←2}				
IX 1551←1}		X 1532→	*Florisel di Nichea	1551
X 1552←2}				
XI 1554}	←1}	XI 1535→	*Rogel di Grecia	1551
XII 1556}				
not tr.	2}	1551→	*Rogel di Grecia	1564
XIII 1571}	←	XII 1546→	*Silves de la Selva	1551
XIV 1574}				
XV 1577-8	←		Fabriano's Suppl. to Ital. XII	1568
XVI 1577-8	←		Sferamundi Pt. 1	1558
XVII 1577-8	←			2 1559
XVIII 1575-9	←			3 1563
XIX 1575-82	←			4 1563
XX 1575-82	←			5 1565
XXI 1575-81	←			6 1565
		1490→	*Tirante il Bianco	1538
		1511→	Palmerino d'Oliva	1544 prose
			Palmerino d'Oliva	1561 verse
		1512→	Primaleone	1548 prose
			Primaleone	1562 verse
		1512	*Cavaller Cifar	no Ital. tr. (?)
		1544?→	Palmerino d'Ing- hilterra	1553-55 Pts. 1, 2, 3
		1562→	Specchio de' Prin- cipi	1601, Pt. 1 only
		1563←	*Leandro il Bello	1560 P. Laur

EXPLANATORY NOTE: The numbers of the books in italics, VI, VII, VIII, are those apparently not used by Magnani. A title preceded by an

asterisk (*) denotes that I have not been able to consult that work directly but have had recourse to the French, Spanish or Portuguese version, or to H. Thomas' *Spanish and Portuguese Romances of Chivalry*. The arrows point from the source to the translation.

It may be true that the romances of chivalry were dead or slowly dying in Spain¹²⁰ at the time when the first part of *Don Quixote* gave them the coup de grâce in 1605; but they were not yet dead in Italy; if we may believe Manzoni (*I Promessi Sposi*), Italian gentlemen still argued points of chivalry and courtesy according to their standards as late as 1627. Not long before or after this date¹²¹ we must place the work of Magnani; he may have been one of those very gentlemen, determined that the 'race' of Amadis should not enjoy its well-earned repose. He himself betrays his fell purpose.¹²² In the account of the last battle fought between the Christians and the pagans given in 'the pleasing story of Sferamundi,' Bk. VI, ch. cxxvii, it is told that certain scions of Amadis, Florisello, Anassarte, Sferamundi and others remained alive: This was Magnani's opportunity; Urganda and Alchifo promptly enchanted them¹²³ for future use, for they 'knew that before the time came for the enchantment to end there should be born of the race of Amadis a very valiant prince who should do much for the cause of Christianity.' Behold him, Florismondo, indeed the last of his race.¹²⁴

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¹²⁰ No Spanish continuation of *Amadis* appeared later than 1546, the date of Book XII.

¹²¹ The handwriting of the manuscript is early 17th century, the language is good Tuscan of approximately the same period.

¹²² Cf. above, p. 445.

¹²³ Magnani did not want for examples of this sort of thing: Amadis, Florestan and Galaor had been so preserved by Urganda so far back as *Splandiano*, ch. clxxxiii.

¹²⁴ The French books XXII, XXIII, XXIV, translated from the equivalent German books (printed 1594-95) appeared in 1615.

XXIII. DON JUAN IN A FRENCH PLAY OF 1630

None of the numerous studies devoted to the Don Juan tradition mention a French play of 1630 which contains certain of its elements and is earlier in date than any other extant French or Italian version, as early, indeed, as the printed *Burlador* itself. This striking fact deserves, I think, some consideration. Let us see first what is the prevailing opinion with regard to the origin and early history of the Don Juan legend, then what place in the list of versions should be assigned to this French play, and finally what confirmation or modification of the present theory may be deduced from the fact of its existence.

According to the best evidence that has been submitted,¹ the legend arose from the union of the following themes: (1) a folk tale recounting a feast with a dead guest, found extensively in Spain, but elsewhere as well; (2) the legend of an avenging statue, as old as Greek mythology, (3) the character of a rake, especially depicted in plays of Lope and Cueva.² The first play to show all of these elements is the *Burlador*, of which the earliest text we possess was printed in 1630. This play gave rise in Italy to a *commedia dell'arte* and to comedies by Cicognini and Giliberto, written about the middle of the century and imitated in France

¹ Cf. Gendarme de Bévotte, *la Légende de Don Juan*, Paris, Hachette, 1906 and the books referred to in his bibliography, pp. 517-521; T. Schröder, "Die Dramatischen Bearbeitungen der Don Juan-Sage," *Z. R. Ph.*, XXXVI Heft, 1912; Said Armesto, *la Leyenda de Don Juan*, Madrid, sucesores de Hernando, 1908.

² J. E. Gillet in "Cueva's 'Comedia del Infamador' and the Don Juan Legend," *M. L. N.*, 1922, pp. 206-212, shows that "there are in the play, even though not in the character of Leucino, certain traits which announce . . . the *Burlador*."

by Dorimon and Villiers, whose tragi-comedies, acted about 1659, inspired a few years later Molière's *Don Juan*.

Now the French play to which I would call attention is *l'Inconstance punie*. It was written by a certain La Croix³ in varied meters⁴ and published at Paris by Jean Corrozet in 1630 and again in 1641.⁵ Its setting is that of a pastoral. Erante, poor and avaricious, lives in a wood near the sea with his three daughters and longs for a son-in-law wealthier than his shepherd neighbors. One of these, Caliris, asks for the hand of Melanie, the oldest daughter, but is refused on account of his poverty. Then arrives the prince for whom the daughters have been sighing, a certain Clarimant, who has just been shipwrecked on the coast, has left his servants to recover from exhaustion, and has come to seek aid. He is cordially received by Erante and, almost as soon as he sees Melanie, he asks for her hand. This Erante gladly grants and Melanie breaks with her former lover to accept the interesting stranger. But Clarimant soon abandons her for the second daughter, Clorise, with the reflection that

³ Chiefly known as the author of a pastoral called *la Climène*, published in 1629 and imitated from the *Isabelle* of Paul Ferri. Cf. the *Bibl. dram. de M. de Soleinne*, no. 1034 and M. Marsan, *la Pastorale dramatique*, Paris, 1905, p. 342. For La Croix cf. R. Toinet, *la Climène et les poésies diverses du sieur de la Croix*, Tulle, Crauffon, 1898; on p. 21 he states that he has never read *l'Inconstance punie*.

⁴ The meter changes with every scene in a manner that suggests foreign influence. It may be indicated as follows, the figures within parentheses indicating the number of syllables in the lines and the letters the rime scheme for each scene: I, 1 (12 aabccb), 2 (12 abab), 3 (12 abbc, 6 c, 12 b); II, 1 (12 aabb), 2 (12 aa, 8 b, 12 c, 8 b, 12 c); III, 1 (8 ababccdede), 2 (8 abab, 12 cdc, 8 d); IV, 1 (12 aabb), 2 (12 a, 6 a, 12 bc, 6 c, 12 b); V, 1 (12 a, 6 b, 12 ab), 2 (8 aa, 12 b, 8 cc, 12 b), 3 (8 aa, 12 b, 8 cc, 12 b), 4, Melanie's first two speeches (8 abab, 12 cdc, 6 d), Caliris's first speech (8 aabcbcbc, 12 dd), the rest in Alexandrine couplets except the four lines uttered by the supernatural voice (12 aba, 6 b). This scheme makes it evident that Corneille's *Agésilas* is not the first example in French of a five act play written in varied meters, whatever Voltaire and M. Pierre Louys may have said to the contrary.

⁵ The only copy of the first edition known to me is at the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. There is a copy of the second edition at Harvard.

Tu auras Clarimant pour frere
S'il ne peut estre ton mary.

When Erante protests, he replies haughtily:

Tous ces discours sont superflus,
Erante ne m'en parlez plus,
Voyez si vous le pouuez faire,
Et sans plus long-temps m'amuser,
Si le party ne vous peut plaire
Vous n'avez qu'à le refuser.⁶

The father yields and Melanie finds herself without a lover, for her former friend has in despair thrown himself into the Seine. She calls on the gods to avenge her on Clarimant and on her sister and father as well,

Que ces trois criminels meurent d'un coup de foudre.⁷

Not trusting the higher powers altogether, she takes her own precautions and persuades the youngest sister, Lozie, to punish Clorise by winning Clarimant from her. In the last act we learn that her scheme has been carried out. Clorise in despair at the loss of Clarimant, stabs herself. Lozie and Erante, seized with remorse, follow her example. Melanie, seeking the body of Caliris by the river, stumbles upon those of her father and sister and expresses herself as follows:

Mais qui sont ces corps estendus,
Et dont le sang couvre la face?
Mes sens en sont tous esperdus,
La peur me rend toute de glace.
Helas! ce sont mes sœurs, qui pour l'amour de moy
Sont en ce triste estat. Bons Dieux! voila mon pere
Cieux cruels, ostez moy des maux où ie me voy,
Et ne tardez plus guere.⁸

She, too, is about to commit suicide—evidently a family complex—when she hears her lover's voice, finds him lying

⁶ III, 1.

⁷ IV, 1.

⁸ V, 4.

on the bank and obtains his forgiveness. But just here Clarimant enters, sees the dead bodies and is blamed for the disaster. He retorts:

Et bien ie m'en repens, et me redonne à vous,
Puisque le Destin veut que ie sois vostre espoux.

Melanie: Traistre va t'en ailleurs brusler d'une autre flamme
Je n'ay pas le dessein d'estre iamais ta femme.

Clarimant: Qui pourroit m'empescher l'effet de ce desir?
Les Dieux ne pourroient pas retarder mon plaisir
Pour ce beau discoureur qui te tient embrassée,
Il va voir ce que peut mon amour offensée.

Melanie: O Dieux! secourez-nous.

Whereupon Clarimant is struck by lightning and a crown descends from heaven upon the head of Caliris, who is directed to espouse Melanie.

If we compare this play with the *Burlador*, we find, of course, many differences. The statue, the feast, the valet, many persons of noble rank, have disappeared. The emphasis is less clearly placed on the chief personage. There are fewer episodes and several of those found in the Spanish play seem to have been combined with one another. The change of title suggests somewhat the same process as that by which the *Dame aux Camélias* became in a translation played in America the *Fate of a Coquette*.⁹

But there are also many resemblances between this play and the *Burlador*. The protagonist is in revolt against moral standards. He is an aristocrat, brave, attractive to women, selfish, inconstant, perverse. It is not his fault if he commits neither murder nor rape. It is just after being lost at sea and landing on an unknown shore that he seeks aid from a stranger of humble station, gains the heart of his daughter, and immediately deserts her for another woman.¹⁰ He wins this daughter from a rustic lover whom

⁹ Cf. Brander Matthews, *French Dramatists of the Nineteenth Century*, New York, Scribner, 1901, p. 142.

¹⁰ Cf. the Tisbea episode in the *Burlador*, I, 10 ff.

she abandons with her father's approval, for both are dazzled by the new lover's wealth and rank.¹¹ The latter assumes an insolent attitude towards the girl's father and is the cause of his death.¹² His perversity is shown by his destroying the happiness of his benefactors, his lack of remorse, and his seeking, in the presence of the dead bodies of the father and sisters, to ravish the woman he had once deserted and to murder her lover. Finally he is killed by supernatural means, struck by lightning as in several plays descended from the *Burlador*.

So many similarities can scarcely have arisen independently.¹³ If the play had been written later in the century, one would not hesitate to say that it was composed under the influence of the Don Juan tradition. And even the fact that it was printed as early as 1630 does not prevent the assumption that it was influenced by a Spanish play. As the *privilege* of the *Inconstance punie* is dated March 2 of that year, the author may well have completed it in 1629, but even so, Rotrou had already made use of a Spanish play in his *Bague de l'oubli*, which had been played the year before. Of course, if M. Gendarme de Bévoite¹⁴ is right in dating the composition of the *Burlador* between 1627 and 1630 it would be difficult for La Croix to have imitated it, but he offers this date with little conviction and less evidence. A more recent writer,¹⁵ though he knows nothing of La Croix, dates the *Burlador* 1620 or shortly after, and Said Armesto would make it even earlier.¹⁶ It is a well known fact that Spanish plays were often written many years before they were published. The date of the *Inconstance punie*, then, does not disprove its dependence upon the

¹¹ Cf. the Aminta episode, *ibid.*, III, 5, 7.

¹² Cf. the death of Don Gonzalo, *ibid.*, II, 13.

¹³ Notice La Croix's lack of originality as shown in *la Climène* and in his imitation of the *Astrée* in *l'Inconstance punie*.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 66.

¹⁵ T. Schröder, *op. cit.*, pp. 209, 210.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 67-74.

Burlador. It merely tends to confirm the earlier date for the latter play.

But there are other inferences to be drawn from a comparison of the *Inconstance punie* and Don Juan plays. Certain differences between the Spanish play and the French are due to the fact that the latter is a pastoral. To that *genre* it owes the forest setting, the shepherd neighbors, the incident of the rejected lover, who, as in the *Astrée*, attempts to drown himself, but is cast up on the river-bank and reunited to his penitent sweetheart, and the reduction of the marvellous element by the elimination of the insulted statue and of the *festin macabre*. Other important details, however, the denial of the power of the gods and the death by a thunderbolt, are neither pastoral characteristics nor found in the *Burlador*. Strange to say, they do occur in later Don Juan plays, for while the hero of the *Burlador* is thoroughly orthodox—in theology if not in conduct—the French Don Juans are characterized by varying degrees of impiety, and while in the *Burlador* there is no thunder and lightning, only the noise of the falling tomb, thunder is heard in Dorimon's tragi-comedy and the hero is struck by lightning in the plays of Villiers and Molière, as he is in the *Inconstance punie*. Since it would be difficult to prove that the *Inconstance punie* influenced any of these plays, it would seem that there must have been another common source besides the *Burlador*.

Now Gendarme de Bévotte¹⁷ thinks it quite possible that such a source may be found in the *Ateista fulminato*, a play cited by Shadwell in the preface to his *Libertine* (1676) as having been played long before in Italian churches.¹⁸

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. 49, 102.

¹⁸ "And I have been told by a worthy Gentleman, that many Years ago (when first a Play was made upon this Story in Italy) he has seen it acted there by the Name of *Atheisto* [sic] *Fulminato*, in Churches on Sundays, as a Part of Devotion." Cf. Works of Thomas Shadwell, London, Knappton and Tonson, 1720, II, 87, 88.

If Schröder¹⁹ is right in identifying this play with one of which we possess an undated scenario, we find in it not only the lack of respect for the gods²⁰ and the death by lightning implied by the title, but also the suicide of a woman, abandoned by her lover, which we have already noted in *l'Inconstance punie*.

The fusion of these elements with those taken from the *Burlador* probably took place in an early Italian adaptation of the latter play, which lies back of all extant versions in Italy and France. Gendarme de Bévotte²¹ thinks it is more probable that the *Burlador* entered Italy in this manner than that it was merely played there in Spanish by Spanish actors. Said Armesto²² points out that another play by Tirso, *el Vergonzoso en Palacio*, was already well known in Italy in 1621. The Italian adapter of the *Burlador* would quite naturally associate it with the *Ateista fulminato* on account of the similarity of the two themes. Schröder, it is true, while accepting this early Italian imitation of the *Burlador*, would have the *Ateista fulminato* influence independently the *Burlador* itself, Cicognini, Giliberto, and Molière. It seems more reasonable to believe that the influence was exerted once for all on this Italian adaptation, which transmitted characteristics not found in the *Burlador* to descendants of the latter play.

It appears, then, that it was this Italian adaptation rather than the *Burlador* itself that passed into France and influenced La Croix, for Italian plays had been imitated in France for nearly a century, while Spanish plays were, as I have said, only just beginning to be imitated there. It follows from this statement that the lost Italian play must

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 77 ff., III, 170, 194, 203.

²⁰ Clarimant is not an atheist, for he calls on the gods in the earlier part of the play, but at the end, just before he is struck by lightning, he denies their power in a way that may have been suggested by *l'Ateista Fulminato*.

²¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 96, 97.

²² *Op. cit.*, pp. 80, 81.

have been written long enough before 1630 to have influenced *l'Inconstance punie*.

As long as such an Italian adaptation of the *Burlador* remains undiscovered, I admit that a part of this theory is not altogether established. I venture, nevertheless, to conclude as follows:

1. The influence of the *Burlador* was felt in France some thirty years earlier than we have supposed.

2. The existence of the *Inconstance punie* gives a new reason for believing that Gendarme de Bèvoitte's date of 1627-1630 is too late for the composition of the *Burlador*.

3. It also supports the assumption that there was an early adaptation in Italian of the *Burlador*. It indicates that such an adaptation must have been written before 1630 and have added to the *Burlador* characteristics from the allied legend of the *Ateista fulminato* which it communicated, on the one hand, mingled with pastoral elements to La Croix, on the other, to a group of seventeenth century writers in France and Italy, of whom by far the most important is Molière.

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

XXIV. RUSSIAN VERSIONS OF DON JUAN

The legend of Don Juan with all its wonderful possibilities could not fail sooner or later to reach Russia on its triumphant march through Europe from its home in Spain. In truth we find that as early as the reign of Peter the Great (the first quarter of the eighteenth century) there was produced a *Don-Yan*. Only the fifth act of this is preserved, but it seems to be a Russian translation of a Polish version of Villiers' *Le Festin de Pierre*. For a century more there is no Russian version and it is not until the time of Pushkin that we find a really valuable contribution to the development of the legend.

In his excellent treatment of the career of Don Juan, M. Georges Gendarme de Beville¹ analyzes both the play by Pushkin and the later longer and more elaborate version of Count A. K. Tolstoy; but we may be pardoned for considering these works at greater length and for comparing them more carefully with other works of Russian literature which will throw some light on the Russian Don Juan.

1. *The Stone Guest of A. S. Pushkin.*

The *Stone Guest*, called by the great Russian critic Belinsky, "the pearl of the creations of Pushkin, the richest and most splendid diamond in his poetic crown,"² was written in 1830 but was not known abroad for some time. It is simple and direct and moves towards its goal through a series of short and uncomplicated scenes. As in his *Boris Godunov*, Pushkin gives a marked narrative character to his work, and by his neglect of the unity of place stands with

¹ *La Légende de Don Juan, Son Evolution dans la Littérature, Romantisme a l'Epoque Contemporaine*, Paris, 1911.

² *Polnoye Sobraniye Sochinenii*, III, 699.

Goethe in *Götz von Berlichingen* in following a Shakespearian model, i.e. a model of almost unlimited change of scene.

Don Juan has been banished from Spain for the murder of Don Alvar, although he does not consider it a disgrace. Quite the reverse, he says: "I am no imperial criminal. The king who loved me, banished me, so that the family of the dead man would leave me in peace."³ He returns now from a feeling of patriotic zeal and disgust with the girls of other lands. "I will not change, you see, my stupid Leporello, the last peasant girl in Andalusia for the first beauties there—it's true, they pleased me at first with their blue eyes and whiteness and their modesty—and especially their novelty; but, thank God, I soon guessed the truth; I saw that it was a sin to bother with them; they have no life and are nothing but wax dolls" (p. 172). He and his servant are now in the cemetery where the affair with Dona Ineza took place. She was not a girl stolen from a convent⁴ but a married woman, "her husband was a rough rascal" (p. 174). A monk then tells him of Dona Anna and he says of her devotion to her dead husband: "He kept Dona Anna enclosed: no one of us ever saw her. Is she good-looking?" (p. 176). He at once conceives the idea of meeting her but she passes him in her mourning without noticing him or any other man. It is then that he decides to go to Madrid to visit his old acquaintance, Laura. (This scene greatly surprises Gendarme de Bevette.⁵) Laura, an actress, cannot, amid all her other lovers, rid herself of her infatuation for Don Juan; she sings his songs and dreams of him until he returns and in a duel kills another of her friends, Don Karlos, whose brother he had previously killed in a duel. This murder causes Don Juan to hide as a monk and so gives him an opportunity to speak with Dona Anna while he is disguised. It also furnishes the duel which is an element of so many of the versions.

³ Vsye Dramaticheskije Sochineniya Pushkina, Moscow, 1916, p. 171.

⁴ Gendarme de Bevette, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 16.

The false monk laughs at the heroic statue of the commander. "What a giant he is! What shoulders! What a Hercules! But the deceased was small and weak; Here, standing on tiptoe, he could not reach his hand to his nose. When we met on the Escorial, he struck against my sword and died, like a grasshopper on a pin; but he was proud and bold and had a rough disposition" (p. 189). He speaks to Dona Anna and becomes steadily more impassioned. At first she is surprised that a monk speaks thus but he tells her he is no monk but Don Diego deKalvido . . . His pleas become more and more romantic and impassioned and concludes: "I only know the value of a moment of life, and only understand the meaning of happiness, since I have loved you" (p. 193). Dona Anna herself proposes that he visit her at her home. Don Juan is overjoyed and as happy as a child. "I am ready to sing, to embrace the whole world" (p. 196). His childish enthusiasm leads him to invite the statue to stand on guard before his widow's door and watch her with his successor. He is frightened when the statue nods assent, but gathers up his courage and goes through with the entertainment.

The next day Don Juan pours out his heart to Dona Anna and she tells him that she had never chosen the Commander. "My mother ordered me to give my hand to Don Alvar. We were poor, Don Alvar was rich" (p. 200). Dona Anna begins to yield and the feeling of duty to her dead husband begins to weaken. She says: "In loving me, you are righteous before me and before heaven" (p. 201). Don Juan will not love under an assumed name and so he reveals himself as Don Juan, the murderer of her husband. She has never seen Don Juan but her threats and her hatred disappear before the real Juan. He says, "I have never yet loved any woman" (p. 206). She is won over and promises to receive him on the next day, giving him a parting kiss . . . At that moment the statue enters and drags off Don Juan to perish.

Gendarme de Bevette is right in his general estimate of the character of Don Juan:

Au type brutal, sans élégance et si complètement irréel conçu par celui-ci (Villiers), Pouchkine a opposé un personnage délicat et vrai. Peut-être même, a-t-il mis dans ce héros sensible et lyrique sous son ironie, dans cet amoureux jaloux et sincère, quelque chose de lui-même et de sa conception du gentilhomme. . . . Ce n'est plus le trompeur perfide de Tirso, le débauché cruel de Dorimon et de Villiers, ni le libertin redoutable de Molière; mais ce n'est pas encore le rêveur de Musset. Par sa grace séduisante, par sa sensibilité délicate, par son ardeur juvénile, il rappellerait davantage le Don Juan de Mozart, avec moins de désinvolture et plus d'ingénuité.⁶

Or to quote a Russian source: "He is not the repulsive, conscienceless type of Moliere, a noble of the time of Louis XIV, considering in lies and perjury merely a game"—says Prof. Dashkevich—"he is a sympathetic person reminding us of a sentimental lover. He is an ennobled honorer of love, a searcher for its highest joy and pleasure. A characteristic of the delineation by Pushkin in comparison with the other types is the more human and deep understanding of this type; without exaggeration or excesses in the idealization. In Pushkin's work, Don Juan is an esthetic nature. He is no rough seeker after sensual delights and mere external beauty, but a butterfly, flitting from one blossom of a tender love for a woman to another, inhaling the fragrance and valuing the individual charm of each of them, seeking in them life and soul."⁷

Belinsky describes him as follows: "with a good opinion of himself, graceful, clever, he is cheerful and biting, sincere and false, passionate and cold, wise and a mad-cap, fluent and insolent, brave, bold, important."⁸

This same type of loving and lovable immaturity is found again and again in the poetry of Pushkin, for we must consider Don Juan not as a gay deceiver deliberately ruining

⁶ *Loc. cit.*

⁷ A. Deutsch, *Typ Don-Juana v mirovoy literaturye*, Niva, 1911, III, 267.

⁸ *Polnoye Sobraniye Sochinenii*, III. 699.

the women who allure him but a young man who is sincere at the moment when he speaks, however changeable he may be in his feelings. He is a true butterfly and even his invitation to the statue is far more a passing whim, a desire to hurt the feelings of the statue, than a threat against the social order. The Commander has not fallen in defence of his wife's honor, but he has always kept his wife in strict seclusion; and Don Juan wishes him to see that he cannot do it after his death. There is nothing about him which might not be in any young man who is eager to sow wild oats and to shine in a brilliant but rather empty society. So Don Juan drifts from intrigue to intrigue with no malevolent desire, falling into love and out again with the same nonchalance that he shows in drawing his sword on Don Karlos. He is madly in love with Dona Anna but so he has been times before, until some other impulse, some other attraction comes before his eyes.

This picture of the young man basking in love and happiness for a moment, willing to risk his life, his liberty, himself for a passing whim, is strikingly like the Pretender in *Boris Godunov*. The false Dimitry, historically a riddle, is as sentimental and as enraptured in the presence of Marina as is Don Juan. The cold and calculating zeal which has driven him from his humble cell to train himself in arms and reach for the throne of Russia counts for naught when Marina appears. For the young Polish girl he postpones the march of his armies; he earns the disapproval of the court of Poland; but what cares he? Marina makes an appointment to meet him; she wishes to rouse him to a sense of his danger, to prove herself a worthy wife of him who would be tsar of Russia and finds a lovesick swain. What is his plea?

O let me forget, if but for a single hour, the trials and anxieties of my fate! Forget yourself that you see before you the Tsarevich, Marina! See in me the lover whom you have chosen, happy in your glance alone. O, hear my prayers of love! Let me express all that fills my heart! (op. cit. p. 78f.). . . . What is Godunov? Is your love, my only blessing, in the power

of Boris? No, no, I look indifferently at his throne, the royal power. Your love . . . what is life without it, the gleam of glory and the realm of Russia? In the empty steppe, a poor hut, you—you will take the place of the royal crown.

Marina haughtily replies: "Not to a youth foolishly mad, captured by my beauty—but I give my hand solemnly to the heir to the throne of Moscow, the Tsarevich saved by fate."

Don Juan could not fail to be jealous of the dead husband of Dona Anna. The Pretender repeats: "Enough—I do not wish to share with a corpse a girl who belongs to him; . . . your Dimitry is dead—and will not rise. I am a poor monk; I took the name Dimitry and I have deceived the stupid Poles. What will you say, haughty Marina? Are you content with my confession?" Later he tells her: "I deceived God and the tsars—I lied to the world; but it is not for you, Marina, to punish me; I am just before you. No, I could not deceive you. You were my only saint, before you I did not dare to pretend; love, love, jealous, blind, love alone compelled me to tell you the whole story" (p. 83). It is only after he has drunk the cup of humiliation to the full that he resumes his poise and declares that he will be tsar, that he will carry out the rôle which he has undertaken and that he will be the tsarevich. It is Marina who plays the positive rôle, but back of this is the same cheerful, happy man who plays with life that we find in Don Juan. Pushkin has followed the *Chronicles* very closely, and Dimitry in history sacrificed often his interests to his whims. Yet he shows at this crucial moment the same weakness which leads Don Juan in his whole career.

A more conventional type of Don Juan is Evgeny Onyegin:

In his first youth he had been the sacrifice of stormy mistakes and of unrestrained passions. Spoiled by his habits of life, now charmed by this, disillusioned by that, slowly tortured by desires, tortured by vain success, marking in noise and calm the eternal rumbling of the soul, stifling a yawn with a smile; that is how he had killed eight years, wasting the best flower of his life. He had not fallen in love with beauties but he courted somehow.

If they refuse, he was happy in a moment; if they betrayed him, he was glad to rest. He sought them without enthusiasm and he left them without pity (*Evgeny Onyegin*, p. 102).

He is now playing the cynic and answers with studied coldness the loving letter of Tatyana. He leaves her for her sister Olga, shamelessly insults her beloved Lensky, flirts with her, and ultimately kills Lensky in a duel. Too late he learns that Tatyana has possibilities. He finds her married to a prominent officer some years later and she repulses him as coldly as he had her. Nevertheless, what is Onyegin but a disillusioned Don Juan? If ever Don Juan should stop and think of his butterfly existence, if ever he should weary of his perpetual pursuit or reason how he could change so rapidly, his joyous existence would bore him and Onyegin would appear.

It is this type of young man eternally charmed or bored by the events of the moment that Pushkin loves to delineate. The picture varies in its general outlines but at heart, in essentials, there is little difference. It is not the repulsive type of social adventurer that Pushkin gives us. It is not some monster of vice and degradation. It is merely the butterfly, the seed blown by the wind wheresoever it will, reacting as it may or as the world of convention demands. It is a type always unconscious of its weaknesses and the empty character of its life. It lives merely for the cult of the passing moment and into that moment it puts all that it has of good and ill.

2. *The Don Juan of Count A. K. Tolstoy.*

This type of Don Juan is separated by an infinity from the Don Juan of Count A. K. Tolstoy, one of the most western of all Russian writers. Count Tolstoy, a lover of Italian art and of the chase was a rare union of different elements, of objective treatment, of history and of mysticism; and his Don Juan is painted on a far larger canvas than the simple story of Pushkin.

The drama or dramatic poem is based on the Spanish version of *Zorrilla*.⁹ It is dedicated to the memory of Mozart and Hoffmann with the following German quotation from Hoffmann:

Aber das ist die entsetzliche Folge des Sündenfalls, dass der Feind die Macht behielt, dem Menschen aufzulauern und ihm selbst in dem Streben nach dem Höchsten, worin er seine göttliche Natur ausspricht, böse Fallstricke zu legen. Dieser Conflict der göttlichen und dämonischen Kräfte erzeugt den Begriff des irdischen, so wie der erfochtene Sieg den Begriff des überirdischen Lebens.

A prologue in heaven shows us spirits praising the immanent and all-kind God, when Satan, the spirit of negation, enters and promises to win away Don Juan de-Marania by showing him the original of which everything mortal is but an unsatisfactory copy. "When he desires, burned by my flame, to find happiness in the arms of love, the vision of perfection will disappear and the woman will appear before him as she is. He will rage. Let him ever seek with eternal thirst a new ideal in the arms of every girl! So with flaming zeal, with stubbornness on his brow, with despair in his breast, with passion in his eye, let Juan seek the heavenly on earth and in each triumph prepare a new woe."¹⁰ Don Juan's pride will help him to his ruin.

Ten years later we see Don Juan the terror of Seville. He is known for his dissipations. He has freed a Moor by force from the clutches of the Inquisition and is under suspicion as a heretic. Now he is in love with Donna Anna and once more he sees the same ideal; he hopes for something different in her love but he dares not hope. How can she differ from the many others with whom he has come in contact. "O, if even one of those whom I loved had kept the promise! I would never have betrayed her, no, they all deceived me shamefully, they betrayed my ideal, they showed

⁹ Gendarme de Bevette, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

¹⁰ *Palnoye Sobraniye Sochinenii*, I. 69

me another face, and to love them, instead of perfection, would have been the basest treason! . . . And then in anger I swore not to believe in love, to believe nothing. I sought in it only possession, I found in it only sensuality, and I sought it only to avenge its jests with jests" (p. 85). He is half-inclined to take the love of Donna Anna as real but he does not seek to test it and so he goes forth as the angel of destruction to master and to jest at his victim.

The Commander does not approve of his daughter's infatuation for Don Juan and begs another suitor whom he favors, Don Oktavio, to watch over his daughter in case anything happens to himself. Don Juan swears his loyalty to Donna Anna but just as arrangements are being made for the betrothal, he deliberately sings a serenade to a woman of most unsavory character, Niseta, where he knows that Donna Anna and her father will see him. The expected happens; there is a duel and the father falls dead.

Don Juan will not give up his pursuit of the daughter. A stranger, the Moor whom he has saved, tries to murder him; but with chivalrous kindness, he hides the unhappy victim of the Inquisition and plans to use him as captain of a pirate ship with which he will scour the Mediterranean Sea. Don Juan roundly condemns Don Cesar for being a mere rake, and kills him and Don Oktavio in duels. He still loves Donna Anna but he is still determined that his triumph will show another illusion as always in the past. He returns to Seville from his estates on the seacoast. Satan has another debate with the spirits and reveals that Donna Anna is such an incarnation of the ideal that his schemes will fail if Don Juan knows how to value her. If he fails in this, he must of necessity fall to Satan.

Donna Anna is still in love with Don Juan, although she knows that she should loathe him. Don Juan comes in and tells her the truth. He wants to believe, he wants love, he wants ideals but he knows that they are impossible. Just then guards enter in search of Don Juan. Donna Anna

hides him and when they are gone, she half faints in his arms. When he rejoins his servant Leporello, he is jubilant because "the deceitful shade of love will never again torture me!" (p. 163). Then in his pride he invites the Commander's statue to a farewell dinner before he leaves Spain forever.

Yet Don Juan is ill at ease. His triumph was not satisfactory. He tries to console himself by saying that there are spots of one's native land which are left unvisited and so are places in the heart; but this is cold consolation. He and Leporello escape from the officers of the Inquisition by a trick, the servant pretending to be the Papal nuncio and ordering Don Juan to a monastery. Just then Donna Anna appears. She has taken poison and with her last breath she has come to urge him to repent. Now she is more charming than ever to him and he has barely will power enough to invite her to take part in his final revel without submitting to her charms and holiness. She dies and even before the final tidings, Don Juan begins to wonder if he is not really in love with her. He discovers that he really does love her and just then the statue enters with the bidding, "Pray!" The statue reveals to Don Juan that he really did love her and with a final threat it leaves. Don Juan faints. The spirits and Satan quarrel again over his unconscious body, but his confession of love has saved him, and Don Juan dies in peace and sanctity in a monastery near Seville.

It will at once be seen how different is the general spirit of this work from that of Pushkin. Gendarme de Bevette¹¹ comments on the great development of the character of Donna Anna as in the work of Flaubert. The girl is as carefully drawn as is Don Juan himself and is a noble and self-sacrificing character, sincerely in love with Don Juan and trying to save him even in her last hour.

The prologue is greatly influenced by Goethe's *Faust*. In both cases we have a conversation between the powers

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 67.

of heaven and their opponents, but the differences are as striking as the resemblances. The Satan of Tolstoy is in no wise the Mephistopheles of *Faust*, even as he is not the conventional devil of Christian theology. Mephistopheles is much more of a wag. The Lord says:

Von allen Geistern die verneinen
Ist mir der Schalk am wenigsten zur Last (Part I, vv. 338-339).

He describes himself to Faust:

Ein Theil von jeder Kraft
Die stets das Böse will und stets das Gute schafft (vv. 1335-6).

Satan says of himself: "I am a shadow of painting. I am the dark base of a picture, the logical contribution of necessity. I am something in the form of a general covering, I am that black stuff on which you sew the many colored flowers . . . In mathematics I am minus, in philosophy the reverse of deity; in brief I am nothing, the denial of life; and when the Lord created the whole world from nothing, I am that material which served him for creation" (p. 64).

It would take us too far from our immediate subject to analyze all the differences between Mephistopheles and Satan and to trace out the details of the pantheistic philosophy which is existent in the work of the Russian poet. Similarly we cannot study the mysticism of the drama further than to quote the following letter of the author with regard to the appearance of the statue of the Commander.

Cette statue n'est pas une sculpture en pierre, ni l'esprit du commandeur, c'est la force astrale, la force exécutive, servant également le bien et le mal, et se trouvant neutralisée par les volontés contradictoires de Satan et des anges, (position préparée dans la scène du cimetière), idée cabalistique se retrouvant dans tous les ouvrages hermétiques et se reproduisant de nos jours invisiblement dans chaque acte de notre volonté, et visiblement dans toute expérience magnétique et magique. Satan ne peut pas emporter Don Juan avec ses mains, il a besoin d'un agent pour s'en emparer définitivement. . . . Cette prise de possession n'est pas physique, elle est toute psychique, mais symboliquement manifestée.¹²

¹² Quoted by Lirondelle, *Le Poète Alexis Tolstoy, L'Homme et l'Œuvre* p. 479.

A closer parallel is that between Satan and the Demon in *The Demon* of Lermontov, a Russian and Caucasian poem describing the unfortunate attempt of a fallen angel to make his way back to heaven by his love for a mortal girl. Satan declares in the beginning when he first appears as a mere voice, "I venture to tell you that, I, having the misfortune to lose my form as an archangel, I was absolutely deprived of form; therefore permit me to assume some form or aspect" (p. 65). He refers again to the time when he desired to become the supreme ruler of the universe and rose in revolt against God (p. 66). In all this he is but following the example of Lermontov. The Demon flying above the Caucasus thinks of the past, "When he believed and loved, the happy firstling of creation; when free from care, he did not know, he did not know either malice or doubt, the fruitless torture of regret; and a weary row of fruitless centuries did not threaten his mind . . . And much, much . . . and all he had no power to remember" (*Demon*, Part I, 1).

Now long expelled from heaven, he wandered in the wilderness of the world without a refuge. Century succeeded to century, as minute to minute in monotonous chain. "Ruling the worthless earth, he sowed evil without delight; he met no opposition to his art,—and evil bored him." (Part I, 2). He describes himself to Tamara after penetrating the convent where she is in refuge; "I am he, whom no one loves, and everything living curses. Space and years are nothing to me; I am the god of my earthly slaves, the tsar of consciousness and of freedom, I am the foe of heaven, the evil of nature,—and you see, I am at your feet" (Part II, 10.)

The idea of the demon plays a large part in all the writings of Lermontov. More than one of his poems from the earliest years (the first of them was written in 1829 when the poet was only fifteen years old) deals with this theme. It appears again in Pechorin in the *Hero of our Times*.

Don Juan is himself inspired in the same way. When he is formulating his plan for securing Donna Anna, he says: "How shall I begin? I do not yet know myself, but I feel that my demon is ready to help me again; in my breast he is fanning a smouldering flame." (p. 140).

Between Pechorin himself and Don Juan there are many points of similarity. Think of the love affair between Pechorin and the Caucasian Bela. As the wild girl learns to think kindly of him, Pechorin grows visibly cooler towards her. Then there are the other affairs, Princess Mary, and many more but the only one who really touches him is Vera, whose love he has spurned so cruelly as a young man. Of course Pechorin lacks the mystic touch of Don Juan and yet the figure of the attractive young man unable to satisfy his soul by danger or by love was undoubtedly a source of inspiration for Alexis Tolstoy.

There is a similarity between the ending of Tamara and that of Don Juan. In both cases the powers of good and evil meet and contest for the soul of the mortal. The spirits and Satan in the cemetery form a rough parallel to the attempt of the angel to bar the entrance of the Demon into the convent and the final intervention of the spirits as Satan rises from the earth is of the same character as the final discomfiture of the Demon by the angel who is carrying Tamara's soul to heaven.

Between Lermontov and Alexis Tolstoy there exist many touches of kinship which are quite alien to the spirit of Pushkin. There are important differences between the first two. There is something far less titanic, far less tempestuous in Tolstoy, a willingness to be satisfied in this world which is alien to the unbending pride of Lermontov.

Tous deux ont la même conception de l'amour "infini" mais tandis que l'un dédaigne d'aimer "pour un temps," l'autre ne néglige pas l'à-compte terrestre; l'un se réjouit que l'âme, emportée sur les ailes d'or d'un ange, trouve enfin dans l'Eden la fin du doute et des souffrances; l'autre prête a

l'âme délivrée le souvenir des chagrins d'ici-bas, le désir de quitter le bonheur céleste pour redescendre consoler ceux qui souffrent sur terre."¹³

This passion is lacking in Pushkin for we must not forget that Lermontov, as Merezhkovsky has pointed out in his study of the poet, is the first poet in Russian to give serious consideration to the problem of evil, a problem which never presented itself to the mind of Pushkin.

We have noticed how Pushkin carried over into his person of the Pretender in *Boris Godunov* the essential features of the character of Don Juan. It is at least interesting to note that Tolstoy's Tsar Boris bears the same relationship to his Don Juan. In the later version the Pretender does not appear. We hear constantly about him but Tolstoy does not try to solve the riddle of his identity. Quite the reverse. We have one scene in which Gregory Otrepyev appears at the very time that the rumors of the return of the Tsarevich are flying everywhere. Dimitry is a manifestation of the anger of heaven at the crime of Boris, a mysterious shade which will not take definite shape and which cannot be contested by mortal means.

In these two versions of the legend of Don Juan we see the difference between the two poets. Pushkin is the product of the early Romantic period of Russian literature, the period of artistic but artless narration and lyric outbursts. Tolstoy lived after the pronounced realistic tendency in Russian literature had been started and developed by Turgenev and the radical writers of the sixties. He was a poet of art for art's sake but he poured into his work an enthusiasm and a pleading for this cause that gave to many of his works a serious and even philosophical purpose. It is for this reason that his Don Juan becomes not merely a study of the legend but a poetic statement of the poet's own philosophical and metaphysical position.

Both Pushkin and Tolstoy were familiar with many of the more important European versions of the legend but

¹³ Lirondelle, *op. cit.*, p. 572.

they treated it in quite different ways. In general, however, the didactic and social purposes to which Russian literature dedicated itself during the greater part of the nineteenth century were not favorable for the production of works which were based on the great international legends and traditions. It is then the more gratifying to find that two of the great authors of Russia have handled this theme and have produced works which stand definitely in the circle of classical Russian literature. In both cases the scene is laid in Spain but Don Juan in his essential characteristics is thoroughly permeated with Russian thought and ideas exactly as the writers of every country and of every age have drawn a Don Juan who is a product of their own age and of their own land.

CLARENCE AUGUSTUS MANNING

XXV. EPIC FORMULAS, ESPECIALLY IN LAZAMON

In Lazamon's poem commonly called *Brut* there is an extraordinary profusion of epic formulas, full of flavor and charm, contributing as much as anything to the marked individuality of the poem. The same or similar phrases are used again and again, as a rule in the same or similar circumstances, or to describe the same person or action. The degree of similarity which makes a phrase a formula is impossible to define, but in the first list in each case given below is meant to be essentially close.¹ A phrase is considered a formula when it occurs three times or more in this poem; two occurrences may be accidental, but three are becoming habitual.² Other occurrences could doubtless be found,

¹ There has been much looseness in the use of the term epic formula. Every alliterating phrase, even if repeated in one or more poems, is not a formula; certainly not a mere couple of words, found now together, now some distance apart; still less a mere type of phrase, of which the words vary. There is a clear difference between epic formula and a vague "epic language," or common phrases which happen to be used in narrative poetry, of which we have admitted few here. Unity and frequency are essential. In the present article no attention is paid to phrases which lack these requisites in Lazamon's usage, even if found in other works. I also ignore, of course, the "incremental repetition" of the ballads and the like, which also is quite a different thing. We have not undertaken, here or later, to go into elaborate definition or classification of formulas and their usage, though it might be profitable to have this done. It is rather surprising that so concrete, interesting, and suggestive a matter of style has not been adequately treated, as it will not be here.

² In the *Nibelungenlied* (and more or less elsewhere) we often find a longish phrase occurring twice almost word for word, but rarely oftener; the poet clearly felt three or more occurrences as a conscious excess. As to numerous recurrences of shorter formulas in that poem, see p. 523 below. On the other hand (see pp. 516, 520, 521 below), shorter phrases often stop with the third occurrence.

and also other formulas, but we have meant to exclude mere stock-rimes, and in general phrases so inevitable that they would not have been felt as formulas by *Lajamon* or his auditors, however often repeated. Some of our items might be combined, others subdivided, for they often merge with each other; the whole matter is fluid. The most frequent form is generally taken as standard. Hundreds of less frequent or important variants are disregarded. Each formula is nicknamed by a striking word in it.³

Æfne. æfne þan worde.

- II. 443, 472, 475, 503, 512, 3 later, III. 29, 64, 91, 93, 101, 102, 109, 3 later. Cf. II. 481, III. 57, III. 52(2).

Ævere. swa longe swa bið ævere: her ne cume we næwere.

- II. 366, 367, 450, 526, 550, 551; III. 123, 269, 294. cf. II. 450.

Are: cf. *Are-nu.* swa ich æwere ibiden are.

- I. 126, 129, 141, 283, 412. II. 97, 235, 275, 560. III. 249. Cf. læuerd þine ære. I. 230, 377. II. 337.

Are-nu: cf. *Are* and *Nu.* & we bidded þine ære: nu & aucre mare.

- I. 231, 283. II. 92, 280, 449. III. 247-8. Cf. I. 230 (*Otho*), 265, 377. II. 337.

Adelest: cf. *Cnihten, Folken, Monnen.* adelest kingen.

- II. 278, 328, 336, 414, 418, 420, 426, 436, 45 more. III. 7, 9, 34, 36, 79. adelest alre kinge

- I. 110, 288. II. 290, 318. III. 20, 21, 109, 123. adelest Brutten

- II. 431, 528. III. 48. Many like phrases in *Lajamon* with other nouns or adjectives.

³ I am uncommonly indebted to the care and judgment of my assistant, Miss Phyllis M. Carbaugh, for much organizing and collecting; also to Professor A. G. Kennedy, for some first-fruits of his Bibliography of the English Language. References are to volume and page of Sir Frederic Madden's admirable edition (3 vols., London, 1847). The citations are from the *Caligula* MS, and no attempt has been made to exhaust the *Otho*. Two formulas on a page are marked "(2)". The place of occurrence of the version given is italicized. Karl Regel's *Die Alliteration im Lajamon* (*Germanistische Studien*, Vienna, 1872, pp. 171-246) gives some of *Lajamon*'s alliterating two-word formulas and some parallels in Anglo-Saxon and other early Germanic poetry, and shows what he well calls *Lajamon*'s uncommon wealth of old popular phraseology. Mr. Joseph Hall in his definitive edition of *King Horn* collects some of *Lajamon*'s formulas which parallel some in that poem, and so do a few other editors of early texts.

ædelust bearna: Elene 476; ædelast tungla: 93; monna leofast: Jul. 84; gumena leofost: Andr. 575; eorla leofost: Andr. 1352. Similar locutions common in Anglo Saxon and Germanic poetry.⁴

Ades: cf. *Suoren.* ades heo sworn: swiken þat heo nalden

I. 175, 215, 230. II. 283, 388, 498, 524. Cf. I. 30, 220. II. 518, 526, 557.

Balu. balu þer wes riue

I. 27, 194, 195, 247. II. 263, 419, 444, 552. III. 107.
balu eow is ȝeude

⁴ Here are the sources of the parallels cited:

Anglo-Saxon poems cited from the Wülcker-Grein *Bibliothek*.

Amis and Am[iloun]. ed. Kölbing, *Allengl. Bibl.* II.

Arth[our] and Merl[in], ed. Kölbing, *Allengl. Bibl.* IV.

Bede, Eccl. Hist. (A. S. version). Best[ary], in Wright's *Reliquiae Antiquae*, I. Body and Soul (Worc[ester Fragment]), ed. Buchholz. Duty of Christ[ians], E. E. T. S., O. S., 49.

Erthe upon Erthe, E. E. T. S., O. S., 141. Fehr, *Die formelhaften Elemente in d. alten engl. Balladen*, Basle diss., Berlin, 1900.

Five Joys, in Wright's *Reliquiae Antiquae*, I. Fuhrmann, *Die alliterierenden Sprachformeln in Morris' Early Engl. Allit. Poems*, etc., Kiel diss., Hamburg, 1886. Gen[esis] and Ex[odus], E. E. T. S., O. S., 7. Gloria, in Wülcker-Grein *Bibliothek*, II.2. God Ureis[un of ure Lefdi], E. E. T. S., O. S., 29. Har[rowing] of Hell; E. E. T. S., E. S., 100.

Hav[elok], ed. Holthausen. Horn, King Horn, ed. Joseph Hall. Horn Ch[ild], in Hall's ed. of King Horn. Hymn, in Wülcker-Grein *Bibliothek*, II. Isumbras, in *Thornton Romances*, Camden Soc. Max[imian], in Wright's *Reliquiae Antiquae*, I. Meyer, *Allgermanische Poesie*. Orfeo, in Ritson, *Anc. Engl. Metr. Rom.* II. Orm[ulum], ed. White and Holt. Owl and Night [ingale], ed. Wells. Pass[ion of our Lord], E. E. T. S., O. S., 49. Prov[erbs of] Alf[red], ed. Skeat. Richard [Coer de Lyon], in Weber, *Metr. Rom.*, II. Rob[ert] of Gl[oucester], ed. Wright, Rolls Ser. St. Kath[erine], E. E. T. S., O. S., 80. St. Marh[erete], E. E. T. S., O. S., 13. Sarmun, in Mätzner's *Allengl. Sprachproben*, I. Schmirgel, *Typical Express. and Repet.* in Sir Bevis, E. E. T. S., E. S., 65. Sin[ners] Bew[are], E. E. T. S., O. S., 49. S. E. Leg., *Early South English Legendary*, E. E. T. S., O. S., 87. (Here are saints' legends not otherwise located). Sowdan of Bab[ylone], E. E. T. S., E. S., 38. Spec[ulum] Gy de Warewyke, E. E. T. S., E. S., 75. Squyr [of Low Degree], in Ritson, *Anc. Engl. Metr. Rom.* III. Thr[ush] and Night[ingale], in Wright's *Reliquiae Antiquae*, I. Tristr[am], ed. McNeill, Scott. Text Soc.; ed. Kölbing. Vox and W[olf], in Mätzner's *Allengl. Sprachproben*, I. Wm. of Pal[erme], E. E. T. S., E. S., 1. Woh[unge] of Ure Lav[erdi], E. E. T. S., O. S., 34. Wom[an] of Sam[aria], in E. E. T. S., O. S., 49. Wulfs[tan's] Homilies, ed. Napier.

- I. 247, 348. II. 218. III. 80, 196.
 balu wes on folke
- II. 379, 444, 456. III. 73, 95, 199, 221. Cf. I. 62. II. 535. III. 66.
 þæt balu wes on londe
- II. 91, 184, 220. III. 166.
 bitterest alre baluwen
- I. 413. II. 461. III. 217, 258. Cf. I. 74. II. 11, 248, 301, 583.
 III. 255.
- Bar.* swa bið þe wilde bar.
- I. 72. II. 250 (Otho), 469. III. 25, 217. Cf. I. 320. II. 250.
- Beden.* & beden for þere seole: þæt hire neuere sæl nere.
- II. 113, 276, 477. Cf. III. 11.
- Bemen:* cf. *Blisse*, *Ferde*. he lette blawen beomen: & bonnien his ferdan.
- I. 219 (Otho), 241-2, 250, 339, 344. II. 254, 277, 377, 378, 379, 487, 529. III. 93, 149, 220, 244. Cf. I. 75. II. 271, 497, 556, 574.
 III. 81, 89, 135.
 He lette blauwen bemen:
- I. 190, 365, 368. II. 173, 353, 606. III. 109.
 Ardur lette blawen: hornes and bemen
- II. 458-9, 549. III. 173. Cf. I. 417. II. 251, 502, 538. III. 39, 89.
 bemen þer bleowen: blisse wes on folke
- I. 217. II. 201, 502-3.
 & bonnien ure ferdan
- I. 201, 365. II. 417, 446. III. 81, 242.
- Bidæled.* ærhden [etc.] bidæled
- II. 3, 78, 81, 107, 137, 265, 303(2), 445, 452, 6 later. III. 33, 77, 128, 219.
 Very common idiom in A. S. and early M. E.; dreamum bedæled (jedælde): Beow. 721, 1275: Chr. and Sat. 68, 344; Guth. 712; welþes bidelid: Prov. Alf. 558; cf. Body and Soul (Worc.) B 16, C 32; etc., etc.; also Ziegler's book on the "Cædmonian" poems (later mentioned) p. 53.
- Biræde:* cf. *Ræde-rune*. ich me biræde wulle: of swulchere neode
- II. 34, 623. III. 213, 248, 259.
 he bad him ræde: to swulchere neode
- II. 7, 295, 298. III. 213-4. Cf. I. 29, 190, 381. III. 271.
- Biþokte.* þe king hine bi-þoute: wat he don mahte
- I. 44, 81, 124, 133, 139, 178, 195-6, 205, 7 later. II. 3, 17-18, 39 (Otho), 50, 86-7, 131, 151, 161, 164, 11 later. III. 134, 135, 160, 205, 209, 227. Cf. I. 384. II. 277(2). III. 210, 260, 281, 287-8.
 Horn child him biþoute Wat he speke myȝte: Horn(O), 433-4;
 þe mirie maiden hir biþouȝt In what maner þat sche mouȝt: Horn Ch. 364-5; Finlac king him bi þouȝt, Hou he Horn yeld mouȝt: ib. 808-9; hem biþouȝt Hou þai horn bitray mouȝt: ib. 478-9;

þer-vore he hine bi-pouhte. hw he don myhte: Passion, 683;
bi-pouȝte . . . hire . . . hov heo miȝte best on take, and ȝwat
heo miȝte do: Th. Beket 51 (S. E. Leg.).

Blisse: cf. *Bemen*. mid muchelere blisse

I. 89, 288. II. 10, 34, 201, 385, 456. III. 208, 234.

mid hæȝere blisse

I. 289. II. 313, 351, 414, 439, 486, 605.

muchel wes þa blisse

I. 47, 325, 408. II. 244, 412, 486, 598. III. 210, 250, 268.

blisse wes on hirede

I. 77. II. 201, 203, 439, 503. III. 206.

blisse wes among heom

II. 164, 353, 594.

þa weoren inne Bruttene: blissen i-nouwe

I. 385. II. 89, 382, 530, 615.

Blīpe-live. þa wes þa king swa blīde: swa he nas nauere ære on his liue

I. 59, 77-8, 95, 356-7, 381, 408. II. 41, 111, 182, 211, 292.

næs he neuere swa blīde: ær an his liue

II. 134, 292, 571, 574. Cf. I. 199, 432. II. 195-6, 232. III. 127.

Blīpe-mode: cf. *Seorhsful*. blīde an heore mode

I. 218, 325, 381. II. 31, 253.

Boren-burȝe: cf. *Boren-coren*. nes he neuere iboren: i nauere nane burȝe

II. 98. III. 6, 254. Cf. II. 582. III. 30.

Boren-coren: cf. *Boren-burȝe*. nes næuere na mon iboren: ne of nane
londe icoren

I. 75. II. 75, 371, 500, 612. III. 145.

þe scullen beon alle icorne: and swīde heige iborne

I. 227, 231, 363, 390. II. 114-5, 454. (Boren: coren, rime common
in early M. E. poems.)

Brac. þa hit alles up brac: hit wes god þat he spæc.

I. 130, 150, 231. II. 291, 411.

Breken: cf. *Brustleden*, *Helmes*. breken brade sperren

I. 221. II. 397, 422. Cf. III. 94, 141, 220, 245.

Broðer. Nennius wes þeos kinges broðer: næfde he nenne oðer

I. 317. II. 272, 337. III. 9, 264.

ælc spæc wið oðer: swulc he weore his broðer

II. 214, 347, 540. III. 205. Cf. I. 184, 220. III. 294. (Stock rime
in M. E.)

Brustleden: cf. *Breken*, *Helmes*. Brustleden sceldes

II. 397, 422, 552. III. 94, 141, 220, 245 (Otho).

Bruttes. Bruttes weoren bisie [balde]

I. 386. II. 3, 11, 397, 552. Cf. I. 338, 396. II. 8, 117, 257, 397, 553.

Clepian. heo letten lude clepian: & cuden ȝeond þat ferde

I. 75, 339, 340.

Cnihten: cf. *Ædelest, Folken, Monnen*. þa andswærede Hengest: cnihtene alre hendest

- II. 156, 158, 159, 165, 168, 180, 182, 189, 4 later. Cf. II. 213, 214, 258; 211, 266; 256, 265, 270.

Cnihtes-fihten. gode cnihtes: þa gode weoren to fihten

- I. 58, 266, 315. II. 67, 78, 133, 162, 166-7, 182, 350. Cf. I. 23, 356. III. 8, 68-9.

Com-dai. þa com þe ilke dai: þat þe king deað læi

- I. 118-9, 158, 165, 296, 385, 429-30. II. 2.

Comen. to-somne heo comen: & feondlice heo slojen

- I. 74, 180. II. 44, 191, 263, 303, 379. III. 204.

Daias: cf. *Wintres*. daias & nihtes

- I. 138, 140, 230. II. 6, 7, 260, 358, 386, 440(2), 479, 545. III. 247. cf. I. 10, 290.

bi dæie & bi nihte

- I. 88, 169. II. 154, 401, 477.

Phrases very common in A. S. and M. E.; Beow. 2269; Phoen. 147, 478; Best. 63, 195, 711, 720; Horn (L) 265; Pass. 530, 684; Fehr p. 22; etc., etc.

Deorling. Bruttene deorling

- II. 201, 257, 318 (Otho), 497 (Otho), 618, 633. III. 36.

Scottene deorling

- I. 269. II. 578(2), 602(2), 636. III. 14.

Ealured Englene hurde, Englene durlýng: Prov. Alf. 11; Alured, Englene frouer: Prov. Alf. 26, 62.

Drihten. næi swa me helpe drihten: þe scop þas daias lihten.

- II. 198, 258, 356, 396, 461, 487, 568, 4 later. III. 187, 217, 238, 289. Cf. II. 632-3. III. 52.

Ende. i þon nord [etc.] ende

- I. 90, 118, 143, 291. II. 61 (Otho), 91 (Otho), 107, 150, 161, 181, 308, 5 later. III. 160, 209, 249, 260.

þat he com to þan ende

- II. 92, 144, 170, 351. III. 220. In Lindeseye, riht at þe north-ende: Hav. 734.

Fader. æfter his fader daie

- I. 117 (Otho), 118, 123, 268, 392. III. 278.

Fæie. feollen þæ fæie.

- I. 27, 34, 35, 65, 74, 177, 395. II. 112, 163, 303, 379, 419. III. 110, 255. Cf. III. 245.

monie þer weoren fæie

- I. 63, 200, 339. II. 469. III. 140.

ah alle heo beoð fæie

- II. 241, 259, 394.

fæie jeƿealled: Beow. 1755; þæt þær fæie men feallan sceoldon:

Mald. 140-5; þæt him æt fotum feoll fæȝe cempa: Mald. 119; fæȝe feollan: Brun. 12; cf. Fuhrmann, p. 59.

Fæi-side. for heore fæi-side

II. 9, 148, 202. III. 34, 43, 116, 152.

and fæi-sid makede

I. 14, 158. II. 474. III. 152. Cf. I. 25, 28. II. 38, 423, 444, 469, 564. III. 126.

Falcwede. falewede nebbes

I. 177. II. 552, III. 67, 221, 245. Cf. II. 344.

Feondliche: cf. *Wunder.* feondliche swide

I. 63, 246. II. 9, 100, 251, 256, 399, 427, 482, 3 later. III. 94.

Ferde: cf. *Bemen.* & sumneden færde: wide ȝeond þan ærde

I. 273, 393, 394. II. 189, 312, 314, 359, 392, 400, 433, 551. III. 146-7, 204, 219, 258, 296. Cf. I. 223, 290, 416. II. 301, 417, 551. II. 90, 227, 252.

he somenede færd: swulc nes næuere eær on erde

I. 177. III. 164, 258. Cf. II. 31.

Ferden. heo uerden norh heo uerden æst

II. 16, 289, 553.

Fleon. þa gunnen his men fleon: & þa odere after teon

I. 369. II. 379, 438. III. 133.

and he over water ten, wile non at nede oder fleon: Best. 353-4;

þe oþer oway þai leten fleon & gan oȝain wiþ his folk ten: Arth. & Merl. 4059-60; Ac alle, þæt euer miȝt fleon, Swiþe gun oway ten: 6635-6; þe payns bigonne to fleon ant to huere shype teon: Horn (L) 887-8.

Folken: cf. *Ædelest, Cnihten, Monnen.* folken alre ærmest

II. 350, 351, 468, 494, 495. III. 246, 255.

Fulle ifa. þe is mi fulle ifa

I. 34, 329. II. 26, 196, 222, 240, 243, 420. III. 193. Cf. I. 41.

iudas, þæt is my fulle i-vo: Pass. 174.

Garsume. gold & garsume

I. 40, 173, 189, 232, 260, 332. II. 16, 221, 338, 519, 537, 557. III. 248.

Cf. I. 38, 252, 329. II. 628. gold and Gersum: Woh. of Ure Lav. 8; wið gersum ant wið golde: St. Marh. p. 3; gersom and gold: Erthe upon Erthe 61; Fuhrmann, p. 68.

God cniht. he wes swide god cniht.

I. 191. II. 26, 27, 40, 390. III. 278.

Grid-frid: cf. Grid-wid. inne gride & inne fride

I. 9, 21, 106, 165, 274. II. 50, 531.

he sette grid he sette frid

II. 210, 351, 509. III. 205. Cf. I. 119, 181. II. 119, 385, 558, 626, III. 150, 270.

þonne nam mon frid and grid wið him: A. S. Chron. 1011; and Godes

cyrcean gridian and fridian: A. S. Chron. 1093; þat þe chirche habbe gryþ, and þe cheorl beo in fryþ: Prov. Alf. 91-2; Forr þatt he sette griþþ and friþþ: Orm. 87; upponn eorþe griþþ and friþþ: 3380, 3926; wiþþ mikell griþþ and friþþ: 3520; he wolde griþþ and friþþ: 3490; cf. Kluge, PBB IX. 424; Skeat's *Early English Proverbs*.

Grid-wid: cf. *Grid-frid*. he wold spæcken heom wid: & ġirnen þeos kinges grid

I. 226, 253, 264(2), 352, 374, 377, 378, 427. II. 4, 7, 24, 26, 32, 46, 193, 205, 378, 452-3, 511. II. 46, 116, 261, 262.

ich ġirnde þes kinges gid: & walde sæhtnen him wid

I. 352, 361, 379. II. 588. Cf. I. 192, 421. II. 103, 106, 449, 555. for ġif heo wulded ġirne grid: nulle ich noht heom sehten wid

I. 301, 311, 312, 361, 414. II. 44, 71, 332, 548. III. 159, 165.

I shal speken þe wiþ, þat wel shaltou holde griþ: Har. of Hell (D) 115-6; þat held so Engelond in grith: Krist of heuene was him with: Hav. 61-2.

Hædene-hælden. hælden into hælle: hæðene hundes

II. 272, 438. III. 169. Cf. I. 81. II. 344, 397, 438. III. 102. hedene hundes

II. 184 (Otho), 348, 397, 438, 465, 496. III. 89, 169, 193.

hælden to grunde II. 397, 474(2), 535. III. 101-2.

þone hæðenan hund: Judith 110; wiþ heþene hounde: Horn L 596 (others in Hall's notes); this cursed hethen houn: Sowdan of Bab. 164.

Hæzel. swa þe hazel [snaw, etc.] ualled

II. 183, 531. III. 94, 140, 140(Otho). Cf. II. 437.

Hail. Hail seo þu Arður

I. 64, 364. II. 131, 213, 269, 289, 311, 318, 336, 346, 407, 410, 7 later. III. 2, 162, 228.

Common greeting: Wes du, Andreas, hal: Andr. 914.

Hap. his hap wes þa wurse

I. 35, 164. II. 345. Cf. I. 208, 252.

Helmes: cf. *Breken, Brustleden*. helmes þere gullen

I. 193, 221, 319, 418. II. 263, 344, 397(Otho), 564. III. 255. gudsearo gullon: Andr. 127.

Lajen. æfter þan hedene lajen: þe stoden oðen ilcæ dajen

I. 254, 344, 410. II. 168(2), 177, 286, 417, 509. III. 144, 150. Cf. II. 180, 186, 409.

& alle lajen gode: bi his dajen stode.

I. 181, 182, 255-6. II. 509. III. 144. Cf. I. 87-8. II. 485.

It was a king bi ore-dawes, That in his time gode lawes Dede maken: Hav. 27-9.

Lad. Læd þeh hit weore him

- I. 11, 45. III. 66.
were him lef were him lad.
- I. 129. II. 415, 538.
- Leofest.* swa þe beoð alre leofest.
I. 84, 128, 133, 160. II. 83, 142, 387, 388, 449, 519.
swa þe beoð alre leofest
I. 24, 98, 195, 243, 247. II. 438, 475. III. 68.
swa lif swa deað, swa him(þe) leofre bið: Chr. 596; Ele. 606;
þær me leofost bið: Andr. 935.
- Leof-heorten:* cf. *Leof-lif.* þa leof heom wes on heorten
I. 29, 51, 85, 121, 355, 411, 418, 436. II. 36, 176.
- Leof-lif:* cf. *Leof-heorten.* & heom wes al swa leof: swa heore aene lif
I. 124, 211. II. 137, 158, 177, 269, 360.
- Leom.* vppe leom & vppe lif.
I. 22, 119. II. 3, 23, 585. Cf. I. 30. II. 392, 516, 635. III. 33.
- Leop.* touward Hengest he leop: swulc hit a liun weore.
I. 62. II. 58, 127, 216, 267, 276, 380, 3 later. III. 70. Cf. I. 174.
II. 469.
- Lete.* Lete we nu þene eotend bi-lafuen: and atlien to þan kinge
II. 217, 631(2). III. 7, 32, 222. Cf. II. 199. III. 295.
Now tristrem lat we þære: Tristr. 573; Of Goldeboru shul we nou
loten: Hav. 328; Let we hem þer stille be: Arth. & Merl. 4195;
Lete we hem þer sojour & wende oþain to King Arthour: 5347-8;
Lete we now here king Arthour: 6591; Lete we sir Amiloun stille
be. . . . And of sir Amis telle we: Amis and Am. 337-40. Cf.
E. E. T. S. Extra Ser. LXV. p. 1.
- Libben*
mid þe we wulled libben: & mid þe we wulled ligen
I. 220, 250, 330, 374. Cf. III. 89.
- Life.* bi mine quicke liue
I. 29, 186, 199, 333. II. 154, 186, 437, 569, 3 later. III. 216.
bi mine bare life
II. 503. III. 9, 23, 33, 126. Cf. II. 638. III. 216.
to heore bare dede
I. 300. II. 452. III. 99, 116.
- Lifes.* þat come hir lifes ende
I. 10, 11, 279. Cf. I. 103, 158, 304, 383.
- Likede.* likede swa heom likede
II. 522. III. 226, 248.
- Liden:* cf. *Uden.* cum liden to londe
I. 91. II. 434, 455. Cf. I. 41. II. 184, 455.
- Lond:* cf. *Sonde.* he uerede þurh þis kinelond: & sette hit in his aþere hond
I. 162, 174, 181, 255, 272-3, 9 later. II. 4, 69, 97-8, 101-2, 134, 218,
281-2, 312, 10 later. III. 122, 123-4, 163(2), 179, 216, 223, 4 later.

ich wulle al þat kinelond: bi-techen þe a þire hond

- I. 128. II. 30, 57, 82, 197, 284, 335, 341, 370, 3 later. III. 277, 294.
þat heo wolden al þis lond: habben on heora hond

- I. 138, 205. II. 66, 106, 119, 121, 135, 179, 256, 3 later. III. 191, 192, and *passim*

þe payns come to londe & nomen hit an honde: Horn L 63-4;

Hom þohte þo hii come alond þat al was in hor hond

As sone as þe duc willam is fot sette alond: Rob. G1. 7386-7.

Lude. lude & stille

- I. 156. II. 135, 362. Cf. I. 129.

and ofte lude and stille, for to wurchen hire wille: Prov. Alf. 325-6; lude and stille, his owene wille: 439-40; stille er lude: Best. 490; Boþe lude and eke stille: Spec. Gy. 584; oþer loud[e] oþer stille: Spec. Gy. 706.

Marȝen. a marȝen þa hit dæi wes

- I. 36, 324, 341, 417, 420.

þa hit dai wes amarȝen: dugede gon sturie

- II. 65, 394, 575. III. 67, 118, 251.

nu to-mærȝe þene hit dæi bið: & drihten hie sende

- III. 125, 127, 235.

Cf. I. 72. II. 395.

Metecusti. he was metecusti

- I. 15. II. 384, 390, 413, 554.

Mette. sone swa heo hine imetten: fæire heo hine igrætten

- I. 283, 388. II. 153, 201, 289, 292, 336, 538. III. 247.

Cf. I. 54, 202, 206. II. 429, 564.

At þe ȝate of þe cite þe widewe he mette, And faire anon he hire grette: Spec. Gy 959-60; A palmere he þar mette, & faire hine grette: Horn C 1027-8; (and cf. Hall's ed. p. 153); þe firste kniht þat he þer mette, With þe swerd so he him grette: Hav. 2624-5; cf. Schmigel, p. lv.

Monnen: cf. *Ædelest, Cnihten, Folken.* monnen me leofuest

- II. 246, 374, 399, 402, 498, 499, 585. III. 125, 128. Many examples of variants.

Monscipe. his monscipe wes þa mære

- I. 55. II. 205, 230, 297, 497, 526. III. 251.

Neode. & for swulchere neode

- I. 189, 225. II. 126, 128, 295, 623. III. 213, 214, 248, 259. Cf. III. 228.

for muchelere neode

- I. 281, 353. II. 131. III. 136.

at heȝere neode

- I. 362. II. 92. III. 75, 135, 204.

he bad him ræde: to swulchere neode

- II. 34, 298, 346. Cf. III. 165.
and þæt þu me ræde: to muchere neode
- II. 7, 166, 369.
- Nomen.* heo slojen heo nomen: al þat heo aneh comen
- I. 68, 163, 164, 181, 222, 2 later. II. 91, 215, 223-4, 253, 351, 397, 3 later. III. 75, 102, 106, 152, 197, 199, 218.
ah alle hi heom nomen: & nane heo ne a-slojen
- I. 78, 180, 402, 426. II. 16, 19, 20, 22, 81, 85, 149. III. 61, 78.
Cf. I. 25, 67, 180, 262, 356, 399. II. 108, 443.
- Nu:* cf. *Are.* nu and auere mare: þe nome stoned þere
- I. 82, 258, 400. II. 27, 61, 68, 171. Cf. I. 165(Otho), 305, 409. III. 114, 141.
nu and æwere mare
- I. 268, 327, 429. II. 108, 497.
nupe and euer-more: Wom. of Samaria, 77; nv and euer-mo: Pass. 176; nu and euer more: God Ureis, 113; And so shulen men callen it ay, Bituene þis and domesday: Hav. 747-8.
- Ofte-wo.* ofte wes Euclin wa: & næwere wurs þene þa
- I. 131, 146-7, 359, 370. II. 193, 208, 431. III. 227. Cf. II. 253, 351.
þæt him næfre ær nære swa wa swa him ða wæs: Wulfs. 235: 19; Ofte hauede horn child be wo Bute neuere werse þan þo: Horn O 119-20; Wiste he neuere hor wat was wo: Hav. 541; Oft Cleodalis was wo, Ac neuer wers, þan him was þo: Arth. & Merl. 6211-2; Wawain was oft wele & wo, Ac neuer wers, þan him was þo: 8467-8; Levedi, ofte were thou bliþle, Ac never so thou were tho: Five Joys, 32-3; Ofte was that knyghte bothe wele and woo, Bot never jitt als he was thoo: Isumbras, 380-1; Offte was Saladyn wel and woo, But nevyр soo glad as he was thoo: Richard 6521-2; And often was he in wele and wo, But never so well as he was tho: Squyr of Low Degr. 113-4. Cf. Kölbing, Sir Tristrem, lxxx; Orfeo, 96.
- Ohte.* ohte men & wihte
- II. 331, 440, 462, 480, 582, 628. II. 20, 64 (Otho)
Cf. II. 183, 400, 563. III. 39, 64.
- On live.* þe while he wes on liue
- I. 10, 103, 168. III. 127.
- Oder iward.* ah al hit oder iward: oder he iwende
- II. 302, 395, 425. Cf. I. 413. II. 246, 458. III. 148.
- Red-dæd.* næs þer nan oder ræd: per iward þe king dæd
- I. 325, 412, 422. II. 35, 69, 205, 323, 324, 383, 407. III. 278.
Cf. I. 30, 82, 89, 160, 166, 228, 284-5. II. 2, 10, 37, 71, 85, 91, 115, 193, 278, 313-4, 324, 361, 370.
Ne non of his iuel þat coupe red; Of him ne was nouht buten ded: Hav. 148-9; God it wite, he shal ben ded, Wile i taken non oþer red:

Hav. 517-8; þanne þe[i] komen þere, þanne was Grim ded, Of him ne haueden þe[i] no red: Hav. 1203-4.

Ræde-rune: cf. *Biræde*. heo nomen heom to ræde: and to som rune

- I. 19, 226, 233. III. 81, 147, 148, 231. Cf. I. 219, II. 188, 200, 277, 341, 550. I. 178. III. 182. I. 99, 138. II. 141, 383, 593. III. 4, 292(2).

Hi nomen heom to rede: Pass. 87.

Riden. Cnihtes gunnen riden: gæres gunnen gliden

- II. 397, 442, 606. III. 245.

Sæh. al þat Arður isæh: al hit him to bæh

- II. 36, 56, 531, 561, 589. Cf. II. 521. III. 237.

Sæhte. mid sæhte and mid sibbe

- I. 91, 382. II. 47, 53, 59, 209, 211. Cf. I. 260. II. 285. I. 89, 175, 406. II. 210.

seah and sib: Bede 4:21; sib and sæhte: A. S. Chron. 1140.

Seie. Seie me mi lauerd

- I. 96, 125, 139, 184. II. 125, 241, 246, 313, 347, 365, 446. III. 171.

Seolwer. he him wolde gifuen lond: boðe seoluer & gold

- II. 47, 159, 183, 205, 289, 290, 387, 4 later. III. 1. Second half *passim* in *Lajamon*.

wid seluer & wid golde: Horn L 463; For gol[d] ne siluer: Hav. 357; cf. Fehr, p. 19; Meyer, p. 241.

Seorhful: cf. *Blipe-mode*. seorhful on heorte

- I. 282. II. 94, 105, 208, 316, 339, 357, 566. III. 38, 132, 195. Cf. I. 275, 418. II. 346. III. 287.

sær him wes an heorte

- I. 335, 368. II. 227, 326, 334, 516. Cf. I. 44. II. 184.

Seouen. fulle seouen nihte

- I. 69, 253. II. 48, 224, 257, 286, 360, 538. III. 234, 279.

Sillic. sillic heom puhte

- II. 22, 499, 544. III. 37, 207.

Slæn-hon: cf. the following. oðer slæn oðer a-hon

- I. 350, 353, 360, 361, 427. II. 43, 274, 280, 392, 452, 453, 527. III. 5, 239, 266.

þe[i] moun us alle quic henge or slo: Hav. 2588.

Slæjen-dæjen: cf. the preceding and following. þer wes Borel of-slæjen: & idon of lif-dæjen

- I. 41(Otho). II. 46, 64-5, 164(Otho), 192, 272, 275, 6 later. III. 75, 111, 112, 114, 132, 142, 146, 4 later.

for my sonas bueþ yslawe ant ybroht of lyf dawæ: Horn L 913-4; For her kniȝtes were so yslawe & her kin brouȝt o liue dawæ: Arth. & Merl. 4217-8; after vre lawe We ne mote nenne mon do of lyf-dawæ: Pass. 343-4; þet heo hyne myhte wreye and don of lyf-daye: Pass. 84; he brouȝte sone of dawæ: Scta. Crux 462;

ƿwam hast þou i-brouȝt of dawe: Scta. Crux 531 (in S. E. Leg.); was sethþe i-brouȝt of dawe: St. John Bap. 13; þat i-nere i-brouȝt of lijf-dawe: St. Clem. 110; and bringue him of lijf-dawe: St. Mat. 30; ȝif heo miȝte bringue þis child of lijf-dawe: St. Ken. 93; an i-brouȝt of lijf-dawe: St. Nich. 255; bringe him of lijf-dawe: St. Th. of C. 622; i-brouȝt was of lijf-dawe: St. Th. of C. 2266; O liue dawe þai brouȝten þere: Arth. & Merl. 3213; þer he brouȝt o liue dawe: 4822; 9682; þis þre þousand brouȝten of dawe: 4848; cf. Schmirgel, p. lii.

Slazen-draȝen: cf. the preceding and following.

þat hine anan sloȝen: oder mid horsen to-droȝen

- I. 399-400, 424, 425. II. 630. II. 177.

Whanne hi weren aslaȝe, Fikenhild hi dude todraȝe: Horn C 1491-2; and beo an-hongue oþur to-drawe: Scta. Crux 532; Ded, or þei him hauede slawen, Or alto-hewen, or al to-drawen: Hav. 2000-1; þou schalt be slawe, Wiþ wilde hors al to drawe & seþþen on galwes hing: Horn Ch. 562-4; wið stoness slagen, Or to dead wið goren dragen: Gen. & Ex. 3457-8; þu naddest non oþer dom ne laȝe, bute mid wilde horse were to-draȝe: Owl & Night. 1061-2; Bot ȝif y do hir it ben aknawe, Wiþ wild hors do me todrawe: Arth. & Merl. 1081-2.

Slazen-flaȝen: cf. the preceding. heo sculdeð beon islaȝene: and summe quic iulaȝene

- I. 273-4. II. 456. III. 91, 163.

Payns him wolde slen oþer al quic flen: Horn C 85-6; Alle we hem schulle sle & al quic hem fle: Horn C 1369-70; And euerilk fot of him [þei] slowe, But Godard one, þat he flowe: Hav. 2432-3; We deme þat he be al quic flawen, And siþen to þe galwes drawe[n]: Hav. 2476-7; He shal him hangen, or [al] quik flo: Hav. 612.

Sonde: cf. *Lond*. he sende his sonde: wide ȝend þane lond

- I. 19, 46, 132, 169, 176, 211, 260. II. 6, 48, 64, 103, 169, 342, 357, 549. III. 129, 147, 196(2), 241(2), 292.

þe king nom his sonde: and sende ȝeond his lond

- I. 384. II. 15, 205, 207, 226, 284, 526, 598. III. 129, 252, 283. Cf. I. 60, 63, 212, 284, 424, 429. II. 47, 91-2, 182(2), 183, 209, 288, 352, 416, 550. III. 4, 139, 157, 160, 211, 216, 218.

hue sende hire sonde in to eueruche lond: Horn L 941-2; he sende þo by sonde ȝend al is lond: Horn I 1011-2; Yherd be Iesus Cristes sond, þat þou sent in to þis lond: Arth. & Merl. 6551-2; Ich rede we sende our sond To alle our peres of þis lond: 6733-4; þat such folc was ariued as me sede vp his lond & nuste wat folc it was to hom he sende is sonde: Rob. Gl. 362-3; And swiftliche he sent his sond Over al in to Irlond: Arth. & Merl. 6435-6; Anon the barrons send their sonde Wyde ouer all England:

353-4 (later version); cf. Hall's ed. of Horn, p. 149; Fuhrmann, p. 15; Schmirgel, liv.

Sod. & he hit seide: sod þeih hit nere

I. 99, 413. II. 118, 376. Cf. I. 26. II. 226.

Stefne: cf. *Strengde.* ludere stefne

I. 40, 61. II. 264, 450, 465, 475, 480, 3 later. III. 13, 91.

mid hæþere stefnen

I. 330. II. 75, 452, 502. III. 94.

mid quickere stefne

II. 88, 240, 269, 283, 395, 449.

So with other adjectives, I. 153. II. 184, 248, 322, 447. III. 127.

mid adelere speche

I. 141. III. 212. Cf. II. 120, 131, 238.

hludan [etc.] stefne (common in A. S. and M. E.): Andr. 1360; Ex. 276, 550, 574; etc.

Stelen. riht al swo stille: stelen swa we wolden

I. 32, 72. II. 349, 440, 441.

Stille. þa sat he stille

I. 310, 150. II. 121, 290, 298, 327. III. 124.

Stod. & þus hit ane stunde: stod a þan ilken

I. 132, 158. II. 163, 199, 310, 595-6. Cf. I. 289.

Strengde: cf. *Stefne.* mid hæþere strengde

I. 93, 158, 262, 274, 360, 363, 403. II. 45, 69, 109, 133, 187, 189, 222, 305, 6 later.

mid baldere strengde

I. 331. II. 8, 442, 486, 549, 630. III. 92.

mid muchelere strengde

I. 56, 62, 164, 330, 408. II. 61, 268, 305, 345, 422 (Otho), 435, 549, 632. III. 18(Otho), 61, 100.

mid ræþere strengde

I. 339. II. 39, 40, 112, 360, 414, 417, 547, 564. III. 62, 73, 74, 169.
So with other adjectives, I. 29, 33, 314, 369(2). II. 238, 344, 485, III. 18, 163.

Strong. þan strongen & þan richen

II. 432, 441, 452, 457, 458, 466, 482. III. 129.

Cf. II. 431(2). III. 129.

Sworen: cf. *Ades.* þe ades weoren isworene: & æft heo weoren for-lorene

I. 382. II. 83, 312. Cf. II. 212, 465.

Taken on. hu he wolde taken on: & al hu he wolde don

I. 238. II. 118. III. 128, 129. Cf. III. 30, 271, 292.

þa þis wes al idon: þa token heo oðer weise on

I. 434(2), 435(2). Cf. I. 36-7, 122, 288.

Teche. for þus we eou scullen techen: ure Bruttisce speche

II. 626(Otho). III. 55, 68. Cf. II. 441.

We schulle þe ^hhundes teche To speken vre speche: Horn C 1367-8.

þuhte. þer him sel þuhte

- I. 1, 261. II. 105, 252, 412, 636. III. 47, 78, 87, 242. Cf. I. 33, 168, 331. III. 115, 146.

swa him ȝemet duhte: Beow. 3057; hwæt eow þæs on sefan selest þince: Ele. 532.

Tidende. þæs tidende him weren læde

- I. 44, 312, 414.

Ufele idon. þat was uuele idon

- II. 27, 345. III. 10, 11. Cf. II. 83.

Ufel-war: cf. *War.* þa answerede Vortiger: of ælchen vfel he wæs wær

- II. 129, 130, 134, 136, 153, 156, 158, 4 later. Cf. I. 298. II. 157, 162, 208, 213, 380-1.

Unifoȝe. monie & vnifoȝe

- II. 73, 80, 126, 163, 312, 389. III. 177. Cf. I. 369. II. 15, 491, 565.

Unilic. elche oder unilic

- I. 300, 423(2). II. 6, 464. Cf. II. 116, 121, 300.

Unimete. mid vnimete folke

- I. 261(Otho), 365, 368. II. 9, 39, 99, 252, 254, 258(Otho), 389, 6 later, III. 119, 140(2), 141(2), 159, 201, 221, 230, 254.

mid unimete ferde

- I. 70, 212, 220, 245, 246, 307, 367. II. 31, 93, 252, 257, 263, 4 later. III. 140, 158, 165, 255.

mid mucchelere ferde

- I. 65, 74, 91, 111, 156, 157, 169, 4 later. II. 28, 90, 412, 559, 579, III. 134, 224.

Upward. cnihtes eoden upward: cnihtes eoden dunward

- II. 123, 214, 304, 429. III. 235. Cf. I. 396. Cf. Fehr, p. 44.

Uden: cf. *Liden.* liden mid þan uden

- I. 57, 196, 415. II. 455. III. 164. Cf. I. 398. II. 555, 580(2); I. 199, 341, 342. III. 144, 159, 232.

Volden. uolden to grunde

- II. 241, 418, 419, 422, 585. III. 77, 103, 199, 230.

fallen to þan grunde

- I. 42, 66, 195, 263, 323, 367, 3 later. II. 26, 96, 161, 191, 239, 250, 262, 9 later. III. 199. Cf. I. 181, 291.

Wa. Wa wes him on liue

- I. 14, 144, 145, 259. II. 78, 215. III. 100, 227, 264. Cf. III. 168, 225, 287. I. 53, 59.

War: cf. *Ufel-war.* he wes wis & swide iwar

- I. 89(Otho), 165(Otho), 178, 310, 313, 4 later. II. 136(Otho), 151(Otho), 189, 331, 338, 593. III. 32, 73. Cf. I. 89, 328, 333. II. 213.

Vortiger [wes] ȝæp & war

II. 118, 122, 125, 127(2).

Many cases in A. S. verse and prose (Bosworth-Toller, s. v. v.); also in M. E.; cf. Fehr, p. 12; and He wes wis on his word, and war on his werke: Prov. Alf. 21-2, 609-10; war & wise: Horn Ch. 283; etc., etc.

Wci. & seodden he nom þene wæi: þe in touward France læi

II. 373, 478, 560-1. III. 70, 72, 136, 149, 244. Cf. III. 72, 240.

W'd. wel mid þan beȝste

I. 79, 106, 133(Otho), 267, 416, 434. II. 23, 181, 594. II. 103.

Wel idon. cniht he wes wel idon

I. 249. II. 93, 160, 299, 346(2). III. 30, 223.

Whar. Whær beo ȝe mine cnihtes

I. 190(3), 193, 261(3), 315, 353. II. 25(2), 26, 143, 327, 333, 395, 9 later.

hwore ar ȝe: Hav. 1881 (meaning "Come on!")

Wide cud. þat hit wes wide cud

I. 121, 134, 163. II. 259, 267, 346.

Widen. þe king lette riden: widen & siden

I. 19(Otho). II. 221, 289, 338. Cf. I. 7. II. 530, 599. III. 199.

"Wide and side" very common in A. S. and M. E. Gen. 118, 1655; Orm 5900, 9174, 10258, 14566; etc., etc. Cf. Ziegler's book later mentioned, p. 53.

Wille. al þine wille ic wulle don

I. 287, 352, 381. II. 133, 135, 141, 168, 302, 387, 388, 448, 516, 547. III. 171. Cf. I. 383. II. 82-3, 169, 347.

Wind. wind stod on wille

I. 47, 76. II. 454, 530. III. 17, 229.

Weder stod an wille.

I. 335, 401. III. 12, 242.

Cf. II. 437, 513.

& wind hom com after wille: Robt. of Gl. 7383; A winde to wil him bare (blewe): Sir Tristrem 1162, 1301, 1392, 1698.

Wintres: cf. *Daies.* wintres & sumeres

I. 121. II. 189, 243, 457, 477.

Wop. her wes wop & her wes rop: and reouden vniuoeȝ

II. 98-9, 206, 434, 497, 567.

World. to þere worlde longe

II. 295, 540, 545. III. 190. Cf. I. 425.

Wunder: cf. *Feondliche.* wunder anc swide

II. 337, 356, 366, 473, 495, 3 later. III. 24, 36, 56, 57, 81, 104, 4 later. Cf. (with another adv. or adj. for *swide*)

II. 6, 16, 64, 76, 114, 122, 170, 233(2), 241, 254, 260, 287, 307, 308, 309, 329, 330, 413(2), 476, 480, 597, 609, 613. III. 58, 166, 290.

Wurse. þe wurse hine leouede

I. 77, 293. II. 38. Cf. I. 49(2). II. 130, 176, 273. III. 136.

Now to illustrate the manner of using both longer and shorter formulas. The following will show how the similarity of phrase grows out of similarity of situation, and how the phrase varies either for good reason or wantonly, and serves the alliteration and rime. When Brutus is about to sail from Greece,

heo wunden up seiles: wind stod an willen. (I. 47)

When he sails from France,

wind stod on willen: plojede the wilde fisc. (I. 76)

Cadwalan sails to Brittany,

wind heom com on wille: heo wunden up seiles to coppe. (III. 229)

And so a half-dozen times comes the half-line with no or trifling variation, and many times more in a form very similar. Again, when Cordoille hears that Leir has come to her a fugitive, she sits long in thought:

þa alles uppe abraec: hit wes god þet heo spæc. (I. 150)

When Arthur is told that he is become king he too sits in thought,

þa hit alles up brac: hit wes god þat he spac. (II. 411)

And so in two more cases. On the other hand, when Leir heard that Cordoille loved him only as a father,

þa hit alles up brac: hit wes vuel þat he spac. (I. 130)

Sometimes the recurring phrase varies more. Locrin and Camber

ferden toward Humber: mid hæjere strengde; (I. 93)

and Howel promises Arthur

ich wulle þer to helpe: mid hæjere strende; (II. 635)

and so in many other cases. But

þeo burh wes al imaked: mid muchelere strengðe; (II. 61)
 ofte heo to-ræsden: mid ræðere strengðe; (II. 360)

and so on in many cases with many different adjectives.
 Brutus

sende his sonde: wide ȝend þane londe; (I. 19)
 Octa sende his sonde: in to Walisce londe; (II. 342)
 Modræd nom his sonde: and sende to Sex-londe; (III. 129)

and so in dozens of cases just like the first or varying much like the others.⁵

The list contains 128 separate formulas, which occur upwards of 1500 times, once in about 10 long lines, an average of 12 times to a formula. This disregards all the less important variants (headed "Cf"), and many cases (of a few formulas) omitted wholly. Owing to the form of the verse, fundamentally like that in Anglo-Saxon poetry, with a pause at the end of the line and strong caesura in the middle, the formulas are sharply divided into those of a half-line and those of a full line, which naturally differ in use and effect. Nearly half of them (about 54) are a full line long.⁶ The half-line formulas are more apt to form the second half-line than the first. Some are used as epic formulas in the strictest sense, narrating identical events in identical language. But in many cases such a formula or the skeleton of it is thriftily appropriated to an entirely different connection. A few are mere tags which add little. A formula is often used twice or oftener close together; not unnaturally, being freshly in mind. Sometimes the initial occurrence is speedily followed by the second, as if the poet were pleased with his new invention. Some formulas are highly poetic and probably original; others as we shall see may have been traditional in poetry; a few are colorless, commonplaces of daily speech. It is difficult to draw the line between what would stand out to *Lazamon* and his auditors as a distinct

⁵ A few longer passages (like II. 180-3, 414-9) where formulas abound and the same ones recur will give an even better idea of the effect.

⁶ Madden of course prints the full line as two short lines.

formula, and what was a common obvious expression of no individuality, even though often repeated. Certain ones are especially used with the name of a particular person, invariably for the sake of alliteration or rime.⁷ But Lajamon had few principles about his formulas. He avoids nothing, and uses them just as it happens. Nothing could be more elastic or protean than his practice.

Some formulas are nearly petrified, others vary much, some so much that they verge into mere stock rimes, with no consciousness of being formulas at all. The variations are usually for the plain purpose of adaptation to new conditions in the sense or the verse. Variation for the rime is commoner than for the alliteration. At times discrimination and even subtlety is shown in alteration or inversion; force or irony is gained through memory of the usual form.⁸ Often the variation seems merely wanton, shows little sense of rhythm or of the value of words; perhaps Lajamon's verbal memory lacked exactness.⁹ In matters of style he had frequent happy thoughts, but was slapdash, neither sophisticated, recollected, nor wary; occasionally he seems as if feeling his way up to a standard form, and accordingly formulas are least abundant in the early part of the poem (they are most abundant in the middle); but there is little indication that in devising his formulas he groped about for perfection, and then held it.

In the use of the formula Lajamon found two chief conveniences,—for the verse and for the narrative. Though his poem contains many lines with neither rime nor alliteration, he preferred to have one or the other, and sometimes both. The half-line formulas often contain alliteration and

⁷ *Wis* goes with Julius Caesar, *Cnihten* with Hengest, *Ufel-war* with Vortiger, *Strong* with Childrich, *Edelest* and *Deorling* with Arthur. Sometimes there is an antiphony between Hengests's and Vortiger's formulas.

⁸ *Bipohle*, III. 260; *Ufel-war*, II. 213; *War*, I. 333, 335, II. 122; *Strong*, II. 431.

⁹ Of course variation may sometimes be due to a scribe, but the Caligula MS. is a very good one.

usually afford alliteration or a rime (strict or easy-going) for the other half-line, and all of the full-line formulas contain either alliteration, oftener rime, or sometimes both. Another service to the verse is expletive. Unlike Anglo-Saxon poets, *Lajamon* dislikes to begin a new sentence in the middle of a line,¹⁰ and a well-sounding tag makes this unnecessary. This is why the short formulas are commonest in the second half-line, and often have more sound than sense. Again, there was an obvious convenience in having an agreeable form of words all ready when for the second or twentieth time he told of the death of a king or the summoning of an army. It was obvious to use it when one knew no reason why one should not. In the absence of a more sophisticated desire for novelty, the liturgical instinct had its way. And though he was far from critical and self-conscious, he presumably felt the formula style harmonious with his broad and elemental manner. His formulas are magnifying and imposing, no mere convenience, but often a means of embellishment. Doubtless his auditors too found a pleasure in the mere repetition, as children feel in *The Three Bears* and *The House that Jack Built*, or even as we feel in recognizing a recurring *motif* in music. Nevertheless, he sometimes seems to weary of a particular formula, and certainly sometimes passes over opportunities to use it, or varies it wantonly. In spite of the convenience and pleasure he found in the practice, he is not wholly mechanical.

The literary effect for the modern reader will depend on himself. Modern poets, highly conscious, avoid favorite phrases, and show their individuality in subtler ways. Readers very modern in taste may find *Lajamon's* usage rude or even helpless (though they might beware of flouting Homer at the same time). Others will find great charm in it. Sometimes this is a quaintness in the idea or words, perhaps supplied by some later association, for usually

¹⁰ On this see an article on *Lajamon's Poetic Style and its Relations* in the volume about to be published in honor of J. M. Manly.

quaintness is in the eye of him who looks. Other formulas have intrinsic interest and beauty, which justify their repetition, like *Drihten*, *Marzen*, *Ofte-wo*, *Slazen-dagen*. Some are singularly vivid, like the formulas *Brac*, *Hazel*, *Libben*. Laȝamon has originality and distinction of style. The modern feels less pleasure than the medieval in mere recognition of the familiar, but will appreciate the epic breadth¹¹ which the formulas promote, and may even relish them as a mark of a strong literary individuality. They promote unity, in so linear and prolonged a narrative, by recalling earlier situations or roughly enforcing characterization. They suit the alliterative verse, *staccato*, with its strongly-marked units and rare *enjambement*, neither restless nor nimble. No doubt they are used too much, but as one reads they seem by no means so common as when they are collected, nor do they give an effect of helplessness.

Two matters remain, as to the history and significance of the formula habit, and as to the origin and history of these particular formulas. It will be convenient to discuss them together.

To begin with, none of these formulas seem to have been derived from Laȝamon's French original. In almost all cases the first occurrence has been compared with Wace's *Roman de Brut*, where nothing is found to dictate the form of words. This was only to be expected, for nothing could be more *prima facie* idiomatic and Saxon than Laȝamon's formulas. What is more, there is nothing in Wace's style to suggest to a translator the adoption of the formula usage in general. Wace is a long way from the *Chanson de Roland*, in which we shall find the usage prevailing; he is not primitive and epic, but in general has the manner of the chronicle and romance in French, which are far less given to stereotyped language than those in Middle English. So we must go farther afield.

¹¹ I mean a unified effect produced by large, somewhat uniform masses, rather than by detail and finesse, as in the paintings of Puvis de Chavannes.

Under many of the formulas are given similar phrases found in Anglo-Saxon poetry and Middle English down to about 1300. I discuss first the poetry earlier than *Lazamon*. Not a great many of his formulas are found in the extant Anglo-Saxon or twelfth century Middle English poetry. Most of the parallels are idiomatic or colloquial expressions, or riming or alliterating phrases sometimes found in prose as well as verse. None is likely to have been handed down only by poetic tradition, have consciously passed from one poet to another, unless the formula *fæge feollon*. It is safe to say that the formulas in *Lazamon* were not traditional in Anglo-Saxon poetry. What is more, anyone familiar with this knows that it did not cultivate the formula-usage. The poet used certain types of phrase a great deal, phrases with a general resemblance to each other, and used some exact repetition of his own or others' words. But the "Epische Formeln" of which numerous collections have been made for this or that poem¹² recur comparatively seldom, sometimes no doubt unconsciously; indeed it is difficult to fancy what some students have meant by an epic formula, or to justify their use of the term. On the whole the earlier poet cultivated variety¹³ and ingenuity of

¹² Sarrazin, *Beowulf-Studien*, 141-3, and *Engl. Stud.* XXIII. 259 ff.; A. Banning, *Die epischen Formeln im Beowulf* (Marburg dissert., 1886); ten Brink, *Anzeiger f. deut. Altert.* (1879), V. 59; R. Simons, *Cynewulfs Wortschatz* (Bonner Beiträge, III.), Wörter u. Wortverbindungen *Cynewulfs* (Bonn dissert., 1898); H. Ziegler, *Poet. Sprachgebrauch in d. sogen. Cædmonischen Dichtungen* (Münster, 1883), 49-56; R. Kistenmacher, *Wörtl. Wiederholungen im Beowulf* (Greifswald dissert., 1898); J. Kail, *Parallelstellen in d. ags. Poesie*, *Anglia*, XII, 21-40; Sarrazin, *Parallelstellen in d. ags. Dichtung*, *Anglia*, XIV. 186-192; E. C. Battenwieser, *Studien über d. Verfasserschaft d. Andreas* (Heidelberg dissert., 1899); A. S. Cook, *Christ*, p. lx. ff.; *Concordance to Beowulf* (Halle, 1911). There is not much for my purpose in R. M. Meyer's very inconvenient *Allgermanische Poesie nach ihren formelhaften Elementen beschrieben* (Berlin, 1889), pp. 260 ff., 285 ff., 371, 404-5, 414 ff., 429; or in Otto Arndt's *Über die allgerm. epische Sprache* (Tübingen diss., 1877).

¹³ Cf. the numerous phrases in *Genesis* which mean the same as "Us

phrasing. He was more inclined to present the same situation over again in different words than a different situation in the same words. The simplicity of the formula style was not for him. Full-line formulas almost never occur; nearly all are short phrases, which stand out but little. Anglo-Saxon poetry in general is sophisticated and not popular, produced in large part by professionals and scholars, and the complexity of the verse (whether or not we accept Sievers' formulation of its rules) and its uniformity through several centuries, and other uniformities of style, point to a conscious *Ars Poetica*. A critical use of Banning's work will suffice to show that in *Beowulf* there is little that can be called epic formula in our sense occurring as often as three times.¹⁴ Ziegler's work will show much the same or less

cydað bec" (Ziegler, *op. cit.* p. 55), and the variations of the "madelode" form of introducing a speech in *Cynewulf* (Simons, *op. cit.*, p. 97).

¹⁴ One of the two full-line formulas is one for introducing a speech, which we shall see is the commonest in other literatures: "Hroðgar madelode, helm Scyldinga" (3 times), or "Beowulf madelode, bearn Ecgþeowes" (9 times). On such formulas see Meyer, *Altgerm. Poesie*, 370 ff. The other long one is "On þam dæge þysse lifes" (3 times). Shorter formulas are "hyrde ic þæt . . ." (about 3 times, besides variants), "feorh ealgian" (3 times), "weard to hand-bonan" (3 times, with some variants), "hine fyrwit bræc" (3 times), "deað hie fornam" (about 5 times, with variants), "gifeðe bið (weard) þæt" (3 times), "þæt wæs god cyning" (3 times), "cald sweord eotenisc" (3 times), "folces hyrde" (4 times), "swa hit gedefe wæs" (3 times), "be sæm tweonum" (4 times). This is all I find in the whole poem of 3184 lines, about one occurrence in 61 lines, against one in 10 in *Lajamon*. Most of the formulas in *Beowulf* seem to occur but three times; if we deduct these we get only one occurrence in about 127 lines. The same deduction in *Lajamon*'s poem would make very little difference. It might have been as well to regard four or more occurrences as constituting a formula, for it looks as if the Anglo-Saxon poet hardly noticed three. (For Middle-English see pp. 520, 521 below.) I disregard in the *Beowulf* some phrases too commonplace or idiomatic to be called formulas. Banning's way of printing suggests far more repetition than there is. A. S. Cook's *Concordance of Beowulf* (Halle, 1911), which easily reveals the formulas, reveals as easily how few they are.

for the so-called Cædmonian poems,¹⁶ and Simons' for Cynewulf.¹⁶ Even such traditional or colloquial phrases as "wid ond sid," "þa ic gefrægn," "metod moncynnes," "ond þæt word acwæð," brief and colorless as they are, occur so seldom in a single poem (though sometimes thrice or oftener) that we feel them as part of a common poetic stock rather than as a recurrent and unifying feature in the one poem. We cannot always be sure that the poet was aware of repeating himself in the same poem; Laʒamon, on the other hand, must have been well aware and have known that his hearer would be. Considering the extreme convenience of alliterating formulas to a man writing alliterating verse, the Anglo-Saxon poet must have been constantly praying *Ne nos inducas in tentationem*. Laʒamon does not follow the classical Anglo-Saxon tradition.¹⁷

Things seem to be somewhat different in the popular verse of the centuries just before Laʒamon.¹⁸ The little historical poems of this sort in the *Chronicle* are too short for repetition within each, but use such common formulas as "wide ond side," "oft ond gelome." *The Proverbs of Alfred*, expounding maxims on different subjects, are not adapted to much repetition of formulas, but they have much traditional phrasing, and like Icelandic gnomic poetry introduce their counsels by formulas such as "Ðus cwað Alured, Engle frofre."¹⁹ There are more in the Worcester fragment of the *Body and Soul*.²⁰ Five or six times in the

¹⁶ Though he does not profess to give all the formulas, nearly all the dozen or so which he gives occur but three times in a poem (pp. 46-55).

¹⁷ For the part of "Cynewulf's Wortschatz" from A through D I find only two or three occurring three times or more.

¹⁸ Meyer points out (*Allgerm. Poesie*, 118, 407) that while early German and Norse poets follow the epic custom of delivering a message in the exact words in which it was consigned, *Beowulf* and *Guthlac* deliberately avoid this.

¹⁹ On this, and references on it, see the article already mentioned on *Laʒamon's Style and its Relations*.

²⁰ Ll. 25-6, 61-2, 73 f. (C-Text); first half *passim*; Skeat's edition, Oxford, 1907.

²⁰ Ed. Richard Buchholz, *Erlanger Beiträge*, VI.

350 lines a speech is introduced with "ȝet sæið þeo sowle soriliche to þen licame" (C 2, D 17, 26, E 3, 36; A 46). Four other long phrases occur twice each.²¹ Though few of Laȝamon's formulas are found in this scanty intermediate poetry, the formula usage seems to prevail more than in Anglo-Saxon.

How about the formulas common to Laȝamon and to later Middle English? The parallels clearly link him to this somewhat more than to earlier poetry. Many of the cases cited are doubtless insignificant; some are colloquial or commonplace, some are stock rimes, which must often have arisen independently. But there remain some which it is hard to doubt were remembered and handed down consciously from poet to poet; here we may put *Bīpohte*, *Ofte-wo*, and perhaps *Slājen-dājen*,²² *Slājen-draȝen*, *Slājen-flājen*, *Sonde*, and perhaps *Lete* and *Mette*. Some of these may have been derived from Laȝamon himself, for it is certain that his poem was known to later writers. W. A. Wright has proved that it was used for the later recension of the Robert of Gloucester chronicle.²³ One is inclined to agree with Branscheid that the romance called *Morte Arthure* shows reminiscences of it,²⁴ and strongly to suspect the same of *King Horn* in its phraseology.²⁵ Even if we had not

²¹ For þu were leas ond lutij ond u[n]riht lufedest (B 2, D 28);

On deope sæde, on durelease huse (B 40, E 8);

þeo swetnesse is nu al agon, þet b[ittere] þe bið fornon;

þet bittere ilæsteh æffre, þet swete ne cumeh þe [næffre]

(B 44-5, D 40-1);

Wowe domes ond gultes [feole] (E 19, G 11).

²² Cf. Schmirgel, in *Beves of Hampton* (E. E. T. S.), p. lii.

²³ Rolls Series, 1887, pp. xxxii.-xxxviii. This version inserts many of Laȝamon's details and words, and even repeats one or two of the scribal errors in the Caligula MS. (p. xxxvii). K. Brossmann (*Über die Quellen. . . des Robert v. Gloucester*, Breslau dissertation, Striegau, 1887, p. 6) and Ellmer (1888, *Anglia*, X. 22-3) came to a different conclusion, but had not seen Wright's edition.

²⁴ *Anglia Anzeiger*, VIII. 200, 205, 211-2.

²⁵ The evidence for influence on the so-called *Short Metrical Chronicle* is not convincing; see Sternberg in *Engl. Stud.* XVIII. 407. There is little or

two MSS of Laʒamon's poem, an unusual number so early, and even if the next known work on the same subject were not a century later, we should feel sure that the first English version of the attractive and flattering narrative of Geoffrey and Wace became well-known,—so admirable a version at that. But it is likely enough that the common formulas did not start with him, and were a common stock coming down from earlier works now lost.

As to the prevalence of the usage in general, formulas of some sort are much commoner in English after Laʒamon than before. Thirteenth century poetry is less learned and sophisticated than most Anglo-Saxon poetry, less finished and formal in style, more easy-going and easily satisfied. It was written for a less critical public; England had become tri-lingual instead of merely bi-lingual, and not only was Latin probably written and read more than formerly, but the new French poetry had drawn the fashionable and the cultivated away from the national literature. Therefore some primitive and oral traits increase. In later Middle English, *Amis and Amiloun*²⁶ (end of the thirteenth century) seems most like Laʒamon in its use of epic formulas. Of those occurring 3 times or more there are some 30, with 125-130 occurrences altogether in 2508 lines, one in 20 lines, nearly the same frequency as in Laʒamon. But even more than in the latter they are used as a metrical convenience, for the complicated stanza of the poem, being almost all in the shorter lines of which four must rime together. Therefore almost none are longer than seven syllables, as against nearly half of Laʒamon's which fill a whole long line. Most are parenthetical or unessential

no sign of influence on Robert Manning's chronicle; see Imelmann, *Laʒamon* (Berlin, 1906), pp. 104-8; or on the *Brut of England* (see Brie, *Geschichte u. Quellen der Me. Prosachronik* . . . , Marburg, 1905).

²⁶ Ed. Kölbing, *Altenglische Bibliothek*, vol. II (Heilbronn, 1884). The formulas are listed fully in the introduction, pp. xlii. ff., with many parallels in other poems.

to the narrative; only 9 or so occur over 4 times, and only 3 colorless ones over 6 times. The formulas in this poem, being very frequent in others, bind it to romance in general, rather than increase its internal unity; they give a familiar if not stale effect, rather than a broad and vigorous epic manner. In *Beves of Hampton*²⁷ (about 1300) some 11 formulas occur 44 times in 4620 lines, or once in 105; on the whole they are less colorless, less a mere convenience than in *Amis*, more epic as in *Lazamon*, but only 2 occur over 4 times. In *Sir Tristrem*²⁸ (about the end of the 13th century) some 9 formulas occur 31 times in 3344 lines, once in 108 lines; only one occurs over 4 times, and most are colorless. In *Athelston*²⁹ (about 1350) 3 formulas more or less conspicuous and epic in character occur 11 times in 812 lines, once in 74 lines.³⁰ Were they more frequent, they would make *Athelston* more like *Lazamon*'s poem than any of the above-mentioned. *King Horn* (about 1225), which contains so many of *Lazamon*'s formulas, and which in so many ways recalls his poem, has none in the London manuscript occurring more than twice, and only about two occurring so often. Its brevity and extreme condensation, which make it such a gem, leave less opportunity for formulas.³¹

²⁷ In E. E. T. S., E. S. 65, pp. xlv. ff., Dr. Carl Schmirgel lists "typical expressions," and their parallels elsewhere.

²⁸ Ed. Kölbing, Heilbronn, 1882, pp. lxxix. ff.

²⁹ Ed. Zupitza, *Engl. Stud.* XIII. 331 ff.

³⁰ Clerk, Mekyl he cowde off goddys werk (ll. 49, 100, 112, 414); erchebys-schop, Oure gostly fadyr vndyr god (393, 435, 465); In romaunce as we rede (383, 569, 623, 779). Others occur only twice: 705, 717 (cf. 271); 570, 780; 585, 783; 97, 300; 612, 642.

³¹ Payenes him wolde slo, And summe him wolde flo (91-2, cf. 1387-8, and Slaȝen-draȝen and Slaȝen-flaȝen in *Lazamon*); þe see bygon to flowen, And Horn faste to rowen (121-2, cf. 1523-4). If the poem were a long one, I suspect we should find many formulas in *Lazamon*'s manner. As to later Middle English poems, there are only two or three in *Horn Child and Maiden Rymild*. *Sir Orfeo*, whose editor (Dr. Zielke, Breslau, 1880) was one of the first to collect such stock expressions, contains none worth mentioning in this connection. The *Gawain* poet is sophisticated, and seems to avoid verbal repetition; see Menner, *Purity*, pp. xiv. ff. So on the whole do the

The outstanding differences between the usage in other Middle English poems and in *Lajamon's* are these. In the former they are more of a mere verse convenience, and therefore especially abound in works using a complicated stanza; they are apt to be brief, parenthetical, and unessential, making little or no contribution to the narrative. In *Lajamon*, on the other hand, while often a convenience, they are longer, and oftener carry on the narrative by contributing something essential. Even allowing for the greater length of the poem, they are vastly more numerous, and a single formula tends to occur far oftener than in other works. The 128 formulas listed occur once in 10 long lines, as we have seen, averaging 12 occurrences to each formula. In other works, the most striking point is the rarity of original formulas, the number common to several poems, a general stock of insignificant, shop-worn counters, the profusion of which suggests helplessness. As we read on we are struck by resemblance to other poems, not by reminiscences from earlier parts of the poem we are reading.³² In *Lajamon* we

other better romances, like *Havelok*. See also J. Fuhrmann, *Alliterierenden Sprachformeln in Morris' Early Engl. Allit. Poems*, etc. (Kiel dissert., 1886); H. Willert, *Allit. formeln d. engl. Sprache* (Halle, 1911); *Engl. Stud.* XLVII. 185-96; Paul and Braune's *Beiträge*, IX. 422 ff.; *Harv. Stud. and Notes*, I. 38-58. As to the popular ballads, they are mostly too brief to admit much repetition of formulas within each ballad, "incremental repetition" being a different thing. But in the *Gest of Robin Hood*, the longest of them, there is a good deal of repetition of rather colorless and inorganic formulas. The ballads, like the romances, of course have a great stock of formulas passed from one to another. None of *Lajamon's* characteristic formulas seem to occur in them, but some of his commonplace ones do. See in the list above; also Fehr's excellent dissertation, *Formelhaften Elemente in d. alten engl. Balladen* (Basel, 1900); also A. Wirth, *Untersuchungen über formelhafte u. typische Elemente in d. engl.-schott. Volksballade* (Halle diss., 1897), and his *Typische Züge in d. schott.-engl. Volksballade* (Bernburg, 1903).

³² The great frequency of phrases which cease to occur in a poem after the second or third time, and the fact that none whatever occur a large number of times in a poem, show that the poet did not wish to repeat himself noticeably, as *Lajamon* did. What the earlier poet did boldly the later did only furtively, and so utterly disclaimed this element of the epic manner.

are struck by the number which, so far as we can see, are original. The formulas in other Middle English poems make them alike; those in *Lajamon's* poem make it individual. Their number, frequency, length, organic character and originality make them more epic in character than others, and contribute greatly to the epic manner of the poem. When one comes to know it well, their frequency become its outstanding trait of style. In no English poem before or since is the use of the epic formula anything like so common.³³ The *Lajamon* tradition in regard to formulas is as little continued in Middle English as the *Lajamon* tradition itself continues that in Anglo-Saxon.

To find the usage in *Lajamon's* manner and degree we must go outside English. It will be illuminating to do so, even though in every poem mentioned formulas are not abundant. In early Germanic in general they are commoner than in Anglo-Saxon, especially in a few often-recurring situations. The ninth century Old Saxon *Heliand*, quite definitely an art-poem rather than a popular poem, is much like Anglo-Saxon poetry in cultivating a varied phraseology and in avoiding long formulas which carry on the action. It differs in allowing rather more of the short, less organic sort. In the first 1000 lines or so (mostly) I find such as the following: *tho gifragn ic that . . .* (510, 630, 1020), *uuarun uuordun* (406, 445, 569), *thuru (mid) hluttran hugi* (422, 467, 546, 898), *dages endi nahtes* (515, 451, 2480, 2482, 3981), *uualdandes sunu* (327, 1026, 1189, and many times more).³⁴

³³ Chaucer uses familiar stock expressions and even repeats favorite phrases and lines of his own; but in nothing like *Lajamon's* epic manner. Milton is too sophisticated and sincere to use the formula. Tennyson in the *Idylls of the King* uses it occasionally, probably borrowing the usage from Homer. So, I will add, does Goethe in *Hermann und Dorothea* ("Da versetzte der . . .," "Also sprach er. . .").

³⁴ Many other cases in Sievers' edition, pp. 391 ff. (Halle, 1878). See also Meyer, *Altgerm. Poesie*, 405-6. Küntzel (*Künstlerische Elemente in der Dichtersprache des Heliand*, Rostock, 1887) by limiting his subject does not give a fair idea of the popular element in the style of the poem. He refers

As to early High German, in the eighth century text of the *Hildebrandslied* (only 68 lines) there are four cases of the formula

Hadubrant (Hiltibrant) gimahalta, Hiltibrantes (Heribrantes) sunu
(14, 29, 36, 45),

and two of

dat sagetun mir (sæulidante, 42; swase liuti, 15).

There are possible traces of the usage in the short *Muspilli*.³⁵ In the *Nibelungenlied*, courtly folk-poetry about contemporary with *Lazamon's* poem, epic formulas are very abundant. There are scores of cases of "da er . . . vant," and also of other like formulas; scores of cases of "do sprach aber . . .," and of other stock ways of introducing a speech; a number of cases of "nu hoeret wunder sagen," five of "horte man do clagen." There are many cases of "ze Wormje an den Rin"; many of such phrases as "liut unde lant," "michel unde breit," and such appositional tags as "der vil küene man," "diu vil minnecliche meit." Formulas tend to be shorter than in *Lazamon* (few exceed a half-line); they stand out less and are better woven in, and probably less frequently recurrent and deliberately more varied in wording; the poet tends to avoid word for word repetition of a long formula. But many are riming or alliterating, as with *Lazamon*, and many express recurrent situations in recurrent language. On the whole, the epic formula is nearly but not quite as characteristic of the *Nibelungenlied* as of *Lazamon*.³⁶

to Bechstein in *Jahrb. d. Vereins f. niederdeutsche Sprachforschung*, X: 133-148, who combats Vilmar's view that it is a popular poem. On its cultivation of varied expression see Roediger in *Anzeiger f. deutsches Alterthum*, V. 268 ff. (in Haupt's *Zeitschrift*, vol. XXIII).

³⁵ Ed. by Vetter (II. 42, 48, 54, 89). There seems to be little or no trace of it in Otfrid's *Evangelienbuch*; ungermanic in style, it shows a literary consciousness in avoiding the formula.

³⁶ See the painstaking Kiel dissertation by Georg Radke, *Die epische Formel im Nibelungenliede* (Fraustadt, 1890); also Richard von Muth,

In early Icelandic poetry formulas are not rare, but are differently used. There is much rhetorical parallelism at the beginnings of stanzas in the same poem. In *Baldur's Draumar* the sybil is thrice bidden to speak on ("þegiattu, völvá!"); in the *Lokasenna* there is a repeated order for silence; the *Hávamál* introduces dozens of its counsels with "Ráðumk þér, Loddfáfnir, en þu ráð nemir!" and the *Vafþrúðnismál*, the *Reginismál* and the *Fáfnismál* each several times introduce their questions with "Segðu (mér) (þat), Gagnráðr," and the like.³⁷ Much the same is the case elsewhere, one formula sometimes being used in different poems. As is evident, the formulas do not come in casually, as usually with *Lazamon*, but are visibly deliberate and rhetorical, usually somewhat in the manner of "incremental repetition," close together, and introduce a speech or a *sententia*. Icelandic poetry is lyric, gnomic, or semi-dramatic, and not epic; and, even more than Anglo-Saxon poetry, is sophisticated and not popular, cultivates variety and ingenuity. The last thing a lyric poet wishes is that his words shall seem traditional and reminiscent. In this oldest Scandinavian poetry, then, formulas are frequent, though not epic. The real epics of the Norse are the prose sagas, and here we find formulas abundantly.³⁸ I will add that they occur also in the old Irish prose epics.³⁹

Einleitung in d. Nibelungenlied (Paderborn, 1907). Many of Radke's phrases can hardly pass as epic formulas. On the occurrence of formulas in other popular epic poems of the 12th and 13th centuries, see Radke, p. 3.

³⁷ I quote from Hildebrand's *Die Lieder der älteren Edda*, (Paderborn, 1876). Cf. on all this Meyer's *Allgerm. Poesie*, 407 ff., and the *Proverbs of Alfred* (discussed above) and other English gnomic poetry.

³⁸ The *Eyrbyggjasaga*, for instance, constantly introduces fresh stages of the narrative with "Nú er at segja frá þeim Vermundi," and the like (ch. 22, 25, 30, 37, 44, etc.). In the sagas one marked trait is "set phrases used even in describing the restless play of emotion on the changeful fortunes of a fight or a storm" (York Powell, in the *Encycl. Brit.*).

³⁹ In the *Tain bo Cuailnge* occurs the formula "I swear by the god by whom the Ulstermen swear" (tr. by Joseph Dunn, pp. 75, 77, etc.).

In early Romanic epics formulas abound, usually longish and often much varied, used rather as an adornment than as a convenience, on the whole strongly epic in character, as in *Lajamon*. The *Chanson de Roland*, though in regard to short phrases and epithets it studies variety, has some fixed epithets, notably "dulce France," used by French and Saracens alike (ll. 16, 360, 1927, 2661, and many more), "bronie safree" (1372, 1453, 3307, and further variants), and "herbe verte" and "sanc cler." Of longer formulas a dozen or so of full line length occur some 60 times, seldom word for word the same each time but varied in order of words and otherwise as required by the assonance or for other reasons, but retaining their individuality. The following illustrates the manner of variation:⁴⁰

Halt sunt li pui et li val tenebrus (814)

Halt sunt li pui et la voiz est molt lunge (1755)

Halt sunt li pui e tenebrus e grant, Li val parfunt (1830-31)

Halz est li puis e mult halz est li arbres (2271)

Other long formulas are the following:

Blanche ot la barbe, et le chief tot canut (230a, 24a, 117, 774a)

Branches d'olives en voz mains porterez (72, 80, 93, 203)

Un faldestoel i unt fait tut d'or mier (115, 168a, 407, 609, 2653)

Clers est li jurz li soleilz luisanz (2646, 157, 167a, 668a, 1002, 1807, 2512, 3345, 3659)

Plore des oeilz, sa blanche barbe tire (487a, 772, 829a, 1850r, 2415, 2930, 2943, 3645, 3712, 4001)

Passe li jorns, si revint l'avespree (706a, 717, 737, 3560, 3658, 3675, 3991)

Carles li vielz a la barbe flurie (970, 1679q, 2308, 2334, 2353, 2605)

⁴⁰ Stengel's edition is used (Leipzig, 1900). Cf. also ll. 36, 135; 164, 670; 350, 2221; 822, 825, 2873, 3725; 999, 1800. I disregard cases of rhetorical repetition or "incremental repetition" close together (as 1051, 1059, 1070; 1764, 1786). On these see Dietrich, in *Romanische Forschungen*, I. 1-48. There is more or less on the subject in Dreyling, *Ausg. u. Abhandl. LXXXII*; in Drees' good dissertation *Gebrauch der Epitheta Ornantia im afr. Rolandsliede* (Münster, 1883); also in Ziller, *Epische Stil d. afr. Rolands-Liedes* (Magdeburg, 1883); and A. Kunze, *Das Formelhafte in Girart de Viane vergl. mit d. Form. im Rolandsliede* (Halle, 1885). No one seems to have fully collected the formulas in the *Roland* or the *Cid*.

La bataille est merveilluse et comune (1320, 1412, 1610, 1620)

Respunt Rollanz: Sire, mult dites bien (1752, 1752i, 3837)

Li quens Rollanz revient de pasmeisuns (2233, 2592, 2881, 2892)

The dry tone of voice in the *Roland*, and the uniform movement of the lines, like *Lazamon's staccato* movement cause the formulas to stand out. The very fact that they are varied as they are shows that they are meant to be noticed as a feature of the style; the variety-in-unity is meant to give esthetic pleasure. They mark a popular-poetic style⁴¹ manipulated by a poet of talent and some sophistication. They frequently occur prominently, as at the beginning of the *laisse*, and indeed are more deliberately "featured" and artistically treated than in any other work here discussed.

Still more like *Lazamon's* poem in this (as in some other matters of style) is the old Spanish *Poema del Cid*.⁴² There are at least ten or a dozen formulas, of which one occurs oftener than any in *Lazamon*. "El que en buen ora naçio (fuestes naçido)" occurs some 60 times in the 3735 lines of the poem, and "en buen ora cinxiestes espada" a dozen or more;⁴³ "pensso de caualgar" 14 times, and "alli pienssan de aguiiar" several times.⁴⁴ Used less often for convenience

⁴¹ Some epic formulas appear also in the *Alexis*; see Vising in *Recueil de Mémoires philologiques présenté à M. Gaston Paris* (Stockholm, 1889), p. 185. He refers also to Dietrich, *Über die Wiederholungen in d. afr. Chansons de Geste* (Erlangen, 1881). The conspicuous, rhetorical and descriptive use of formulas in the *Roland* does not favor the idea that *Lazamon* may have caught the usage from the early French epics.

⁴² *Cantar de mio Cid*, ed. Menéndez Pidal (Madrid, 1908-11), vol. II; cf. vol. I. 83, 92-9; W. W. Comfort, *Notes on the "Poema del Cid," Mod. Philol.* I. 309-315; J. D. M. Ford, *Main Current of Spanish Literature*, p. 30. Dr. C. G. Allen pointed out some of these formulas to me.

⁴³ Vv. 71, 202, 266, 294, 379, etc.; 41, 78, 175, etc.

⁴⁴ 376, 394, 413, 432, 537, etc.; 10, 227 (cf. 37). Other formulas are "Dios vos curie de mal"; (1396, 1407, 1410); "la barba velida," etc. (274, 930, 2192, cf. 268, 1226, 1238; "sodes el myo diestro brago" (753, 810); "fardida lança" (489, 443-4, 79); "apriessa cantan los gallos y quieran quebrar albores" (235; cf. 456, 209, 316); "ayuso la sangre destellado" (762, 781, 1724); "grado al Criador y a padre espirital" (1633, 1651, 2192, 2456,

in the verse or narrative, and therefore more clearly for epic breadth and dignity, in other matters the formulas in the *Poema del Cid* suggest Lazamon's. They are rather long, often of a full line. Order, form and even choice of words vary, often with no visible reason; there is even more tendency to use a formula several times in close succession, especially when first introduced; sometimes two formulas are combined (2192), or one is split; a formula is often appropriated to a particular person, as the formula "Ναῖο" to the Cid himself. This national and epic poem uses the popular formula-usage in a less sophisticated way than the *Roland* does.

Of all epic poems in any language, except perhaps Lazamon's, epic formulas seem to be commonest in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.⁴⁵ Elsewhere in Greek and Latin there is nothing like this abundance. Δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς occurs 40 or 50 times in the *Iliad*, δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς about 55 times (mostly in the *Odyssey*) and πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς nearly 40 times more. Διὰ νύκτα μέλαιναν occurs 5 times in the *Iliad*, πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης 8 times in both, and δολιχόσκιον ἔγχος some 20 times (mostly in the *Iliad*). We find the formula for weeping, δάκρυα θερμὰ χέων, 7 times (also mostly in the *Iliad*), and for the other world, δόμον Ἀΐδος εἰσω, 9 times in both. Among the familiar phrases in the two poems which introduce a speech, there are some 70 cases of τὸν δ'ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη . . . , and scores of ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα. Five times in the *Iliad* occurs the threatening

etc.); "delos sos oios lorando" (1, 18, 265, 277, 370, etc.). Besides these there are many repeated epithets and short phrases.

⁴⁵ Virgil (like Milton) is too sophisticated to find them natural, and too sincere to affect them. He uses fixed epithets like "pius Aeneas," "pater Aeneas," and fixed locutions like "Tum genitor . . . ait" (*Aeneid*, III. 102, V. 348, etc.), "Dixerat, et. . ." (III. 607, VIII. 387, etc.), "mirabile dictu" (VII. 64, VIII. 252, etc.). But these are hardly long, unified, and frequent enough to do more than suggest the usage. Virgil, like the Anglo-Saxons, must have been careful to avoid formulas, for they would have been a godsend in classical prosody.

formula *ἐγείρομεν δὲν Ἄρηα* (B440, Δ352, Θ531, Σ304, T237), and 22 times in the two poems that about "putting from them desire of meat and drink,"—

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο A469, B432, etc.)⁴⁶

From all this display of epic formulas in poems which have no connection whatever with Lajamon's we can draw several conclusions. The usage, speaking generally, is one which appears in the beginnings of a literature, as is well known; though it survives in much that is later, most of the works discussed stand near the head of the written documents of the peoples involved. The usage bears the marks of oral delivery, and assisted it. It goes with singing more than with reciting, and with that more than with reading. It harmonizes not with a critical but with an exalted and liturgical state of mind. It is due partly to economy of effort. The poet feels no need of searching for variety of expression, and when he strikes out a fine or serviceable phrase, he is conscious of no carping criticism or nagging self-criticism to prevent him from repeating it. It is due further to the tendency in early art to emphasize, or at least not to conceal, the formal element as distinguished from the content; the formulas stand out from the poem like an occasional traditional curve or figure in some intricate original wall-decoration. The usage has great beauties. The use of language which carries the mind back to like occasions before contributes to the simple, impersonal air which is one of the charms of earlier poetry. The well-trying phrase for what is usual leaves the full sharpness of the atten-

⁴⁶ All these and a vast number more may be found in C. E. Schmidt's *Parallel-Homer* (Göttingen, 1885); though perhaps many of his parallel passages are hardly distinct enough to be called epic formulas, an immense number are. He gives figures in his introduction. See also Van Leeuwen's and the Ameis-Hentze editions; Karl Sittl, *Wiederholungen in der Odyssee* (Munich, 1882); Hoffmann, *Quaest. Homer. I.* 259-64; G. Finsler, *Homer: der Dichter u. seine Welt* (Leipzig, 1913), p. 319; H. Usener, *Allgriech. Versbau* (Bonn, 1887), p. 45; *Class. Review* XVI. 149; Peppmüller, *Commentar d. 24ten Buches d. Ilias* (Berlin, 1876), xvii. ff.

tion for what is fresh. The magnificent swell and roll of Homer's formulas, the terse picturesqueness of the *Roland's*, give us an agreeable background for *Lajamon's* more artless phrases, for he is one of a goodly fellowship. The complete spontaneity and inevitableness of this trait of his style makes one feel that he belongs nowhere else than among epic poets; in what rank among them is another matter.⁴⁷

One thing more. As we have seen, Anglo-Saxon poetry is sparing in the use of formulas. Those of full-line length are very rare, and the short ones, while often organic and important to the sense, are not numerous, and hardly occur often enough or close enough together to make a strong impression. In Middle English, formulas are rather numerous, but short, inorganic and commonplace, not an artistic feature but a metrical convenience, and do little for an epic effect. Anglo-Saxon and Middle English poetry are not at all like each other in this respect; the latter by no means carries on the tradition of the former, and *Lajamon* can hardly be called a middle term between them. Formulas are more abundant in other early Germanic poetry than in Anglo-Saxon, and are a marked feature of the *Nibelungenlied*. In early French, Spanish and Greek they are abundant, long, conspicuous and ornate, and as in *Lajamon* and the *Nibelungenlied* impart unity and individuality to the poem. *Lajamon* therefore stands out from the English poetry that preceded and followed him, yet cannot be called abnormal in his style. One cannot but ask if he does not carry on the poetic manner of the popular poetry now lost which we know or infer existed in the centuries just preceding him. On this there is much more to be said.

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⁴⁷ I shall not follow the example of the editor of an old French allegory, who compares his author to Homer, not altogether to Homer's advantage. Of course *Lajamon's* poem is not epic in structure, but it contains long episodes of that nature, and throughout is epic in manner and spirit.

XXVI. DRAYTON AND THE VOYAGERS

Few poets typify Elizabethan patriotism so completely as Michael Drayton. His most ambitious poem, *Polyolbion*, is a fond effort to record the chorographic intricacies of his beloved isle. But he does more than that: he often transfers his interest from landscape to human beings. Thus in the Nineteenth Song he passes easily from rivers to men, paying his homage to those responsible for English prestige at sea. The rivers Orwell and Stour reach an agreement:

(156-162) And lastly they agree
That since the Britans hence their first discoveries made,
And that into the East they first were taught to trade,
Besides, of all the Roads, and Havens of the East,
This Harbour where they meet is reckoned for the best.
Our voyages by sea and brave discoveries known,
Their argument they make, and thus they sing their own.

The ensuing catalogue of voyagers and their achievements implies a close familiarity on the poet's part with the voyagers' accounts. But this study will reveal that the familiarity was not so close as it seems, that Drayton, working rapidly and often inaccurately, drew all his information from one work, and that he utilized every short-cut to which that work gave him access.

Richard Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation made by Sea or over-land . . . within the Compasse of these 1500 yeeres* appeared first in 1589, a single volume of 825 pages. That was augmented with new material, and republished in 1598-1600, in three volumes.

Professor J. Q. Adams has already pointed out, in a short article (*Mod. Lang. Notes* xxxiii. 405ff.), Drayton's indebtedness to Hakluyt's great work in the single instance of "To

the Virginian Voyage." And it was to the same source that the poet turned when he came to write the Nineteenth Song of *Poly-olbion*. He found there the information he sought conveniently labelled and cross-indexed. For the painstaking Hakluyt had summarized the contents of each section, and had further rendered the material accessible by marginalia. Drayton eagerly availed himself of those aids. At times he followed them so slavishly that his passages became notable examples of the art of casting prose into verse.

The first hero in both Hakluyt and Drayton is Arthur:

D.

(165-7) His Conquests to the North who *Norway* did invade,
Who *Groneland*, *Island* next, then *Lapland* lastly made
His awful Empire's bounds.

H.

He therefore valiantly subdued all Scantia, which is now called *Norway*, and all the Islands beyond Norway, to wit *Island* and *Greenland* . . . *Lapland* . . . (in which Lapland he placed the *easterly bounds of his British Empire*).¹

The adverb *lastly* (l. 166) may be accounted for by the fact that Lapland is the last mentioned in a series of thirteen countries named by Hakluyt. The other slight additions and subtractions are due to the exigencies of metre.

As Arthur is the first hero both in Drayton and Hakluyt so Malgo is the second.

(172-8) Next Malgo, who again that Conqueror's steps to tread,
Succeeding him in reign, in conquests so no less,
Plow'd up the frozen sea, and with as fair success,
By that great Conqueror's claim *first Orkney* overran;
Proud *Denmarke* then subdu'd, and spacious *Norway* wan,
Seiz'd *Island* for his own, and *Goteland* to each shore,
Where Arthur's full-sail'd Fleet had ever touch'd before.

Drayton is wrong in saying (l. 173) that Malgo succeeded

¹ *Principall Navigations*, Glasgow 1903. 12 vols., I. 6. Unless otherwise specified all references will be to this edition.

Arthur. The history of Galfridus Monumetensis, a short selection from which Hakluyt is here translating, expressly states that "Malgo succeeded Vortiporius."² And the poet has likewise done some legitimate juggling with proper names. Hakluyt says:

He recovered to his Empire the sixe Islands of the Ocean sea, which before had bene made tributaries by King Arthur, namely *Ireland, Island, Gotland, Orkney, Norway and Denmarke*.³

It will be noticed that of these six countries, Drayton uses five. The omission of Ireland may be accounted for in one of two ways. The poet was indubitably working fast, and as Ireland and Iceland occur next to each other on the printed page and look very much alike, his eye may have missed the first. Or, he may have found it clumsy to introduce Ireland into his metrical scheme. The order of the countries is Drayton's for the history says nothing of priority of subjection. Line 178,

Where Arthur's full-sail'd fleet had ever touch'd before,
may be taken with,

which before had bene made tributaries by King Arthur.

Following Malgo in Hakluyt comes Edwin:

D.

(181) *The Saxon swaying all.*

H.

The conquest of the Isles of Anglesey and Man by Edwin the Saxon king. Edwin . . . *being of greater authority than any other potentate in the whole Isle of Britaine*.⁴

With the exception of a short account of thirteen lines which would not have served the poet's purpose, Othter

² *P. N. I.*, 8.

³ *P. N. I.*, 8.

⁴ *P. N. I.*, 8.

follows Malgo in Hakluyt as in Drayton. The heading in this case reads:

The voyage of Ochter made to the Northeast parts beyond Norway, reported by himselfe unto Alfred the famous king of England.⁵

And Drayton's version is:

(181-2) in Alfred's powerful reign
Our English Ochter put a fleet to sea again.

He then significantly skips to the end of this account and reads in the margin: "The bredth of the mountaines of Norway".⁶ The text opposite impresses him enough so that he copies:

D.

(183-4) Of th' *huge Norwegian Hills* and news did hither bring,
Whose tops are hardly wrought in *twelve days' travelling*.

H.

The *mountaines* be in breadth of such quantitie as a man is able to *travcile over in a fortnight*, and in some places no more then may be *travciled in sixe dayes*.⁷

"Huge Norwegian Hills" is an interesting circumlocution for "mountains," and shows pretty clearly the poet in his workshop.

The next details are taken again from near the beginning of Hakluyt's story:

D.

(185) But leaving Norway then *a-starboard*, forward kept.

H.

Whereupon he tooke his voyage directly North along the coast, having *upon his steere-boord* alwayes the desert land.⁸

Hakluyt's two marginal notes on that page are, "Fynnes

⁵ *P. N. I.*, 11.

⁶ *P. N. I.*, 13.

⁷ *P. N. I.*, 13.

⁸ *P. N. I.*, 11.

live by hunting and fishing," and "The place whither the whale hunters traueile." The next lines in *Poly-olbion* are:

(186-8) And with our English sails that mighty Ocean swept,
Where those stern people wonne, whom hope of gain
doth call,
In hulks with grappling hooks, to hunt the dreadful
Whale.

Here the Finns become "those stern people"; while with "that mighty Ocean" (l. 186) may be taken "the maine Ocean" of the voyager.⁹

The succeeding lines conclude Ochter's travels:

D.

(189-90) And *great Duina* down from her first springing-place
Doth roll her swelling waves in churlish Neptune's face.

H.

He discovered a *mightie river* which opened very farre into the land.¹⁰
[Marginal note] The *river of Duina* of likelihood.

Woolstan comes next in both Hakluyt and Drayton:

D.

(191-2) Then Woolstan after him discovering *Dansig* found
Where *Wixel's mighty mouth* is pour'd into the Sound.

H.

Until he came to *Wixel mouth*.¹¹ [Marginal note] Wixel is the river that
falleth into the sea by *Dantzig*.

The passages on Nicholas of Lynn will require little comment:

D.

(197-212) One Nicholas nam'd of Lyn, where first he breath'd
the air,
Though *Oxford* taught him art, and well may hold him dear,
I' th' *Mathematicks* learn'd (although a *Friar* profess'd),
To see those northern climes with great desire possess'd,

⁹ P. N. I, 11.

¹⁰ P. N. I, 12.

¹¹ P. N. I, 15.

Himself he thither shipp'd, and skilful in the globe,
 Took every severall height with his true astrolabe;
 The Whirlpools of the Seas, and came to understand,
 From the four cardinal winds, *four indraughts* that command;
 Int' any of whose falls, if th' wand' ring barque doth light,
 It hurried is away with such tempestuous flight
 Into that *swallowing gulf*, which seems as it would draw
 The very earth itself into th' infernal maw.
Four such immeasur'd Pools, philosophers agree,
I' the four parts of the world undoubtedly to be;
 From which they have suppos'd, Nature the winds doth raise,
 And from them to proceed *the flowing of the seas*.

H.

A certaine English *Frier*, a Franciscan, and a *Mathematician of Oxford*, came into those islands, who leaving them and passing further by his Magicall Arte, described all those places that he saw, and *tooke the height of them with his Astrolabe* . . . Hee sayd that those *four Indraughts* were drawne into an inward *gulf* or *whirlepoole*, with so great a force that the ships which once entred therein could by no meanes be driven backe againe . . . Not farre from these Islands . . . towards the Northe there is a certaine woonderful *whirlpoole of the sea*, whereinto all the waves of the sea from farre have their course and recourse, as it were without stoppe; which, there conveying themselves into the secret receptacles of nature, are *swallowed up*, as it were, into a *bottomlesse pit*, and if it chance that any shippe doe pass this way, it is pulled, and *drawn* with such a violence of the waves that eftsoones without remedy, the force of the whirlepoole devoureth the same. The *Philosophers describe four indraughts* of this ocean sea, *in the four opposite quarters of the world*, from whence many doe conjecture that as well *the flowing of the sea* as the blasts of the winde have their first originall.¹²

It is significant that in the sentence, "tooke the height of them with his Astrolabe," besides adjectives inserted for metrical purposes, Drayton's one change consists in altering the spelling of *astrolabe* to rhyme with *globe*.

His next hero is "that brave advent'rous Knight, our Sir Hugh Willoughby"; and in describing him the poet is for the moment carried away from Hakluyt by the ardor of his patriotism. For six lines his imagination bolts:

¹² *P. N. I*, 302-3. This passage is Hakluyt's translation of Mercator's words placed at the foot of his general map.

D.

- (217-22) Shipp'd for the Northern Seas, 'mongst those congealed piles,
 Fashioned by lasting frosts, like mountains, and like isles,
 (In all her fearfull'st shapes saw Horror, whose great mind
 In lesser bounds than these that could not be confin'd,
 Adventured on those parts where Winter still doth keep,
 When most the icy cold had chain'd up all the deep).

H.

Thus remaining in this haven the space of a weeke, seeing the yeare farre spent and also very evill wether as frost, snow and haile, as though it had been the deepe of winter, we thought best to winter there.¹³

But in the next lines Drayton is back to his text:

D.

- (223-4) In bleak *Arzina's* Road his death near *Lapland* took,
 Where *Kegor* from her site on those grim Seas doth look.

H.

The river or haven wherein Sir Hugh Willoughbie with the companie of his two ships perished for cold is called *Arzina* in *Lapland*, neere unto *Kegor*.¹⁴

While attempting to condense, the poet makes numerous mistakes in describing Chancellor's voyage:

- (227-9) . . . the first arriving there,
 Ent'ring Duina's mouth, up her proud stream did steer
 To Volgad, to behold her pomp.

Now Richard Chancellor, so far as the records go, never went to the Duina's mouth. He disembarked in the Bay of St. Nicholas,¹⁵ and was taken in sleds overland to the Emperor's seat at Moscow.¹⁶ In that journey he may very well have passed through Vologda (or Volgad); it is quite likely that he did since he mentions facts concerning it.¹⁷

An explanation of Drayton's error can be suggested.

¹³ P. N. II, 223.

¹⁴ P. N. II, 224.

¹⁵ P. N. II, 248-50.

¹⁶ P. N. II, 250-1.

¹⁷ P. N. II, 225.

His eye might have caught the word *Duyna* in the margin,¹⁸ and he may also have seen these words on the next page:

There is a place called Vologda; . . . From Vologda to Colmogro there runneth a river called *Duyna*, and from thence it falleth into the sea.¹⁹

Probably in attempting to fuse, our poet confused. For it was Anthony Jenkinson, the next traveller, who actually sailed up the Duina:

I departed in a little boate up the great river of Dwina. . . . The twentieth of September I came unto Vologhda.²⁰

But Drayton is again at fault in following Jenkinson's progress:

(231-4) then into Bactria past,
To Boghor's bulwark'd walls, then to the liquid waste,
Where Oxus rolleth down twixt his far distant shores,
And o'er the Caspian Main, with strong untired oars.

This passage clearly implies that Jenkinson went first to Bokhara, then to the Oxus region, and finally sailed over the Caspian. As a fact, his order was just the reverse:

We entred into the Caspian Sea the tenth day of August.²¹ And that night [December 16] came to the river Oxus.²² So upon the 23 day of December wee arrived at the citie of Boghar in the lande of Bactria.²³

The Caspian Sea,²⁴ the Oxus River,²⁵ and Boghar, "a citie of Bactria,"²⁶ all figure in the margins; but no explanation is forthcoming why the poet should have chosen to shift the order.

¹⁸ *P. N.* II, 224.

¹⁹ *P. N.* II, 225.

²⁰ *P. N.* II, 418, 419.

²¹ *P. N.* II, 456.

²² *P. N.* II, 468. For date see 466-8.

²³ *P. N.* II, 469.

²⁴ *P. N.* II, 456.

²⁵ *P. N.* II, 468.

²⁶ *P. N.* II, 469.

Jenkinson's itinerary is thus concluded:

D.

(231-2) . . . then into Bactria past
To Boghor's bulwark'd walls.

H.

Wee arrived at the citie of Boghar in the lande of Bactria. This Boghar is . . . walled about with a high wall of earth.²⁷

D.

(235) Adventured to view rich Persia's wealth and pride.

This again is a misstatement for Jenkinson expressly says he did not go to Persia. He

determined to have gone from thence into Persia; . . . but when I should have taken my journey that way, it was let by divers occasions . . . I was constrained to come backe againe to Mare Caspium the same way I went.²⁸

He does mention seeing Persian merchandize in Boghar, and the marginal note, "Marchandise of Persia,"²⁹ may have caught Drayton's eye.

The poet combines his next two voyagers as he did Chancellor and Jenkinson. Once more the result is confusion:

(237-8) With Fitch, our Eldred next deserv'dly placed is;
Both traveling to see the Syrian Tripolis.

Eldred recounts that he "departed . . . in the company of . . . M. Ralph Fitch." And Hakluyt's summary reads, "The voyage of M. John Eldred to Trypolis in Syria";³⁰ while his words concerning Fitch begin: "The voyage of M. Ralph Fitch . . . by the way of Tripolis in Syria."³¹ There were sufficient reasons then for putting the two together; but the confusion which such a telescoping process caused is well illustrated in the following passage:

²⁷ *P. N.* II, 469.

²⁸ *P. N.* II, 474.

²⁹ *P. N.* II, 473.

³⁰ *P. N.* VI, 1.

³¹ *P. N.* V, 465.

D.

(241-6) On thence to Ormus set, Goa, Cambaya then,
To vast Zelabdim, thence to Echubar, again
Cross'd Ganges' mighty stream and his large banks did view,
To Baccola went on, to Bengola, Pegu;
And for Mallacan then, Zeiten and Cochin cast,
Measuring with many a step the great East-Indian waste.

H.

To Ormus and so to Goa in the East India, to Cambaia, and all the kingdome of Zelabdim Echebar the great Mogor, to the mighty river Ganges, and downe to Bengala, to Bacola, and Chonderi, to Pegu, to Imahay in the kingdome of Siam, and backe to Pegu, the from thence to Malacca, Zeilan, Cochin, and all the coast of the East India.³²

The poet follows his source unerringly until he reaches Zelabdim Echubar. Then "all the kingdome of Zelabdim Echebar," following as it does the countries and cities, suggests to him another country. So he not only makes the great Mogor a country but makes him *two* countries, "to vast Zelabdim, thence to Echubar." As we have seen, Drayton has all along taken the liberty of using adjectives—sometimes applicable and often not—to fill out his line. Here he makes the joke better by blindly inserting *vast*. For in the sixth volume of the *Principall Navigations* (p. 16) is reproduced from an album preserved in the Department of Oriental MSS. in the British Museum a picture of Akbar or Zelabdim, which shows him a little wizened old man with emaciated cheeks.

Had Drayton read the full account,³³ he would have avoided his mistake. For that says: "Here bee many Moores and Gentiles, the king is called Zelabdim Echebar; the people for the most part call him The great Mogor."³⁴ In Eldred's narrative he is again mentioned: "I received divers letters from M. John Newbery from Ormus, who as

³² P. N. V, 465.

³³ In this case he read even the summary carelessly, for there Zelabdim is properly identified as "the great Mogor." P. N. V, 465.

³⁴ P. N. V, 474.

he passed that way with her Majesties letters to Zelabdim Echebar king of Cambaia," etc.³⁵ The document in question is printed on page 450 of volume five with this heading: "A letter written from the Queenes Majestie to Zelabdim Echebar, King of Cambaia, and sent by John Newbery." The fact is that Zelabdim is mentioned eleven times in *Principall Navigations*, and that six of those times considerable space is devoted to him.

Other points of minor interest in the above passage are these: Drayton changes the order of Bengola and Bacola,³⁶ and he spells *Zeilan*, *Zeiten*.³⁷

Eldred's itinerary is followed accurately:

D.

- (248-52) Determining to see the broad-wall'd *Babylon*,
Cross'd Euphrates and row'd against his mighty stream;
Licia and *Gaza* saw, with great *Hierusalem*,
 And Our Dear Saviour's seat, blest *Bethlem*, did behold,
 And *Jourdan*, of whose waves much is in Scriptures told.

H.

In this place which we *crossed* over stode the olde mightie citie of Babylon.³⁸
 . . . I travelled to Rama, *Lycia*, *Gaza*, *Jerusalem*, *Bethleem*, to the river of *Jordan*.³⁹

The next lines, which treat of Macham's dramatic story, display to good advantage Drayton's method of handling his material. His imagination is playing a little more freely than heretofore—he adds, for instance, a detail of motivation; but what is still more noteworthy is the superiority of the voyager's terse, straight-forward narration to the poet's expanded, "improved" version:

D.

- (253-74) Then *Macham* (who through love to long adventures led)
Medera's wealthy Isles, the *first* discovered,

³⁵ *P. N.* VI, 7.

³⁶ v. 244.

³⁷ v. 245.

³⁸ *P. N.* VI, 4.

³⁹ *P. N.* VI, 9.

Who *having stol'n a maid*, to whom he was affied,
 Yet her rich parents still her marriage rites denied,
 Put with her forth to sea, where *many a danger past*,
 Upon an *Isle* of those, at length *by tempest* cast;
 And *putting in to give his tender love some ease*,
 Which very ill had brook'd the rough and boist'rous seas;
 And ling'ring for her health within the quiet *Bay*,
 The mariners most false *fled with the ship away*,
 When as it was not long but she gave up her breath;
 When he whose tears in vain bewail'd her timeless death.
 That their deserved rites her funeral could not have,
 A *homely altar built* upon her honor'd grave.
 When *with his folk but few*, not passing two or three,
 There *making them a boat but rudely of one tree*,
 Put forth again to sea where after many a flaw,
 Such as before themselves, scarce mortal ever saw;
 Nor miserable men could possibly sustain,
 Now swallowed with the waves and then spu'd up again,
 At length were on the coast of sun-burnt *Africk* thrown:
T' amaze that further world and to amuse our own.

H.

[Marginal note] *Madera first discovered by one Macham an Englishman.*

Who sailing out of England into Spaine *with a woman that he had stolen*,
 arrived *by tempest* in that *Iland*, and did cast anchor in that haven or bay
 which now is called Machico after the name of Macham. And because his
lover was seasicke, he went on land with some of his company, and the shippe
 with a good winde *made saile away*, and the woman died for thought.
 Macham, which loved her dearely, *buill a chapell or hermitage* to bury her in,
 calling it by the name of Jesus, and caused his name and hers to be written
 or graven upon the stone of her tombe, and the occasion of their arrivall
 there. And afterward, he *ordeined a boat made of one tree* (for there be trees
 of a great compasse about) and *went to sea* in it, *with those men that he had*,
 and were left behind with him, and came *upon the coast of Afrike* without
 saile or oare. And the *Moores* which saw it tooke it to be a *marvellous thing*.⁴⁰

It is supererogation to point out how the pungency of
 such a line as, "and the woman died for thought," is weak-
 ened by, "When as it was not long but she gave up her
 breath." Words, necessary for the metre but redundant
 for the thought, deprive the line of its force. Or again,

⁴⁰ P. N. VI, 119-20.

"Macham which loved her dearly," is supplanted by, "When he whose tears in vain bewail'd her timeless death."

Drayton's footnote, "The Wonderful Adventure of Macham,"⁴¹ indicates that the story was current. His friend and rival, William Warner,⁴² treats it, using the same source, and does rather better with it. He includes, for instance, the engraving of names on the tomb, a striking detail which Drayton somehow overlooked.

The next voyagers are telescoped into four lines:

(275-8) Then Windham who *new ways* for us and ours to trie,
For great *Morrocco* made, discovering *Barbarie*.
Lock, Towerson, Fenner next, vast Guiney forth that sought,
And of her ivory home in great abundance brought.

With the lines on Windham may be taken these:

The originall of the *first voyage for traffique* into the kingdom of *Marocco*
in *Barbarie*.⁴³

Towerson follows Lock in Hakluyt, and Fenner follows Towerson, all three being connected with the Guinea voyages in summaries.⁴⁴ These early voyages to Guinea were undertaken for ivory, or "elephants' teeth," as it was called; and the two accounts of Lock and Towerson contain many references to that product.⁴⁵

The poet then discusses the voyages of James Lancaster:

D.

(279-82) Th' *East-Indian Voy'ger* then, the valiant Lancaster,
To *Buona Esperance*, *Comara*, *Zanziber*,
To *Niaba* as he to *Gomerpolo* went,
Till his strong bottom struck *Mollucco's Continent*.

H.

A voyage . . . to the *East Indies*, by the Cape of *Buona Speransa* . . . to the *Iles*

⁴¹ Footnote to vv. 253-74.

⁴² *Albion's England*. Bk. XII, Chap. LXXI. See my article, "Warner and the Voyagers" (*Mod. Philol.*, XX. 142-44).

⁴³ *P. N.* VI, 136.

⁴⁴ Lock occupies pp. 154-77, Towerson 177-252, and Fenner 266-84.

⁴⁵ E.g. pp. 161, 163, 166, 237.

of *Comoro* and *Zenzibar* on the backside of Africa, and beyond Cape Comori in India, to the *Iles of Nicubar* and of *Gomes Polo* . . . and thence to the *maine land of Malacca*.⁴⁶

Another voyage of Lancaster is borrowed from quite a different part of *Principall Navigations*:

D.

(283-6) And sailing to *Brazeel* another time he took
Olynda's chieftest Town, and *Harbour Farnambuke*,
 And with their *precious wood*, *sugar* and *cotton* fraught,
 It by his safe return into his Country brought.

H.

The . . . voyage . . . intended for *Fernambuck*, the *port-towne of Olinda* in *Brazil*. In which voyage . . . he surprised the sayd port-towne. . . . Heere he found the cargazon . . . of a rich East Indian carack; which together with great abundance of *sugars*, *Brasilwood* and *cotton* he brought from thence.⁴⁷

Here again Drayton is apparently making "one seem two by art," for "Olynda's chieftest Town" and "Harbour Farnambuke" appear to be distinct. Even if *Farnambuke* is in apposition with both *town* and *harbour*, however, "Olynda's chieftest Town" must still be explained. Our poet failed to recognize that the whole expression, "the port-towne of Olinda," is in apposition with "Fernambuke"; they are one and the same. Thus: "The first place inhabited on this coast beyonde the river of Marannon is called Fernambuck, so named by the Indians, but in Portugall it is called Villa de Olinda."⁴⁸ Drayton, reading only the summary, interpreted the phrase, "the port-towne of Olinda," to indicate that Olinda was a country in which Fernambuke was the port-town.

Nearly every detail of Frobisher's voyage may be similarly traced to its source:

D.

(287-95) Then *Forboshier*, whose fame flew all the Ocean o'er,
 Who to the North-west sought huge *China's* wealthy shore,

⁴⁶ P. N. VI, 387. Hak's Summary.

⁴⁷ P. N. XI, 43. Hak's Summary.

⁴⁸ P. N. XI, 249.

When nearer to the North that wand'ring seaman set,
 Where he in our hott'st months of *June and July* met
 With snow, frost, hail and sleet, and found stern
 Winter strong,
 With mighty *isles of ice* and *mountains* huge and long.
 Where as it comes and goes the great eternal light,
 Makes half the year still day, and half continual night.
 Then for those bounds unknown* he bravely set again.
 * *Mela Incognita* [D's note].

H.

The first Voyage of M. Martine *Frobisher* to the Northwest for the search of the straight or passage to *China*.⁴⁹

Yce, snow and haile in *June and July*.⁵⁰

Islands of yce comparable to *mountaines*.⁵¹

In June and July no night in those West and Northwest regions.⁵²

The third and last voyage unto *Mela Incognita*.⁵³

The next two men, Fenton and Jackman, are both mentioned by Hakluyt as being with Frobisher. Fenton was captain of the *Gabriel*,⁵⁴ but Jackman was only a master's mate.⁵⁵

John Davis is dismissed in four lines:

(299-302) And Davies, three times forth that for the Northwest made,
 Still striving by that course t' inrich the English trade;
 And as he well deserv'd to his eternal fame,
 There by a mighty Sea immortaliz'd his name.

The accounts of Davis's three voyages are given by Hakluyt in Vol. VII, beginning respectively at pages 381, 393, and 414. Though Drayton in a footnote alludes to the "mighty Sea" as "*Mare Davisium*," the more ordinary name given in maps of the time is "*Fretum Davis*."⁵⁶

⁴⁹ *P. N.* VII, 204. Hak's summary.

⁵⁰ *P. N.* VII, 214. Marg.

⁵¹ *P. N.* VII, 215. Marg.

⁵² *P. N.* VII, 213. Marg.

⁵³ *P. N.* VII, 231. Hak's summary.

⁵⁴ *P. N.* VII, 211.

⁵⁵ *P. N.* VII, 217.

⁵⁶ Cf. Map, back of Vol. I, *P. N.*

Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Master Hore are mentioned together since both were interested in Newfoundland discoveries:

(303-6) With noble Gilbert next comes Hoard who took in hand
To clear the course scarce known into the Newfound land,
And view'd the plenteous Seas and fishful Havens where
Our neighboring Nations since have stor'd them every year.

Hakluyt's version follows:

The voyage of M. Hore . . . to Newfoundland.⁴⁷

A report of the voyage of . . . Sir Humfrey Gilbert . . . intended to discover and to plant Christian inhabitants . . . upon those large and ample countreys extended Northward from the cape of Florida.⁴⁸

There is no specific allusion to "fishful Havens" in the Hore account, but in *A Report of Newfoundland* by M. Anthony Parkhurst, which immediately follows, there is this passage:

As touching the kindes of Fish, beside Cod, there are Herrings, Salmones, Thornebacke, Plase, or rather wee should call them Flounders, Dog fish . . . Cat, Oisters, and Muskles.⁴⁹

Moreover, in the Gilbert narrative, fish figure marginally five times—namely, on pages 49, 50, 51, 58, 63.

In his eulogy of Drake, which is in a sense the climax to the whole Song, Drayton follows, rather more closely than one might expect, two accounts in *Principall Navigations*.

D.

(314-18) Leaving behind his *back* the great *America*,
Upon the surging main his well-stretch'd tacklings
flew'd,
To forty three degrees of North'ly latitude:
Unto that Land before to th' Christian world unknown,
Which *in his Country's right he nam'd New Albion*.

⁴⁷ P. N. VIII, 3.

⁴⁸ P. N. VIII, 34.

⁴⁹ P. N. VIII, 11.

H.

Sir Francis Drake sayed on the *backe side of America, to 43 degrees of Northernly latitude*.⁶⁰

It seemeth that the Spaniards hitherto had never bene in this part of the countrey.⁶¹

Our General called this countrey *Nova Albion* . . . because it might have some affinity with our Countrey in name.⁶²

The next lines illustrate the poet's habit of transplanting details:

- (309-12) Of whom the Spaniard us'd a prophecy to tell,
That from the British Isles should rise a Dragon fell,
That with his armed wings should strike th' Iberian Main,
And bring in after time much horror upon Spain.

No suggestion of this prophecy can be found in the two narratives which Drayton for the time was following. But in a quite different part of *Principall Navigations*, having nought whatsoever to do with Drake, occurs this:

Here is an Indian which is counted a Prophet, which hath prophesied that there will a Dragon arise in a strange countrey which will do great hurt to Spaine.⁶³

Our poet had doubtless had his attention drawn to this statement by Hakluyt's marginal note: "A prophecie of an Indian against Spain"; and when occasion for its use arrived, he altered facts to suit his convenience. The "strange countrey" at once became England, and the Dragon, Drake.

The last four lines are based on the later story of Drake:

D.

- (319-22) And in the *Western Ind*, spite of the power of Spain,
He *Saint Iago* took, *Domingo*, *Cartagene*:
And leaving of his prowess a mark in every Bay,
Saint Augustine surprised in *Terra Florida*.

⁶⁰ P. N. IX, 321. Marg. note.

⁶¹ P. N. IX, 326.

⁶² P. N. IX, 325.

⁶³ P. N. VI, 387.

H.

A summarie and true discourse of Sir Francis Drake's *West Indian* voyage . . . Wherein were taken the cities of *Saint Iago*, *Santo Domingo*, *Cartagena*, and the towne of *St. Augustine in Florida*.⁶⁴

Tribute is next paid to Raleigh in his rôle of financier of voyages:

(323-4) Then those that forth for sea industrious Rawleigh wrought,
And them with everything fit for discovery fraught.

Hakluyt pays him similar tribute:

The Voyages and Navigations of the English nation to Virginia, and the severall discoveries therof chiefly at the charges of the honourable Sir Walter Raleigh knight.⁶⁵

Associated with Raleigh's voyages are the names of Amadas and Barlow, linked thus in Drayton:

(325-6) That Amadas (whose name doth scarcely English sound)
With Barlow, who the first Virginia throughly found.

And in Hakluyt:

The first voyage made to the coasts of America [the page is headed "The first Voyage to Virginia"] with two barks where in were Captaines M. Philip Amadas and M. Arthur Barlowe, who discovered part of the Countrey now called Virginia . . . Written by one of the said Captaines and sent to Sir Walter Raleigh knight, at whose charge and direction the said voyage was set forth.⁶⁶

Grenville's name is likewise linked with Raleigh. Account of him follows immediately that of Amadas and Barlow. Thus Drayton:

(327-8) As Greenville, whom he got to undertake that Sea,
Three sundry times from hence who touch'd Virginia.

And Hakluyt:

The voiage made by Sir Richard Greenville for Sir Walter Raleigh to Virginia.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ *P. N.* X, 97.

⁶⁵ *P. N.* VIII, 289.

⁶⁶ *P. N.* VIII, 297.

⁶⁷ *P. N.* VIII, 310.

The error in "three sundry times" is Hakluyt's, not Drayton's; but the latter was betrayed into repeating it by his usual dependence on marginal comments, in this case by the notation: "Sir Richard Grinvil's *third* voyage."⁶⁸ This occurs in the section called the *Third Voyage to Virginia*; but Grenville had nothing to do with the first,⁶⁹ and consequently this was only his *second* voyage to the colony.

As with Drake, the poet launches into apostrophic eulogy of a man whose fame was so broadcast as Grenville's.

(331-4) O Greenville, thy great name forever be renown'd,
And borne by Neptune still about this mighty round;
Whose naval conflict won thy Nation so much fame,
And in th' Iberians bred fear of the English name.

The very fact that, except in the cases of these best-known men, Drayton gave himself such meagre scope argues his lack of close knowledge of the voyagers. He feared to venture beyond the point where Hakluyt's life-line could reach him.

The story of Ralph Lane is included in *Principall Navigations* between the two voyages of Grenville.⁷⁰ Hakluyt gives "the names of those as well Gentlemen as others that remained one whole yeere in Virginia under the Governement of Master Ralph Lane".⁷¹ Later he alludes to

Sir Richard Grinvile . . . travelling . . . to see if he could heare
any newes of the Colony left there by him the yeere before under the
charge of Master Lane.⁷²

Drayton's lines are these:

(335-6) Nor should Fame speak her loud'st of Lane, she could
not lie,
Who in Virginia left with th' English Colony.

⁶⁸ *P. N.* VIII, 347.

⁶⁹ See *P. N.* VIII, 297.

⁷⁰ *P. N.* VIII, 319-45.

⁷¹ *P. N.* VIII, 317.

⁷² *P. N.* VIII, 347.

For other details the poet drew on his general knowledge, which was not too accurate:

- (337-40) Himself so bravely bare amongst our people there,
That him they only lov'd when others they did fear;
And from those barbarous, brute, and wild Virginians wan
Such reverence as in him there had been more than man.

The fact that Lane made a reasonable success with his own colony is granted; but in doing so he won no great respect from the Indians. Indeed, his twelve months in Virginia were well filled with treacherous attacks and villanies of every sort. Note, for example, the following entries: "A conflict begun by the Savages,"⁷³ "the conspiracie of Pemisapan,"⁷⁴ "the forme of the treason,"⁷⁵ "the slaughter and surprise of the Savages,"⁷⁶ "Pemisapan slaine."⁷⁷ Drayton was obviously glozing.

In the case of Raleigh himself, our poet is perhaps working with a freer hand than anywhere else:

- (341-52) Then he which favour'd still such high attempts as these,
Rawleigh, whose reading made him skill'd in all the Seas,
Imbarqu'd his worthy self and his adventurous crew,
And with a prosperous sail to those fair Countries flew,
Where Orenoque, as he on in his course doth roll,
Seems as his greatness meant grim Neptune to control;
Like to a puissant King, whose realms extend so far,
That many a potent prince his tributaries are.
So are his branches seas, and in the rich Guiana,
A Flood as proud as he, the broad-brimmed Orellana:
And on the spacious firm Manoa's mighty seat,
The land (by Nature's power) with wonders most repleat.

It would be wasted effort to attempt to find parallels to this whole passage, which concerns a man so well known as Raleigh. Of course, it is easy enough to point out selections

⁷³ *P. N.* VIII, 330.

⁷⁴ *P. N.* VIII, 337.

⁷⁵ *P. N.* VIII, 338.

⁷⁶ *P. N.* VIII, 341.

⁷⁷ *P. N.* VIII, 342.

from *The Discovery of the Large, Rich, and Beautiful Empire of Guiana* which may have suggested the details. For instance:

The great river of Orenoque or Baraquan hath nine branches which fall out on the North side of his owne maine mouth; on the South side it hath seven other fallings into the sea, so it disemboqueth by sixteene armes in all.⁷⁸

This passage is mildly suggestive of lines 345-9 in *Polyolbion*.⁷⁹ The Orellana or Amazon of course plays its part too.⁸⁰ And likewise Manoa (cf. Drayton vv. 351-2):

The statelines of Manoa . . . that for the greatnesse, for the riches, and for the excellent seat, etc.⁸¹

Leigh and Tomson deserve only one line each:

D.

(353) So *Leigh Cape Briton* saw, and *Rameas Isles* again.

(354) As *Tompson* undertook the voyage to *New Spain*.

H.

The voyage of M. Charles *Leigh* and divers others to *Cape Briton* and the *Isle of Ramea*.⁸²

The voyage of Robert *Tomson* Marchant into *Nova Hispania*.⁸³

The lines regarding Hawkins (vv. 355-60) are, once more, general in nature. Only one is specific:

⁷⁸ *P. N. X*, 382.

⁷⁹ Drayton may very well have seen Raleigh's map of Guiana (reproduced this edition *P. N. X*, 384) in which the outstanding features are the two great rivers of Marannon and Orinoco with their large branches.

⁸⁰ *P. N. X*, 358.

⁸¹ *P. N. X*, 356.

⁸² *P. N. VIII*, 166.

⁸³ *P. N. IX*, 338. In the light of what we have seen regarding Drayton's methods, a leap of over 600 pages (from Leigh to Tomson) in this edition (or 250 pages in the one he used) may give us pause. But only for a moment. The intervening pages are filled either with voyagers whom he has previously treated or with foreigners such as Jacques Cartier, John de Verrazzano, and René Laudonnière. Whatever we may say regarding Drayton's carelessness of detail, he was overscrupulous in his determination not to omit a single English voyager of consequence.

D.

(357) Upon that *new-nam'd Spain* and *Guinny* sought his prize.

H.

The voyage made by M. John Hawkins Esquire . . . to the coast of *Guinea* and the *Indies of Nova Hispania*.⁸⁴

Drayton then refers to John Hawkins's father, William:

(359-60) The son of his brave sire, who with his furrowing keel,
Long ere that time had touch'd the goodly rich Brazeel.

Hakluyt's account of him, headed, "The second voyage of M. William Haukins to Brazil,"⁸⁵ occurs many pages after the account of John. This fact makes it probable that the poet was using Hakluyt's crude index.

Cavendish affords another example of a voyager so generally known that Drayton could safely digress from his immediate source.

(361-5) Courageous Candish then, a second Neptune here,
Whose fame fill'd every mouth and took up every ear.
What man could in his time discourse of any Seas,
But of brave Candish talk'd and of his voyages?
Who through the *South Seas* pass'd about this *earthly ball*.

Of these lines the last is the only one which can, with any show of reason, be assigned to a definite source:

H.

. . . into the *South sea* and from thence *round about the circumference of the whole earth*.⁸⁶

The verses describing Cumberland are unique in that they refer to an incident so recent at the time that Hakluyt could give only marginal notice to it.

(369-71) Count Cumberland, so hence to seek th' Azores sent,
And to the Western Ind to Porta Ricco went,
And with the English power it bravely did surprise.

⁸⁴ P. N. X, 9.

⁸⁵ P. N. XI, 24.

⁸⁶ P. N. XI, 290.

This voyager embarked on his expedition to the West Indies in 1598, the year in which appeared the first volume of Hakluyt's second edition. The latter's papers for the other two volumes must have been virtually in their final form since they appeared in successive years. Such an incident was, however, too glorious to be omitted altogether, and Hakluyt records it in the margin opposite a passage in which the Spanish governor, Diego Mandez de Valdes, boasts of a certain fort's impregnability: "This fort was taken by the Earle of Cumberland, 1598."⁸⁷

The incident occurring while Drayton was in the full zest of young manhood must have made a profound impression on him. Since the account of Cavendish (the last voyager in *Poly-olbion* before Cumberland) is given near the end of Volume III of the edition he used, and that of Cumberland near the beginning of Volume II, it is unlikely that he would have jumped back *in medias res* to select that isolated instance. It is much more likely (especially since Hakluyt never refers to Cumberland as anything but *Earl* whereas Drayton styles him *Count*) that our poet drew on his memory of an incident which took place when he was only thirty-five. This may then have recalled to him the earlier expedition to the Azores which he mentions in line 369. This expedition Hakluyt records under the title: "The voiage of the right honorable George Erle of Cumberland to the Azores."⁸⁸

With Dudley, Drayton is again copying his source almost verbatim:

D.

(372-5) *Sir Robert Dudley* then, by sea that sought to rise,
Hoist sails with happy winds to the *Iles of Trinidad*;
Paria then he pass'd, the *Islands of Granado*;
As those of *Sancta Cruz* and *Porta Ricco*.

⁸⁷ *P. N. X*, 162.

⁸⁸ *P. N. VII*, 1 ff.

H.

A voyage of the honorable Gentleman M. *Robert Duddleley, now knight, to the isle of Trinidad, and the coast of Paria, with his return home by the Isles of Granata, Santa Cruz, Sant Juan de puerto rico.*⁸⁹

The voyage of Amias Preston and George Sommers follows that of Dudley in both Hakluyt and Drayton:

D.

(377-82) Is *Preston* sent to sea with *Summers* forth to find
Adventures in the parts upon the *Western-Ind*;
Port Santo who surpris'd and *Coches*, with the *Fort*
Of Coro and the Town, when in submissive sort
Cumana ransom crav'd, *Saint James of Leon* sack'd;
Jamica went not free, but as the rest they wrack'd.

H.

The victorious voyage of Captaine *Amias Preston* . . . and Captaine *George Sommers* to the *West India*, . . . Wherein the yle of *Puerto Santo*, the yle of *Coche* neere *Margarita*, the fort and towne of *Coro*, the stately city of *S. Iago de Leon* were taken, sacked and burned, and the towne of *Cumana* ransomed and *Jamaica* entered.⁹⁰

In passing one may note the poet's substitution of the English form *James* (v. 381) for the Italian *Iago*.

With *Sherley*, Drayton makes characteristic mistakes:

D.

(383-8) Then *Sherley* (since whose name such high renown hath won)
That *Voyage* undertook as they before had done:
He *Saint Iago* saw, *Domingo*, *Margarita*,
By *Terra Firma* sail'd to th' *Islands of Jamica*,
Up Rio Dolce row'd, and with a prosperous hand,
Returning to his home touch'd at the *New-found-land*.

H.

A true relation of the *voyage undertaken* by Sir *Anthony Sherley* . . . to *S. Iago, Dominica, Margarita*, along the coast of *Tierra Firma*, to the *Ile of Jamaica*, the bay of *Hondurus*, 30 leagues *up Rio Dolce* and homeward by *Newfoundland*.⁹¹

⁸⁹ P. N. X, 203. Hak's summary.

⁹⁰ P. N. X, 213. Hak's summary.

⁹¹ P. N. X, 266. Hak's summary.

The last line of Hakluyt's summary, "with the memorable exploités atchieved in all this voyage," led the poet to suppose that all went well with Sherley throughout the voyage. As a fact his return home was anything but "prosperous."

For wee were fallen sicke with the unholosomenesse of this ayre, and our victuals so wasted as that we were desperate how to recover our cuntry. Whereupon with most unwilling minds, we returned to our shipping, and with all possible expedition weyed . . . Our General, whose restles spirit continually laboured to avoide the frownes of fortune, had now plotted with the Bevice and Galeon to goe for Newfoundland . . . Being thwart Havana, by what chance I know not, but all his ships forsooke him the 13 of May, and here in a desperate place hee was left desperately alone. . . . But our misery in the Admirall was very great . . . besides our miserable want of victuals, the danger of the place and the furious current of the chanel. . . . We shaped our course for Newfoundland. And by God's mercy we arrived there the 15 of June, not having one houres victuals to spare . . . : where we stayed till the 24 of June still expecting the Galeon, for the execution of this his last purpose: but she not comming, and that plot overthrowen we returned for England.⁸²

The likelihood is that Drayton again took this St. Iago (l. 385) to be the town in Cuba, as he did in line 320.⁸³ And he certainly made the mistake of reading *Domingo* (v. 385) for *Dominica*.

Parker is associated with Sherley:

D.

(389-94) Where at *Jamaica's Isles* courageous Parker met
 With Sherley, and along up *Rio Dolce set*,
 Where bidding him adieu, on his own course he ran,
 And took *Campeche's Town*, the chief'st of *Jucatan*.
A frigate and from thence did home to Britain bring,
 With most strange tribute fraught due to that *Indian King*.

H.

Wee sayled over to the *Isle of Jamaica* where the second of March we met with sir Anthony Sherley.⁸⁴

⁸² *P. N. X*, 275-6.

⁸³ See *P. N. X*, 270 where the marg. note, "The towne of S. Iago taken by Sir Anthony Sherley," may have deluded him.

⁸⁴ *P. N. X*, 277.

As likewise up *Rio Dolce* with . . . his valiant and happie enterprize upon *Campeche* the chiefe towne of *Yucatan*, which he tooke . . . and brought out of the harbour a *Frigat* laden with the king's tribute.⁹⁶

It is probable that the poet interpreted "king's tribute" to refer to some American monarch. This conjecture is reinforced by his use of the adjective *strange*. There was nothing strange about the tribute. It was King Philip's regular *quinta*, as the following proves:

We tooke a frigat which rode ready fraught with the king's tribute in silver and other good commodities.⁹⁶

With Parker, the rivers Orwell and Stour conclude their song of praise. What they have sung has, in very large measure, been copied from Hakluyt. Of course, according to seventeenth century standards, there was nothing heinous in that procedure. Drayton, who was patriotic to a fault, desiring to write a song in praise of English voyagers, could not do better than gather his material from a book which he knew would be highly laudatory. For his purpose was to exalt before Englishmen the heroic exploits of their sea-faring countrymen; and in so doing he was often ignorant of, or purposely blind to, their faults.

For further knowledge of these exploits he recommends the reading of Hakluyt,⁹⁷ but he proves that he has not read him with any thoroughness himself. He has dipped into the *Principall Navigations*, and caught practically every English voyager of consequence. But when he attempts to tell what each one did, he clearly shows a lack of familiarity with his story, an almost total dependence upon Hakluyt's summaries and marginal aids. Careful study of his other works bears out this conclusion; for elsewhere he uses practically no voyaging material which twenty other poets of his time were not using.

⁹⁶ *P. N. X*, 277. Hak's summary.

⁹⁶ *P. N. X*, 279.

⁹⁷ "To the Virginian Voyage."

Even considering this shallowness, the critic is not called upon to play the rôle of a vivisector. We do not lay it seriously to Keats' discredit that he makes Cortez discover the Pacific Ocean. The purpose of the foregoing study has been rather to gain minuter insight into the methods of a poet deserving our high respect.

Drayton has on the whole done an excellent piece of work in condensing an incalculable number of bare facts into two hundred and fifty lines. Crowded for space as he was, his cue was indubitably to use Hakluyt's succinct résumés. His very determination to follow them accurately, however, was often what led him into error. And when he did diverge, in the cases of small men, he was usually wrong. His adjectives were inappropriate; his eulogy was misapplied. He was certainly writing with what, for a poet of his kind, was great rapidity. He had no time in which to verify his account by the full text.

The consequence of his method is that imagination is reduced almost to zero. He does not trust his wings except in the cases of the bigger men, Drake, Cavendish, Raleigh; and with them we see the light of his imagination, of which quality he had none to spare, playing over in fitful flashes. His methods here, where we can trace the reaction of his mind to his material with great accuracy, may afford a key to a good, though not a great, poet.

ROBERT RALSTON CAWLEY

XXVII. DRAYTON'S RELATION TO THE
SCHOOL OF DONNE, AS REVEALED IN THE
SHEPHEARDS SIRENA

The *Shepherds Sirena*, together with the *Quest of Cynthia* and the *Nymphidia*, was published in 1627. It is a conventional pastoral, in which is described the rueful condition of the shepherd Dorilus, who is pining over the separation from his beloved nymph, Sirena. While musing upon her absence, he reads a letter of Sirena's, in which she counsels him not to come to her, despite her sore affliction, because the 'wilde waters' which separate them would make it extremely hazardous. After reading the letter, Dorilus soliloquizes on his future course of action. While thus occupied, his fellow-shepherds gather round him and sing him one of the songs which he had once sent Sirena, when she lived near the Trent. Instead of driving his care away, the song makes him even more wretched, and he thereupon upbraids his companions for thus mocking his woe. At this juncture, a boisterous swain soundly reproves him for wasting his energies in lamenting the absence of his love, when the call of duty demands that he devote himself to more worthy pursuits. His companion reminds him that it is high time to withstand the inroads of the swineherds. In response to this stirring appeal, Dorilus joins his fellow-shepherds.

The poem is written in conformity with Drayton's own dictum regarding bucolic poetry, prefixed to the edition of 1619, to the effect that "the subject of Pastorals, as the language of it, ought to be poor, silly, and of the coarsest Woofe in appearance." The names of all the shepherds, such as Tom and Ralph, Rock and Rollo, with the exception

of Dorilus,¹ are English rustic names. Their musical instruments and their dress are characteristic of the English countryside. The sad, love-lorn shepherd is a pastoral commonplace. Lastly, shepherds, as well as neatherds and goatherds, are usually the enemies of swineherds in the pastoral.²

In all these respects, the poem appears conventional and without recondite meaning. This, I venture to say, is the view that the average reader would be inclined to take, for the poem has artistic qualities of its own, quite apart from any esoteric meaning. In support of this position one might allege that Drayton is, as a rule, averse to subtle and covert allegories. The *Owle*, the *Man in the Moone*, and some allusions in his former eclogues, virtually sum up Drayton's essays in the allegory. An esoteric significance has been suggested, however, by former editors of the poem,³ but no solution of the allegory, if it be such, has ever been attempted. Any conceivable hypothesis, I take it, could not be proved conclusively, for the evidence is so circumstantial that one would become entangled in a throng of mere probabilities. I do not maintain that the solution which I have to offer is the only one. There are, nevertheless, a few facts and much circumstantial evidence to support the interpretation which I am about to propose.

¹ This name may have been suggested by the Dorylaeus of Sidney's *Arcadia*.

² Likewise, the interpolation of a song in the middle of a pastoral is not only characteristic of bucolic poetry in general, but of Drayton's former pastorals in particular.

³ See Morley, *Barons' Wars* etc., p. 8: 'We may understand the peril of the Shepherd's Sirena to whom her lover can go over only by his giving his life to save hers.' Morley then quotes lines 109-12 of the poem. 'We may understand why his fellow-shepherds, fellow-poets, warn him to be up and doing.' Morley then quotes lines 354-9. Also see Brett, *Minor Poems of Michael Drayton*, p. 19: "The *Shepheards Sirena* is a poem, apparently, 'where more is meant than meets the ear,' as so often in pastoral poetry; it is difficult to see exactly what is meant; but the Jacobean strain of doubt and fear is there, and the poem would seem to have been written some time earlier than 1627."

In spite of the apparent conformity to the pastoral convention, certain divergences appear which support the impression that Drayton intended it as an allegory. These modifications of the tradition may have been rendered necessary on account of the esoteric meaning. The main feature which distinguishes the *Shepheards Sirena* from former bucolic poetry is the reason for the sadness of the shepherd. It is almost the reverse of the conventional situation. In former eclogues, the condition of the love-lorn shepherd is due to the cruel disdain of his mistress. In the *Shepheards Sirena*, however, Dorilus does not bewail the cruelty of his chosen nymph. Instead, he laments that it is impossible for him to visit her without almost certain death, on account of the waters which separate them.⁴ Not only is the pastoral convention changed, but, strangely enough, the reason for the departure of Sirena, which is the basic motive of the composition, is unmentioned. Unless an esoteric significance were intended, the author could have had small ground, other than mere negligence, for concealing this reason. On account of these differences from the conventional pastoral, one is driven to search for an interpretation which would necessitate such modifications of the conventional type. Before so doing, we must discuss the allegorical tradition of the pastoral.

The notion of employing the pastoral as a medium for the conveyance of ideas of far greater import than are implied by the apparent meaning was not new to the Elizabethans. In fact, since the time of Virgil, virtually every writer of a pastoral had found in allegory and topical allusion its main ground for existence as a literary form. Even in the Seventh Idyll of Theocritus we may detect the germ of the allegorical pastoral, where Lycidas says he hates 'the

⁴ An analogous situation, which may account for this departure from the conventional eclogue, occurs in the Sixth Elegy of Ovid's Third Book of the *Amores*. In this poem, the poet rails against a wild, tempestuous river which obstructs his journey to his mistress. It is possible that Drayton had a reminiscence of this situation in mind.

birds of the Muses that cackle in vain rivalry with Homer.' But Virgil, who introduces well-known persons masquerading as shepherds, was the first who perceived the special fitness of the pastoral for covert reference to men and affairs. On account of this characteristic of bucolic poetry, the two great successors of Virgil in the pastoral, Petrarch and Boccaccio, deliberately chose the allegorical form. A significant utterance of Petrarch illustrates his conception of the pastoral: 'It is the nature of this class of literature that if the author does not provide a commentary, its meaning may perhaps be guessed, but can never be fully understood.'⁵ Such was the Elizabethan conception of the nature of the eclogue; Puttenham, in his *Arte of English Poesie*,⁶ thus defines it: "The poet devised the eclogue long after the other drammatick poems, not of purpose to counterfeit or represent the rustically manner of loves and communication, but under the vaile of homely persons, and in rude speeches to insinuate and glance at greater matters, and such as perchance had not been safe to have been disclosed in any other sort." This was essentially Spenser's practice in the *Shepheards Calender*. That Drayton so conceived the nature and function of the pastoral is evident from his statement concerning pastorals in the edition of 1619. After emphasizing the apparent rusticity of the pastoral, he says: "Neverthelesse, the most High and Most Noble Matters of the World may bee shaddowed in them, and for certaine sometimes are." With this utterance of our author in mind, we naturally wonder what 'high and noble matters' he could have had reference to in the *Shepheards Sirena*. In view of Drayton's career after the accession of James, his bitter 'complaints against the change of times, and his utterances regarding the poets who wore the laurel after the great days of Elizabeth, the conjecture of Professor Morley that the fellow-shepherds who spurred Dorilus on were

⁵ See Gaspary, *Gesch. der Italien Litteratur* I. 431ff.

⁶ I. 18.

Drayton's fellow-poets, has not only seemed to me the most rational and logical, but also the only possible solution of the allegory. Accordingly, one must take into account the school of poetry to which Drayton belonged, the status of this school in the reign of James, and the consequent attitude of Drayton and his fellow-poets.

The poetry of the Elizabethan and Jacobean period, outside of the drama, may be roughly divided into two schools, which are the outcome of two opposing theories of poetry, and of two different poetical tempers. The essential characteristics of these two poetical tendencies are exemplified in two commanding personalities: Spenser the emotional, and Donne the intellectual. Spenser may be called the typical exponent of the poetry of melody, and Donne the proper representative of the poetry of thought. As the simple precedes the complex, or as emotion precedes thought in the individual as well as in the national life, so the poetry of melody was in the ascendent in the exuberant and youthful age of Elizabeth. But in the Jacobean period, the spirit of those giddy-paced times had passed, and the poetry of the intellectual Donne became pre-eminent. The pastoral and romantic poetry of Spenser is different in many ways from that of Donne. It is diffuse, sensuous, and melodious. It is idealistic, and represents the mediaeval and chivalric attitude toward woman. The poetry of Donne, on the other hand, is intricate, obscure, and rough. It appeals not mainly to the senses, but to the intellect.

Drayton belonged to the school of Spenser. The imitation of Spenser's *Calender* started him on the highroad to fame, and the praise of Spenser and Sidney constantly recurs in his poetry. In the epistle to Reynolds, *Of Poets and Poesie*, Drayton praises all the poets with whom he claimed kinship, but it is evident that in his eye, Spenser towered above them all:

Grave morrall *Spencer* after these came on

.
In all high knowledge, surely excellent.

In this epistle, Drayton definitely and unreservedly aligns himself with the school of poetry which may be called Spenserian in opposition to the new school of court wits. After praising Sidney, Marlowe, Shakespeare, Daniel, Jonson, Drummond, and others, he tells us who were his closest friends, declares that he cares only for the poets mentioned, and then seems to indulge in a few strictures upon the opposite school.

Then the two *Beaumonts* and my *Browne* arose,
My deare companions whom I freely chose
My bosome friends; and in their severall wayes,
Rightly borne Poets,
. . . . but if you shall
Say in your knowledge, that these be not all
Have writ in numbers, be inform'd that I
Only my selfe to these few men doe tye,
Whose works oft printed, set on every post,
To publique censure subject have bin most;
For such whose poems, be they nere so rare,
In private chambers, that incloistered are,
And by transcription daintily must goe;
As though the world unworthy were to know,
Their rich composures, let those men that keepe
These wonderous reliques in their judgement deepe;
And cry them up so, let such Peeces bee
Spoke of by those that shall come after me,
I passe [i.e. care] not for them.

This satirical passage has been taken by all commentators⁷ upon this poem to be a glance at Donne. As the poetry of the so-called school of Donne was not published, but mainly circulated 'by transcription,' this assumption does not appear without justification.⁸ Taking this passage into

⁷ Such as Chambers, Bullen, Beeching, and Elton.

⁸ This attitude of many court poets, however, does not seem to have characterized the Jacobean wits alone; Puttenham, in his *Arte of English Poesie* (1589 Arber's Rpt. p. 37), calls attention to the same condition: 'It is so come to passe that they (the nobility) have no courage to write, and if they have, yet are they loath to be a knowen of their skill. So as I know very many notable Gentlemen in the Court that have written commendably,

consideration, it is possible that the fellow-shepherds who stirred Dorilus on were his fellow-poets, and that some of the poets mentioned were shadowed under the rustic names of Tom, Ralph, Gill, Rock, Rollo, and Collin. If this be true, it seems probable that Drayton was the sad shepherd. If we are disposed to grant this, it likewise is possible, providing we can collect sufficient evidence from Drayton's life and utterances to support such a hypothesis, that the "angry Olcon" who stirs the swineherds on is the poet Donne, the leader of the opposite school of poetry. Since many of the poets for whom Drayton expressed his esteem in the epistle *Of Poets and Poesie* were already dead, however, one must find out the poets with whom Drayton was on the most friendly terms during his later years, before hazarding a guess concerning the possible identity of the persons shadowed under these rustic pseudonyms, for it is more likely that he would have referred to living writers.

In *Of Poets and Poesie*, it is noticeable that Drayton does not mention some poets who belonged to the school of Spenser, such as William Basse, Giles and Phineas Fletcher. As we have no evidence showing that Drayton was acquainted with these men, we must necessarily exclude them from consideration. Of the poets mentioned, those most intimate with Drayton were the three whom Drayton calls his 'bosome friends'—William Browne, Sir John Beaumont, and his brother Francis, the dramatist. He also appears to have been intimate with George Sandys, to whom he wrote an epistle in 1627. To this list one may add one younger poet with whom Drayton and Browne were very intimate,—George Wither. Wither wrote the *Shepherd's Hunting*, and his name was shadowed in Browne's *Shepherd's Pipe*. Wither not only wrote commendatory verses before Drayton's *Polyolbion* of 1622, but in his examination at the

and suppressed it agayne, or els suffred it to be publisht without their owne names to it: as if it were a discredit for a Gentleman to seeme learned, and to shew himself amorous of any good Art.'

trial before he was imprisoned for the publication of his *Motto*, the year before, he averred that his friend Drayton and others had found in it "nothing contrary to the proclamation restraining writing on matters of government."⁹

It appears that the poets who were avowedly not in sympathy either with the time, or with the poetry that was popular in that age, formed a sort of school of their own after the accession of James. In his reign, a chill settled upon the kind of poetry, especially the pastoral, which was written after the manner of Spenser. Drayton, Browne, and Wither often indulge in bitter complaints against the change of times as well as satire on the court. The younger followers of Spenser looked back upon the reign of Elizabeth, when all wrote in joyful rivalry with one another, as a golden age of noble deeds. By 1610, the great outburst of typical Elizabethan poetry was almost spent, and all the poets whose ideals still clung to the Spenserian tradition recalled the great age with a certain longing and wistfulness. Drayton sets forth their position in a few lines of his commendatory poem before Sir John Beaumont's *Bosworth Field*:

But that brave world is past, and we are light
After those glorious dayes into the night
Of these base times, which not one heroe have.

Such being the attitude of these poets, it was inevitable that they should wax satirical at the change of times. As early as 1604, Drayton published the *Owle*, a covert satire on the sycophants and parasites who hovered around the court. This distaste for all things that savored of the court echoes through Drayton's later poetry. In the Thirteenth Song of the *Polyolbion*,¹⁰ he lauds the life of a hermit, in contrast with the wretched existence of a man whose

⁹ Cf. *The Poetry of George Wither*, ed. F. Sidgwich, Introd., p. 29.

¹⁰ xiii. 184-93.

daily bread depends upon the caprice of some profligate lord:¹¹

This man that is alone a king in his desire,
 By no proud ignorant lord is basely overaw'd,
 Nor his false praise affects, who grossly being claw'd
 Stands like an itchy moyle, nor of a pin he weighs
 What fools, abused Kings, and humorous ladies raise;
 His free and noble thought ne'er envies at the grace
 That often-time is given unto a bawd most base,
 Nor stirs it him to think on the impostor vile,
 Who seeming what he's not, doth sensually beguile
 The sottish purblind world.

The most bitter satire on the court, and the widespread ignorance and depravity of the age, however, occurs in the poems which were published in 1627, together with the *Nymphidia* and the *Shepheards Sirena*. In the *Moon-Calf*, and in sundry *Elegies* to his fellow-poets, printed in that year, Drayton does not hesitate to denounce the age in sharp and scathing words. Especially noteworthy among these are the *Elegy to William Browne Of the Evil Time*, in which he inveighs against the newly-created peers of the king in the most abusive and contemptuous language, and the *Elegy To Master George Sandys*, in which he deplores the condition to which "noble Poesy" has been reduced. In the same *Epistle*, Drayton mentions the rebuff he received at the hands of the King in 1604—an incident which he had formerly referred to in the 'Address to the General Reader' in the 1612 edition of the *Polyolbion*,—and the consequent dejection which overtook him:

Yet had not my cleere spirit in Fortunes scorne,
 Me above earth and her afflictions borne;
 He next my God on whom I built my trust,
 Had left me troden lower then the dust.¹²

These lines refer to the two 'gratulatory' poems which

¹¹ Cf. Spenser, *Mother Hubberds Tale* 689ff. This may, of course, be considered a mere echo of the Spenserian tradition.

¹² vv. 29-32.

Drayton wrote upon the accession of James. They were so ungraciously received by the new monarch that he thereafter spurned both the Court and the King's favorites. This incident shows that Drayton had personal reasons for his condemnation of the court, aside from the righteous indignation any virtuous person would have felt in view of the depravity of the nobility.

But Drayton was not alone in eschewing the corruption of the court. His friend, Samuel Daniel, had likewise entertained high hopes for the future when James ascended the throne. In his *Panegyric Congratulatorie*, he appeals to the King to restore the old times of plain living and high thinking:

And bring us back unto ourselves again
Unto our ancient native modesty
From out these foreign sins we entertain,
These loathsome surfeits, ugly gluttony;
From this unmanly and this idle vein
Of wanton and superfluous bravery;
The wreck of gentry, spoil of nobleness,
And square us by thy temperate soberness.

Daniel soon learned that his expectations were vain, and in bitter disappointment he turned his back on the court, and became a farmer at Beckington.

Besides Daniel, William Browne and George Wither are also outspoken in their censure of the evil practices at court. In the First Song of the Second Book of *Britannia's Pastorals*,¹³ Browne roundly scores the abuses of the clergy, and refers to the death of Overbury and the rumored poisoning of Prince Henry:

The devilish politician all convinces
In murd'ring statesmen and in pois'ning princes;
The prelate in pluralities asleep,
Whilst that the wolf lies preying on his sheep.

Wither made himself so obnoxious that he was imprisoned after the publication of his *Abuses Stript and Whipt*, and also

¹³ vv. 867-70.

after his *Motto*. In his commendatory verses before the first edition of the last twelve songs of the *Polyolbion*, Wither thus complains of the ignorance and depravity of the patrons of learning:

For those, that should
The honor of true Poesy uphold,
Are (for the most part) such as do prefer
The fawning lines of very Pamphleteer
Before the best writ Poems.

Both of these poets were very ardent admirers of Spenser. In the First Song of the Second Book of *Britannia's Pastorals*,¹⁴ Browne eulogizes Spenser in extravagant language:

Divinest Spenser, heav'n bred, happy Muse!
Would any power into my brain unfuse
Thy worth, or all that poets had before,
I could not praise till thou deserv'st no more.

In his commendatory poem before Browne's *Britannia's Pastorals*, Drayton advises him to imitate the good old school, and complains of the straits to which poetry in his age had been reduced:

Drive forth thy flock, young pastor, to that plain
Where our old shepherds wont their flocks to feed;
To those clear walks where many a skillful swain
To'ards the calm ev'ning tun'd his pleasant reed.
Those, to the Muses once so sacred, downs
As no rude foot might there presume to stand
Now made the way of the unworhiest clowns
Digg'd and plough'd up with each unhallowed hand.

Drayton thus, in the same strain as in the *Shepheards Sirena*, complains of the utter neglect of poetry¹⁵ in those days, and, presumably, satirizes the poetasters of the court, or opposite school.

Before setting forth our reasons for supposing that Drayton

¹⁴ vv. 1001-04.

¹⁵ Drayton was much embittered by the reception of his *Polyolbion*. Cf. the dedication of the poems of 1627.

intends the swineherds to shadow the opposite school in the *Shepherds Sirena*, and its leader, Donne, in particular, it is first necessary to outline some possible reasons for Drayton's assumed clash with Donne, which in turn involves a brief review of Donne's attitude toward the old school of poets, and the possible literary relations of the two men, so far as circumstantial evidence will allow.

As we know, Donne began his bold and original poetic career by the composition of his *Satyres*, of which the first four, according to the internal evidence, as well as that of Manuscripts, were probably written between 1593 and 1599.¹⁶ The second *Satyre*, probably written in 1594 or 1595, is especially noteworthy in view of its ridicule of the poets of the age. The most striking feature about these poems is the author's indifference to, and apparent contempt for, accepted stylistic canons. For the sweet and melodious poetry of Spenser, Watson, and Sidney, for all those who,

Would move love by rithmes,¹⁷

he has nothing but contempt. Besides this, he disdains those,

. . . who write to Lords, rewards to get
Are they not like fingers at doores for meat?
But he is worse, who (beggarly) doth chaw
Others wise fruits, and in his ravenous maw
Rankly digested, doth those things outspue
As his own things.

These last lines, satirizing all imitators, have been taken to refer to the sonneteering craze then in vogue.¹⁸ The criticism is so general, however, that it might have applied to everything that Drayton had published thus far, as the *Harmony of the Church* was a poetical rendering of certain parts of the *Bible*, the *Shepherds Garland* an avowed

¹⁶ For a discussion of the probable dates of the *Satyres*, see Grierson, *The Poems of John Donne* II. 100-5.

¹⁷ Sat. ii, 17.

¹⁸ Cf. H. J. C. Grierson, *The Poems of John Donne* II. 102.

imitation of Spenser's *Calender*, the *Ideas Mirrour* a series of conventional sonnets, while the composition of *Endimion and Phoebe* owed its inspiration to Marlowe's *Hero and Leander*.

Whether Drayton ever took these lines of Donne to refer especially to himself matters little. What is of importance, however, is the fact that Donne, with the arrogance of an innovator, and the effrontery of youth, is deliberately making war upon the poets of the age. In many of his *Songs and Sonets*, written in this period, he ridicules the cherished ideas of the Spenserian school, and especially their belief in the spiritual mystery of love, so well exemplified in Spenser's *Fowre Hymnes*. Against their idealism, he strives for realism, and brings love down to earth, glorifying the gratification of the senses at the expense of the soul. In a few of his *Songs and Sonets*, he takes pride in professing his ethical laxity, cynicism, and inconstancy. He is so intolerant of conventional modes of thought that he completely casts aside the imagery and pleasant fictions of the pastoralists. His rebellious and virile nature refuses to dream of the joys of the Arcadian world, with its coy nymphs and love-lorn shepherds, its sweet zephyrs and flowery meads, and insists upon drawing its poetic images from real life, the arts, and sciences. Unlike the poets of the old school, he disdains to draw either his themes or his imagery from the common storehouse of mythology and romantic history.

Not only does Donne reject the ideals, conventions, and poetic materials of the old school, but he also revolts against their objectivity, prolixity, and even flow of versification. The sonnets and lyrics of the Elizabethan era usually conform to a general type, and it is therefore often very hard to distinguish the work of one poet from another. Donne repudiates all this. A distinctly individual note is infused into all his work, as he reveals his own fiery and virile personality. For the Spenserian sensuousness and prolixity, he substitutes mental ingenuity and obscurity.

In opposition to the Spenserian smoothness and melody, Donne deliberately becomes rugged of line, and careless in rhyme. Donne's thoroughgoing opposition to the Spenserian school is perhaps best summed up in Carew's *Elegy upon the Death of Dr. Donne*:

The Muses Garden, with pedantic weeds
O'erspread, was purged by thee; the lazy seeds
Of servile imitation thrown away,
And fresh invention planted. . . .
Thou hast redeem'd and open'd as a mine
Of rich and pregnant fancy; drawn a line
Of masculine expression which, had good
Old Orpheus seen, or all the ancient brood
Our superstitious fools admire, and hold
Their lead more precious than thy burnish'd gold.

That Carew was referring to the remaining exemplars of the old school of poetry, such as Drayton, Daniel, and Chapman, under the term 'superstitious fools' is probable. Whether this be so or not, all the evidence available tends to substantiate the opinion that Donne not only completely severed all relations with the old poets, but that he also cared not for their friendship.¹⁹ The only poet of this old school for whom we know that Donne had the slightest regard was Ben Jonson. Donne mentions no others in his poems or letters. He himself said that he had 'but a slight roll of friends writ in his heart.' That Donne came in contact with the high-minded Samuel Daniel, who was an especial favorite of the Countess of Bedford, seems certain. He must also have met Drayton, for their lives were contemporaneous—Donne being born ten years later, and both dying in the same year,—and Drayton was reared in the family of Sir Henry Goodere, whose son was Donne's most intimate

¹⁹ It is commonly said (a notion which, I think, is traceable to Gifford) that Donne was a member of that brilliant company of wits which met at the Mermaid Tavern. For this assumption, I have been unable to find any evidence. It is most unlikely that Donne, the founder of a new school of poetry which sought to overthrow the authority of the old poets, should deliberately seek them out at their favorite meeting-place.

friend. Not once, however, does Donne mention either of them or any of their great compeers. Even making allowance for the small number of Donne's letters, as well as his reticence regarding men and affairs, one does not seem unjustified in entertaining a suspicion that Donne not merely disregarded the poetry of the Elizabethans, but that he ignored the poets themselves. Indeed, it is probable that he, like Carew, regarded them with contempt.

In view of Drayton's utterances in his later poetry, it seems evident that Drayton entertained a pronounced dislike for the court-wits, including Donne. Yet there is some reason to suppose, from obscure hints in his earlier poetry, that his aversion began early in his career. In fact, it is possible that Drayton was opposed to Donne not only on account of his indifferent attitude to himself and his poetry, for that was common to all his fellow-poets except Jonson, but he may have had more personal reasons for being opposed to Donne. These suppositions are connected with Drayton's relations to his patroness, the Countess of Bedford.

We learn in the dedication to the Earl of Bedford of one of the *Heroical Epistles* (Isabel to Richard) that before Sir Henry Goodere died, he had entrusted the young poet, Drayton, to the good favors of Lucy Harrington, the daughter of Sir John Harrington, the translator of the *Orlando Furioso*. In 1594, Drayton dedicated the *Legend of Matilda* to her, and again in 1595, he addressed a sonnet, prefatory to his *Endimion and Phoebe*, to her as the Countess of Bedford, for in the interval she had married the Earl of Bedford. The last six lines of this sonnet are as follows:

Unto thy fame my Muse her selfe shall taske,
Which rains't upon me thy sweet golden showers,
And but thy selfe, no subject will I aske
Upon whose praise my soul shall spend her powers.
Sweet Ladie, then, grace this poore Muse of mine
Whose faith, whose zeal, whose life, whose all is thine.

This sonnet, in which Drayton recognizes his financial indebtedness to the Countess of Bedford, was steadily reprinted. In the *Mortimeriados* of 1596, a poem of sixty-three lines of very fulsome praise is again addressed to her. In the next year, a prose compliment appears to her in the *Legend of Robert, Duke of Normandy*, and the first edition of the *Heroical Epistles* of that year is dedicated to her as a whole. This dedication reappeared in the subsequent editions of this popular work till 1619, when it was suppressed, with all the other dedications of the separate *Epistles*.²⁰ Before 1603, however, it seems likely that either the Countess had withdrawn her patronage, or that Drayton must have hoped for more lucrative rewards from another patron,²¹ for, in the revised edition of the *Mortimeriados* of that year under the title of the *Barons' Wars*, the work is not only dedicated to another patron, but all references to the Countess, including the long dedicatory poem, are deleted with one exception, which is in the next to the last stanza of the Second Book.²² After calling attention to his patroness, he says:

Whilst my great verse eternally is sung,
You still may live with me in spite of wrong.²³

This last line may be interpreted to mean that a slight rupture had occurred between the poet and his patroness. This possibility is somewhat strengthened by the fact that the sonnet aforementioned was reprinted as early as 1599, with a slight change in the penultimate line. Instead of,

²⁰ The fact that this dedication was not deleted till 1619 lessens the probability that Drayton ever had a serious and permanent rupture with the Countess.

²¹ Drayton wrote for Henslowe's company during these years (1598-1605), not merely in the hope of fame, but also for lack of funds.

²² Against such a supposition, one may allege that the *Barons' Wars* is so thoroughly revised that it may be considered an entirely new work, and that no offense was intended by Drayton in dedicating it to another patron.

²³ These last words might be taken to mean that certain satirists had wronged Drayton.

Sweet Ladie, then, grace this poore Muse of mine,
we read,

Sweet Ladie, yet, grace this poore Muse of mine, . . .

This reading appeared in the succeeding editions of the sonnets till 1608, when the former reading reappeared. When we take these few bits of evidence into consideration, and recall that no new work had been dedicated to the Countess of Bedford after 1597, it seems probable that the 'sweet golden showers' had ceased, but that Drayton, though dedicating his works to other patrons, still entertained hopes of future favors from the Countess. A more decisive rupture, however, seems to have occurred before the *Poemes Lyrick and Pastorall* which were entered on the 19th of April, 1606, were published. The date of publication is unknown, though it probably was in the same year. In the Eighth Eclogue of these revised eclogues of the *Shepheards Garland* of 1593, Drayton interpolated a few stanzas in which he satirized three shadowy persons under the names of Selena, Cerberon, and Olcon. The stanzas on Selena are:

Women be weake, and subject most to change,
Nor long to any can they stedfast be,
And as their eyes, their minds do ever range,
With every object varying as they see:
Thinkst thou in them that possibly can live,
Which nature most denyeth them to give?

So once Selena seemed to reguard,
That faithful Rowland her so highly prayed,
And did his travell for a while reward,
As his estate she purpos'd to have raysed,
But soone she fled him and the swaine defyes,
Ill is he sted that on such faith relies

And to deceitfull Cerberon she cleaves
That beastly clowne to vile of to be spoken,
And that good shepheard wilfully she leaves
And falsly al her promises hath broken,
And al those beautyes whilom that her graced,
With vulgar breath perpetually defaced.

The satire on Olcon is as follows:

So did great Olcon which a Phoebus seem'd,
Whom al good shepheards gladly flockd about,
And as a god of Rowland was esteem'd,
Which to his prayse drue al the rurall rout:
For after Rowland as it had been Pan,
Onely to Olcon every shephcard ran.

But he forsakes the heardgroom and his flocks,
Nor of his bagpipes takes at all no keep,
But to the stern wolfe and deceitfull fox,
Leaves the poor shephcard and his harmles sheep
And all those rymes that he of Olcon sung
The swayn disgrac'd, participate his wrong.

The language of this satire on Selena completely accords with Drayton's former relations with the Countess of Bedford, and could be applied, I take it, to no other woman.²⁴ If these lines were directed against Lady Bedford, the problem arises as to whom Cerberon and Olcon may refer. If we peruse these lines, we notice that the satire on Cerberon, evidently a favorite of Selena, is bitter, while that on Olcon is mild. We know that, after Drayton ceased to dedicate poems to the Countess, she became the patroness of Daniel, Jonson, and Donne. Drayton was Daniel's nearest companion in verse. He commends him very highly at the close of *Endimion and Phoebe*, and also mentions him in *Of Poets and Poesie*. Jonson's relations with Drayton in 1627, at least, seem to have been cordial for Drayton extols Jonson in *Of Poets and Poesie*, and Jonson wrote the commendatory poem *On the Muses of His Friend Michael Drayton* before the poems of 1627, in which he praised virtually all of Drayton's works very highly. In view of this, it is unlikely that Cerberon referred to either of these

²⁴ Toward the end of the Eclogue, Drayton compliments some ladies under pastoral names, but sufficient details are given concerning their residence to obviate the possibility that any of the names might shadow the Countess of Bedford. The satire on Selena was withdrawn in the next edition of 1619. That on Olcon, however, remained.

men. My own conjecture is that Cerberon refers to Donne. It does not seem that Olcon could have signified Donne, for the satire is not only mild, but it does not apply.²⁵

The main obstacle to this hypothesis is the opinion of Mr. Gosse, Mr. Merrill, and Mr. Grierson that Donne's close intimacy with the Countess of Bedford did not commence before 1608, two years after the eclogues of Drayton were republished. To substantiate their conjecture, they observe that the letters of Donne to Sir Henry Goodere do not begin to be filled with references to the 'Great Lady' till 1608, and that most of his verse-letters to the Countess appeared between 1608 and 1614.

There are a few facts which diminish the weight of this evidence. In the first place, not more than six of Donne's letters to Sir Henry Goodere can be definitely dated before 1608. This number is very slight, considering the fact that Donne wrote a weekly letter to Sir Henry.²⁶ In one of these letters which was written in 1602, however, Donne says regarding the death of Lady Bedford's son: 'I hope somebody else hath had the ill luck to tell you first that the young Bedford is dead.' This fact would argue an acquaintance with the family. The opinion aforementioned seems less tenable when we learn that Sir Henry, apparently, did not enter the service of the Countess of Bedford till 1608; the mention of the 'Great Lady' in Donne's letters to Goodere after that date is not, therefore, a remarkable coincidence. Besides, there is one substantial item of evidence which would argue Donne's acquaintance with the Countess of Bedford before 1608. It is this. On August 8th of that

²⁵ This hypothesis is, of course, open to the objection, if we consider it probable that Drayton signified Donne under the guise of 'angry Olcon' in the *Shepheards Sirena*, that he would be more likely to satirize the same person under the same name in both poems. It is barely possible that Drayton was envious of Jonson at this time. Olcon may have shadowed him.

²⁶ See Merrill, *Letters to Seuerall Persons of Honour*, p. 42: 'Sir: Every Tuesday I make account that I turn a great hour-glass, and consider that a week's life is run out since I writ.'

year, Lady Bedford became godmother to Donne's daughter, Lucy. The close intimacy which this relationship implies makes it improbable that their acquaintance was merely a matter of a few months. That they should not have met each other before 1608, in view of this evidence, when both of them were so closely connected with the Court, seems as improbable as does the assumption that their mutual admiration blossomed, as it were, in a day.²⁷ At least, from the evidence here adduced, it is not unlikely that Donne, who became the greatest favorite of the Countess, was sufficiently well-acquainted with her in 1606 to arouse the envy and satire of Drayton.

But it is possible that Drayton was at odds with Donne for other reasons: namely, his way of life in his early years, his association with the court, and his espousal of a new school of poetry. It is barely possible that Drayton had such a type as the iconoclastic Donne in mind when he caustically satirizes the manners of the Jay in the *Owle* of 1604. He first deals with the Jay as a brainless boaster and butterfly of the court:

A jetting Jay accomplished and brave,
That well could speak, well could himself behave;
His congées courtly, his demeanor rare,
And strangely fashion'd as the clothes he wear
Which could each man with compliment salute.

Drayton then inveighs against this person's aspirations to all knowledge:

²⁷ Another possible argument against this opinion appears in a letter written by Donne between 1608 and 1610. In this letter, it appears that the Countess was so intimate with Donne that she had composed some verses upon him. Requesting her to send them to him upon the promise of secrecy, he writes: 'If I should confess a fault in the boldness of asking them, or make a fault by doing it in a longer letter, your Ladyship might use your style and old fashion of the court toward me, and pay me with a pardon.' Whether Donne merely means that the Countess was accustomed to pardon offenders at court, or whether Donne implies that she was wont to pardon his indiscretions at court, it is impossible to determine.

Then of his knowledge in the cabalist,
 And what pertaineth to an exorcist:
 As of philacters what their uses be,
 Homer's nepenthe how in each degree, . . .
 He to proportion presently doth run,
 And talks of the Colossus of the Sun:
 Of columns the diameters doth tell,
 Even from the base, up to the capital.
 And to the roof he something doth allude,
 And doth demonstrate of the magnitude.
 And what is all this from his addle pate,
 But like a Starling, that is taught to prate?

All of this might apply to Donne, as he was a sort of Elizabethan Goethe. His writings testify to his eager pursuit of all learning—Forbidden or dangerous—in law, theology, medicine, and mathematics. The next lines are of interest in view of Donne's extensive travels on the Continent:

And with a lisping garb this most rare man
 Speaks French, Dutch, Spanish, and Italian.

Finally, the Jay seems to have considered himself an innovator and founder of a new school of poetry:

This carrion Jay, approaching to the spring,
 Where the sweet Muses wont to sit and sing,
 With filthy ordure so the same defil'd,
 As they from thence are utterly exil'd,
 Banish'd their issue, from whose sacred rage
 Flows the full glory of each plenteous age, . . .
 Those rare Promethii, fetching fire from Heaven;
 To whom the functions of the gods are given, . . .

Drayton continues to indulge in an extravagant eulogy of true-born poets, and finally pours out this anathema which may be applied to the court-wits, or the new school of poetry:

O bastard minds, unto this vileness brought,
 To loath the means which first your honours wrought!
 But who their great profession can protect,
 That rob themselves of their own due respect?

For they whose minds should be exhal'd and high,
 As free and noble as clear poesy
 In the slight favor of some lord to come,
 Basely do crouch to his attending groom.

The notion that Drayton may have had Donne especially in mind in this passage is, of course, a mere conjecture. These lines do, however, reveal a bitter opposition to poets who prostitute their powers in flattering upstart noblemen.²⁸

The main objection which Drayton had to the poetry which was popular in the Jacobean period was that it was no longer the handmaiden of virtue.²⁹ With his Spenserian heritage, Drayton believed that poetry should be a guide of life, that its main function was to make men virtuous, and that poets were inspired by heaven.³⁰ One reason, I take it, why Drayton wrote so much heroic poetry was because he believed, as he says in the *Owle*, that poets were

Ordain'd by nature (truch-men for the great)
 To fire their noble hearts with glorious heat.

That such was Drayton's conception of the high function of poetry is also brought out in the epistle *To Master William Jeffreys*:

The Muses here sit sad, and mute the while,
 A sort of swine unseasonably defile
 Those sacred springs . . .

²⁸ In this connection, we may call attention to the fact that Donne had no scruples in assiduously seeking to win the favor of Robert Carr, the all-powerful favorite of James. He wrote an epithalamion upon the marriage of Carr with the divorced wife of the Earl of Essex.

²⁹ This idea is the central doctrine of the Spenserian school. It is the main thesis in Sidney's *Defense of Poesy*. See Cook, *The Defense of Poesy*, p. 13: 'So that the ending end of all earthly learning being virtuous action, those skills that serve most to bring forth that have a most just title to be princes over all the rest; wherein, if we can show, the poet is worthy to have it before all other competitors.'

³⁰ Cf. Spenser, *Shep. Cal. Oct.* Argument; 'Poetrie . . . having bene in all ages, and even amongst the barbarous, alwayes of singular account and honor, and being indede so worthy and commendable an arte; or rather no arte, but a divine gift and heavenly instinct, not to bee gotten by labour

and a little further,

But all their superfluity of spite
On vertues hand-maid Poesy doth light,
And to extirpe her all their plots they lay,
But to her ruine they shall misse the way, . . .

Drayton's conception of love-poetry was also quite different from that of the court-wits. The chivalric attitude toward love, which Spenser and his school ever adhered to, particularly Drayton, is openly scoffed at by Donne in his *Songs and Sonets*. Indeed, in a few of these poems, the gay and youthful Donne takes pride in a philosophy of love which is altogether cynical. When Donne adopts the pastoral pose of the faithful lover bewailing the cruelty of his mistress, his sarcasm is quite in evidence. The attitude of the school of Spenser toward love-poetry is precisely the opposite to that of the followers of Donne. Drayton would also hold, contrary to Donne, that love-poetry should be simple and direct, not subtle and ingenious; melodious and lyrical, not halting and rough.

Another reason for Drayton's objection to the poetry of the school of Donne was that it was circulated in manuscript, and not published abroad, as was the poetry of the great age. In the address 'To the General Reader' of the *Polyolbion*, in 1612, Drayton first expresses his feelings of chagrin: 'In publishing this Essay of My Poem there is this great disadvantage against me, that it cometh out at a time when Verses are wholly deduced to chambers, and nothing esteemed in this lunatic age but what is kept in cabinets and must only pass by transcription.' He likewise refers to the custom in *Of Poets and Poesie*, quoted above.

In the *Moon-Calf*, Drayton apparently blames the courtwits for failing to uphold high standards in poetry as a guide to the multitude. He may refer to the writers of

and learning, but adorned, with both, and poured into the witte by a certain énthousiasmos and celestial inspiration.'

the "lousy pamphlets," together with the court-poets, as "ye sons of Belial":

Misfortune light on him, that aught doth weigh
 Ye sons of Belial, what ye think or say:
 Who would have thought, whilst wit sought to advance
 Itself so high, damn'd beastly ignorance
 Under the cloke of knowledge, should creep in
 And from desert should so much credit win!
 But all this poisonous froth Hell hath let fly
 In these last days, at Noble Poesy, . . .
 To make her vile and ugly to appear
 Whose natural beauty is divinely clear. . . .

All of the objections thus far detailed which were apparently directed against the opposite school of poetry, are summed up in a noteworthy passage in the *Polyolbion*.³¹

But leave these hatefull herds, and let me now declare,
 In th' Helliconian Fount, who rightly christned are:
 Not such as basely sooth the Humour of the Time,
 And slubberingly patch up some slight and shallow Rime,
 Upon Pernassus top, that strive to be instal'd,
 Yet never to that place were by the Muses call'd.
 Nor yet our Mimick Apes, out of their bragging pride,
 That faine would seeme to be, what nature them denide;
 Whose Verses hobling runne, as with disjoynted bones
 And make a viler noyse than carts upon the stones;
 And these forsooth must be, the Muses onely heirs,
 When they but Bastards are, and foundlings none of theirs,
 Inforcing things in Verse for Poesie unfit,
 Mere filthy stuffe, that breaks out of the sores of wit:
 What Poet reckes the praise upon such Anticks heap'd,
 Or envies that their lines, in Cabinets are kept?
 Though some fantasticke foole promove their ragged Rymes,
 And doe transcribe them o'r a hundred severall times,
 And some fond women winnes, to thinke them wondrous rare,
 When they lewd beggery trash, nay very gibbish are.

Now, it is noticeable that every one of these criticisms which Drayton launches against these would-be poets, such as the roughness of their poetry, its failure to rhyme,

³¹ Song xxi, 165ff.

its metaphysical wit, the secrecy with which it is circulated, its primary concern with the feminine sex, might be applied to the poetry of Donne and the lascivious poetasters that hovered around the court of James.²²

In the lines following this satirical passage, Drayton expounds his own theory of poetry, and defends the Spenserian school:

Give me those Lines (whose touch the skillfull eare to please)
 That gliding flow in state, like swelling Euphrates,
 In which things naturall be, and not in falsely wrong:
 The Sounds are fine and smooth, the Sense is full and strong,
 Not bumbasted with words, vaine ticklish eares to feed;
 But such as may content the perfect man to read.
 What is of Paynters said, is of true Poets rife,
 That he which does expresse things neerest to the life,
 Doth touch the very poynt, nor needs he adde thereto:
 For that the utmost is, that Art doth strive to doe.

One may here note that Drayton expresses poetic principles which are almost the precise opposite to those of Donne.

Before we discuss the underlying meaning of the *Shepheards Sirena*, it is necessary to inquire, who is Sirena, and why should she be so named?

To those who do not recognize any esoteric meaning in the *Shepheards Sirena* the name might signify merely that she is the enchantress, or siren, of the shepherds. Interpreted allegorically, however, it appears probable that Drayton intended Sirena to be the Muse of poetry. In other words, she symbolizes the kind of poetry—and to his mind the only true kind—which he so strenuously defends in the last lines quoted from the *Polyolbion*. This interpretation is not far-fetched, if we take into account the allegorical nature of pastoral poetry, and the attitude of the Spenserian school

²² One may note that three poems of Drayton may be said to be in the metaphysical vein: *Sing We the Rose*, *The Heart*, and *To his Valentine*. The first of these which is the most metaphysical was not reprinted by him in the edition of 1619, probably on this account. One of Drayton's tenets, expressed in one of his odes, was: . . . things slight

Not to clothe curiously

toward their Muse. In the poetry of Drayton, who always held that it was the particular function of the poet to conceive of abstractions in human form, the idea of the Muse of poetry as a divine being who embodied all that was beautiful and lovely, seemed quite natural. In the very word, *Idea*, which he chose as the name for the woman who was his inspiration in his sonnets, Drayton wished all his readers to perceive that he intended her to signify the divine *Idea*, the consummation of all human excellence. In the *Polyolbion*, all the rivers, hills, and valleys are personified. In fact, so common is this practice of Drayton that he usually speaks of 'Noble Poesy' in an allegorical vein. A quotation from his dedication of the poems of 1619, in which he speaks of his own poems and probably of the opponents of the old school, exemplifies this tendency: 'They were the fruit of that Muse-nursing season: before this frosty Boreas (I meane the worlds coldness) had nipp'd our flowery Tempe that with his pestilential Fogs is like utterly to poyson the Pierian Spring, doe not Apollo mightily protect it: before (I say) Hell had sent up her black Furies, that in every corner breathe their venome in the face of cleere Poesie and but that she is Divine, her beauties be Immortal, or they had before this blasted her sweetness, and made her as ugly to the world, as they themselves are in the eyes of true Judgment and Vertue.' In another passage in the epistle *To Master George Sandys*, published in 1627 in the volume with the *Shepheards Sirena*, Drayton speaks of 'Poesy' in the same vein, and complains that she is banished:

For Poesie is follow'd with such spight,
By groveling drones that never raught her height,
That she must hence, she may no longer staye
The driery fates prefixed have the day,
Of her departure, which is now come on,
And they command her straight wayes to be gone;
That bestiall heard so hotly her pursue
And to her succour there be very few,
Nay none at all, her wrongs that will redresse,
But she must wander in the wilderness, . . .

But the name Sirena does not, it appears, signify merely the Muse of poetry. It is probable that Drayton intended her to represent the old and true school of poets, who belonged to the Club which held its meetings at the Mermaid Tavern. As we know, *sirena* is the Italian for "mermaid." This interpretation is reinforced when we find that the members of the Mermaid Club were called "Sirenaicks."³³ This clue is found in a facetious letter of Thomas Coryate, the author of the *Crudities*, which is sent from "the court of the great Mogul, resident at the towne of Asmere, in the Easterne India." The letter is thus addressed: "To the High Seneschall of the right Worshipfull Fraternitie of Sireniacal Gentlemen that meet the first Fridaie of every Moneth, at the signe of the Mere-Maide in Bread-streete in London." The letter begins thus: "Right Generous, Joviall, and Mercuriall Sirenaicks," but none of the members of the Club are mentioned in the body of the letter. The evidence of this epistle is noteworthy, as it shows that the name "Sirenaic" was applied to the members of the celebrated Club.³⁴ With these facts and probabilities in mind, we may proceed to interpret the *Shepherds Sirena*.

Dorilus is Drayton, and he is pining for Sirena, his Muse of poetry, who has departed from the land. In the letter which the Muse writes to console her beloved disciple, she urges him to be of good cheer, for death cannot divorce them, although the great age when both were adored by the multitude has passed:

And in all my good and ill,
Ever had thy equall share:

³³ According to *N. E. D.*, this word is derived from siren, arising from the confusion of siren with mermaid. It should not, therefore, be confused with Cyrenaic, meaning a follower of Aristippus, although the word may have developed from analogy with this word.

³⁴ We do not know that Drayton was a member of the Club. His close acquaintance with Ben Jonson and with Francis Beaumont who wrote the famous lines on the 'feats of wit done at the Mermaid' almost justify such an assumption. ?

She then advises him not to attempt to rescue her from her wretched plight,³⁵ since the opposition of the people, especially those in authority, exemplified by the 'wilde waters,' would render it extremely hazardous. This advice, I take it, shows that Drayton realized that it would avail him little to glorify Sirena, as he had done in the past, by writing in the heroic vein, since the people no longer look with favor upon poetry whose primary aim is to inspire men to perform noble deeds. The lines,

But the Winter is so cold,
That I feare to hazard thee,

are merely a repetition of the above-quoted lines from the dedication of the poems of 1619: 'They were the fruit of that Muse-nursing season before this frosty Boreas (I meane the world's coldnesse) had nipp'd our flowery Tempe.' If Drayton should attempt to Glorify his Muse aright by writing heroic poetry typified by his *Legends*, the *Barons' Wars*, and the *Polyolbion*, so that she would shine forth in all her heavenly beauty once more, for,

Then my coate with light should shine,
Purer than the Vestall fire,

his poetry would fall upon deaf ears. Still, she does not forbid him, in spite of his peril, to glorify her in competition with her detractors. After perusing her letter, Drayton determines to act in her behalf, though he temporarily conceals his plan of action:

But my counsailes such must bee,
(Though as yet I them conceale)
By their deadly wound in me,
They thy hurt must only heale, . . .

These last two lines, I take it, refer to his decision to forego writing exclusively in the heroic vein and his determination

³⁵ In this connection, one may note that the poems of 1627 are dedicated to 'those noblest of gentlemen . . . who, out of the virtue of your minds, love and cherish neglected Poesy. . . .'

to write satire, in spite of his aversion for that special kind of poetry. The next lines,

Could I give what thou do'st crave
To that passe thy state is growne,
I thereby thy life might save,
But am sure to loose mine owne,

reveal the war that was going on in Drayton's own breast. If he should follow the popular fashion in poetry and should write in short, lyric, measures, he might save the Muse but he would abandon his dearest aim in life—teaching and inspiring the people by means of his heroic poetry. Drayton not only thinks he is most fitted to write in the heroic manner, but he conceives it his duty so to do. The lines:

Hard the Choise I have to chuse,
To my selfe if friend I be,
I must my Sirena loose,
If not so, shee looseth me.

reinforce the assumption that Drayton would have preferred to write only in the heroic vein. He would like to write poetry which would be acceptable to the people, and thereby glorify his Muse, but he cannot write in his chosen manner, exemplified by the *Polyolbion*, and still gain the popular suffrage.

The shepherds who sing to enliven his spirits are his fellow-poets, who also adore his Muse. The names are so shadowy that it is impossible to determine, with any degree of certainty, what poets he may have had in mind. The first is probably William Browne, under the guise of Tom,

For his Pipe without a Peere,

who wrote the *Shepherd's Pipe*, and the second may be George Wither, who is shadowed by the name of Ralph, for he,

. . . as much renown'd for skill,

wrote the *Shepherd's Hunting*. "Little Gill" is possibly

Christopher Brooke, who wrote one of the eclogues of the *Shepherd's Pipe*, and is also one of the characters in both works.³⁶ Rock and Rollo may refer to the two Beaumonts, Sir John and his brother Francis, the dramatist, whom Drayton calls his "bosome friends" in *Of Poets and Poesie*. Collin is probably the spirit of the great Spenser, who is stirring him on.

The song which the shepherds sing is in praise of his Muse, Sirena, when she lived near the Trent. As the Trent is the largest river near Hartshill, Drayton's birth-place, and Powlesworth where he was reared, we may understand why he placed her habitation near that river. She is the Muse who had inspired him in his youth,—when heroic poetry was popular.

The swineherds against whom Drayton joins his fellow-shepherds are the lascivious poetasters of the court of James. Donne may be shadowed under the name, "angry Olcon." The lines

And against us part doth take
Ever since he was out-gone,
Offering Rymes with us to make,

might refer to Donne's elegy on the death of Prince Henry, which virtually all of the poets of the age, except Drayton, bewailed in very doleful verse. To Drayton, of course, the elegies of Browne, Wither, and Brooke, all of which follow the Spenserian manner, would appear greatly superior.

Drayton joins his fellow-poets—defends their 'sacred downs'—and thus tries to bring 'neglected Poesie' to her accustomed haunts once more by publishing the poems of 1627 and 1630. The *Shepheards Sirena*, in particular, is his declaration of steadfast allegiance. The *Battaile of Agincourt* and the *Miseries of Queen Margarite* are in the

³⁶ Christopher Brooke was also a friend of Donne, though he did not write in Donne's manner. In view of Drayton's close intimacy with Browne and Wither, it is probable that he was also well acquainted with Brooke. 'Gill' may shadow George Sandys.

old heroic vein. In these two poems, he writes in his chosen manner with a definite didactic purpose. The *Moon-Calf* and the *Elegies* are satires upon the widespread corruption of the times and, to a certain extent, upon the opposite school of poetry. The *Nymphidia*, the *Quest of Cynthia*, and the *Muses Elizium* are written in glorification of Sirena, to be sure, but without any didactic purpose. Although a concession to the reigning taste, he writes them to combat the poetic principles of the opposite school in more vital essentials, without any sacrifice of his poetic ideals.

RAYMOND JENKINS

XXVIII. THE REPUTATION OF ABRAHAM COWLEY (1660-1800)

When Abraham Cowley died in 1667, he was mourned by practically the whole English literary world with such eulogies as the following:

His Body . . . lies near the Ashes of *Chaucer* and *Spenser*, the two most Famous *English* Poets of Former Times. But whoever would do him right should not only equal him to the Principal Ancient Writers of our own Nation, but should also rank his name amongst the Authors of the true Antiquity, the best of the *Greeks* and *Romans*.¹

With this dictum, however, compare one or two modern specimens of Cowley criticism:

Cowley's eccentric Pindaric odes fell into disrepute toward the close of the century. Yet Thomas Flatman, one of the very few lyrists who wrote with high seriousness at the end of the century, followed Cowley almost exclusively. Flatman's friends, Dr. Samuel Woodford, the Spenserian, and Katherine Philips, "the matchless Orinda," wrote often in the manner of Cowley. . . . Finally Dryden, who was to give the deathblow to Abraham Cowley, wrote one of his maturest poems, *To Mrs. Anne Killigrew*, (1686) in the Pindaric and metaphysical vein of the despised poet. . . . We gloat over the damnation of the once revered Cowley [in the "Preface to the Fables"]. . . .²

Others do not put the damnation quite so early:

It begins to appear, for example, as if Tennyson were succeeding to Pope's position as a phenomenon sufficiently considered by English critics and now definitely disposed of and laid away. Cowley was similarly treated by the mid-eighteenth century. . . .³

¹ Bishop Thos. Sprat, "Account of the Life and Writings of Mr. Abraham Cowley" (1668), in Spingarn, *Crit. Essays of the Seventeenth Cent.* (Oxford, 1908), II, 145.

² Herbert Cory, *The Critics of Edmund Spenser* (Berkeley, 1911), pp. 111, 117.

³ W. H. Durham, *Crit. Essays of the XVIIIth Cent.* (New Haven, 1915), Intro., pp. ix-x.

There is no doubt a considerable amount of truth in these remarks, and yet it is entirely unfair to twist such unsupported assertions into condemnations of Cowley by the age following him; for Cowley never actually received his "death-blow," either from the "mid-eighteenth century," or, least of all, from Dryden.

Nevertheless, in the study of Cowley's reputation several starts have been made in the right direction, at least one of which attempts to be more than a superficial generalization, unsupported by evidence. In the merely appreciative class falls Edmund Gosse's chapter on Cowley in his *Seventeenth Century Studies*, beginning thus:

The period of English poetry which lies between the decline of Ben Jonson and the rise of Dryden was ruled with undisputed sway by a man whose works are now as little read as those of any fifth-rate Elizabethan dramatist. During the whole lifetime of Milton, the fame of that glorious poet was obscured and dwarfed by the exaggerated reputation of this writer. . . . Yet in a very short space [the] work of destruction was most thoroughly done. The generation of Dryden admired his genius passionately, but not without criticism. The generation of Pope praised him coldly, but without reading him, and within fifty years of his own decease this nonpareil of the Restoration fell into total disfavour and oblivion. . . .⁴

A considerable improvement over the pleasantly inaccurate work of Mr. Gosse is to be found in the rather discursive introduction to Grosart's edition of Cowley, for here at length is an attempt at a historical survey of the statements concerning Cowley's real fame.

Accordingly, in the light of these earlier and later and present day opinions and feelings, such supercilious assumption as that of Mr. T. H. Ward, M.A., in his 'Selections from the English Poets' (4 vols. 1880), that Cowley is to be 'pooh-pooh'd' and held as irrevocably 'effaced,' is to my mind the superlative of uncritical and shallow mis-judgment, and a literary blunder and offence combined. I must confess, too, that there is an element of the *grotesque* in my friend Mr. EDMUND W. GOSSE's fancy that *he* is the 'last of his admirers'; for, as I believe, there has never been a generation since he died, in which Cowley has not had an inner circle of readers and students, so in this living present they are co-equal in number with those

⁴ Gosse, *op. cit.* (N. Y., 1897), p. 191.

who really 'intermeddle' with and care for our early literature. . . . Cowley is as 'humble' but no humbler to-day than in his lifetime, and stands as worthy of his contemporary homage as ever. . . .⁶

The writer then says that he can accept Dryden's phrase, "sunk in his reputation," only in part, disproving it by a citation of editions and calling attention to the fact that Shakespeare, Milton, Bacon, and Sir Thomas Browne were probably selling no faster. In addition, he quotes many of the principal seventeenth and eighteenth century opinions of Cowley, and, altogether, makes a very important contribution to the field of Cowley criticism.

But apparently not one of these writers has done what could and should have been done, and what it is the purpose of this paper to do; namely, to trace Cowley's real reputation and popularity thru the Neo-Classical period, giving as many contemporary opinions as space will permit, summarizing and grouping others, and explaining as far as possible the probable reasons for the treatment accorded him by the age succeeding his own. For if after Cowley's death an age had followed with different standards, different ideas, and a different "psychology" from those of the Neo-Classical period, it is certain that the "despised poet" would occupy a somewhat higher position in literature today.

The history of Cowley's reputation falls into three main stages which follow pretty closely the development of the times: (I) The Height of Cowley's Reputation (from about 1660 to about 1700, an age of transition, in which "Classicism" had its beginnings); (II) The Development of the Critical Attitude toward Cowley (from about 1701 to about 1745, in which the Neo-Classical spirit prevailed in large measure, altho with great diversity); and (III) Scholarly Criticism of Cowley (from about 1746 to about 1800, during which new currents of thought began to make their influence felt, all terminating shortly after the begin-

⁶ Grosart, *op. cit.* (Chertsey Worthies', 1881), I, xxxiii-iv.

ning of the French Revolution in another school of poetry insisting on its own newness).

Within these main chronological periods the material to be considered may be subdivided according to Cowley's writings, which fall into five large groups: (1) all his poetry which was based on older and classical models, including his Latin poetry, his Anacreontics, and, most important, his "Pindaric" odes (with which will be treated his regular odes); (2) his other lyrics, especially his love-verse, collected in *The Mistress*; (3) his unfinished biblical epic, *Davideis*; (4) his plays, English and Latin, which are of comparatively little importance; and (5) his prose, best represented by his essays (including the verse written with them), but also including his prefaces, his notes to the *Davideis*, his *Proposition for the Advancement of Experimental Philosophy*, his *Discourse by Way of Vision concerning the Government of Oliver Cromwell*, and his letters. In addition there was in each period a considerable amount of material which concerned itself with none of Cowley's writings in particular, but was simply general, tho none the less valuable, criticism.

As actual criticism of Cowley began to make its appearance the important thing to observe is, that it was *discriminative* criticism. References by the same author are sometimes favorable and sometimes unfavorable; indeed, authors often contradict themselves at different stages of their careers or even in different parts of the same work. They choose certain of Cowley's qualities for praise, while they censure others; they reject all, or parts, of certain writings, while they laud others highly. Sometimes this is done in separate passages, and sometimes in a single review, but it is never safe to count on a man's final verdict without having consulted the major part of his work. Finally, another large class of references is non-critical in nature, being composed merely of allusions, quotations, etc., which show nothing except that Cowley was still read and known; but

it will be outside the scope of this article to deal with any of these except by figures and statistics.

I. THE HEIGHT OF COWLEY'S REPUTATION (1660-1700)

It is a fact of some significance that in this first period there were apparently no unfavorable comments of a general nature upon Cowley, altho, to be sure, there were two or three of some importance which discriminated in their criticism. Many of these comments took the brief, adjectival form such as appeared in the remarks of the two diarists, Evelyn and Pepys, upon Cowley's death—Evelyn speaking of "that incomparable poet and virtuous man, my very dear friend,"⁶ and Pepys of hearing the Bishop of Winchester and Dr. Bates lament Cowley as "the best poet of our nation, and as good a man."⁷ The praises of Bishop Sprat's biography in 1668, however, were the most complete and extreme of all. This earliest specimen of really formal English literary biography began thus:

For certainly, in all Antient or Modern Times, there can scarce any Authour be found, that has handled so many different Matters in such various sort of Style, who less wants the correction of his Friends, or has less reason to fear the severity of Strangers. . . .⁸

The eulogistic tone of his criticism is also seen in the following passage:

In his life he join'd the innocence and sincerity of the Scholar with the humanity and good behaviour of the Courtier. In his Poems he united the Solidity and Art of the one with the Gentility and Gracefulness of the other. . . .

His Fancy flow'd with great speed, and therefore it was very fortunate to him that his Judgment was equal to manage it. . . . His Invention is powerful and large as can be desir'd. But it seems all to arise out of the Nature of the subject, and to be just fitted for the thing of which he speaks. If ever he goes far for it, he dissembles his pains admirably well.⁹

⁶ Evelyn, *Diary*, Aug. 1, 1667.

⁷ Pepys, *Diary*, Aug. 12, 1667.

⁸ Sprat, *op. cit.*, p. 119. Sprat also had an adulatory ode on Cowley.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 128-30.

There is a tacit confession in this last, nevertheless, that the accusation of being "far-fetched" had already been applied to Cowley, just as, a paragraph or so before, the defence of Cowley's "numbers" shows that the fault of "ruggedness" was also being laid at his door.

Innumerable encomiastic verse and prose catalogs of English poets, the inheritance of the later Renaissance, also furnish much material concerning Cowley. Of this type was a poem by Knightly Chetwood (1684):

Such was the case when Chaucer's early toil
Founded the Muses' empire in our soil.
Spenser improv'd it with his painful hand,
But lost a noble Muse in fairy-land.
Shakespear said all that Nature could impart,
And Jonson added Industry and Art.
Cowley and Denham gain'd immortal praise. . . .¹⁰

Dozens of similar passages might be cited, but there is so much resemblance between them all that they soon become monotonous.¹¹

1. *Latin Poetry, Anacreontics, Pindarics, etc.*

Cowley was noted for his classical and scholarly attainments, which were reflected in his writings in various ways. The only important one of these to the modern student or reader is his "translation" of the odes of Pindar by a method which popularized the irregular ode in English. However, in the Restoration and eighteenth century the ability to write elegantly in Latin was also esteemed highly, and this ability Cowley possessed to an eminent degree. Sprat praised him for it, commending his power to keep both his

¹⁰ "To the Earl of Roscommon," prefixed to Roscommon's *Essay on Translated Verse*; in Chalmers's *English Poets* (London, 1810), VIII, 264.

¹¹ E.g., Denham, *Works of Waller and Denham* (Edinburgh, 1869), pp. 255-8; Oldham, *Works* (London, 1684), p. 82; Langbaine, "Pref.," *Dram. Poets* (Oxford, 1691), p. a4; *Athenian Mercury*, July 11, 1691,²II, 263; Wotton, *Reflections upon Ancient and Mod. Learning*, in Spingarn, III,²206-7; anon., *Miscellany Poems and Translations by Oxford Hands* (London, 1685), p. 155; etc.

English and his Latin pure from each other, as well as his command over both prose and verse; in fact, he even went so far as to claim for his subject a positive superiority over the ancients themselves in the variety and versification of his Latin work.¹² In 1689, Nahum Tate, in his preface to the translation of Cowley's *Plantarum*, adulated "*the mighty Genius of COWLEY himself*," "*the Treasures of his Divine Fancy*," etc.¹³ Again, in 1692, the *Athenian Mercury* defended one of Cowley's metaphors in the same work, at the same time vindicating, against Father Bouhours, one by the Spanish "metaphysical," Gongora.¹⁴

One class of Cowley's "imitative" writings which was destined to increase in favor and recognition was his Anacreontics, altho in this first period few mentions were made of these. Prior's couplet, however, probably written about 1686-8, was perhaps representative of the general opinion:

In vain we from our sonetteers [*sic*] require,
The height of Cowley's and Anacreon's lyre.¹⁵

More was written about Cowley's odes, however, than about any other single class of his works. Denham's elegy in 1667 lauded all of Cowley's poetry, but especially his "emulation" of "Horace's wit and Virgil's state"; moreover, "our swan" rose to the same pitch as "old Pindar's flights."¹⁶ Sprat ran no risks in proclaiming that Cowley performed the English imitation of Pindar "without the danger that *Horace* presag'd to the Man who should dare attempt it," but for some obscure reason praised "this inequality of number" for "its near affinity with Prose." He also recognized that Cowley was not the first to adopt this method

¹² *Op. cit.*, pp. 129-30, 134-5.

¹³ Tate, "Epistle-Dedicatory," in Grosart's *Cowley*, II, 240.

¹⁴ *Ath. Mer.* (Apr. 2, 1692), VII, 2. The passage is interesting not only because it contains one of the extremely rare references to Gongora, but because it couples Cowley with him.

¹⁵ M. Prior, "Sat. on the Poets," *Works* (London and N. Y., 1892), II, 377.

¹⁶ Denham, "On Mr. Abraham Cowley," *op. cit.*, pp. 255-8.

of translating, but claimed the power of Cowley's example over later poets.¹⁷ Edward Phillips, in 1675, called Cowley "the most applauded poet of our nation both of the present and past ages" (here agreeing with the reports about his uncle Milton's, predilection for the same writer), and was also one of the first to record his observation that Cowley had not followed Pindar's form; moreover, "a notable trade hath been driven of late in Pindaric odes" in imitation of him.¹⁸

The opinions of such large figures as Dryden, Addison, and Swift, and those of one or two minor men, such as Mulgrave and Flatman, will have to represent the rest of the general public. In 1677, Dryden defended the "fustian, as they call it," in Cowley's odes, apologizing for himself as "unworthy to defend so excellent an author."¹⁹ In 1680 he recurred to the subject in connection with his own translations, praising Cowley for his "imitation," but warning of the dangers to other "writers of unequal parts to him. . . . A genius so elevated and unconfined as Mr. Cowley's, was but necessary to make Pindar speak English."²⁰ Nevertheless, by 1685, Dryden had slightly modified his position, so that he followed the criticism voiced by the Earl of Mulgrave in 1682 on the score of "ill-expression":

Every one knows it [Pindaric verse] was introduced into our language, in this age, by the happy genius of Mr. Cowley. . . . It languishes in almost every hand but his. . . . But if I may be allowed to speak my mind

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. 131-2.

¹⁸ Phillips, "Cowley," *Theatrum Poetarum* (Geneva, 1824), pp. 32-3. Compare the note by the present writer in *Mod. Phil.* (Aug., 1921), XIX, 107-9; for other passages, between the dates of Phillips and Congreve (1706), which recognize the difference in form, see Wm. Winstanley, *Lives . . . of the . . . Poets* (London, 1687), pp. 182-3; Dryden, Letter to Dennis, c. Mar., 1694, *Works* (ed. Scott and Saintsbury, Edin., 1883), XVIII, 117 8; *Ath. Mscr.* (Dec. 26, 1694), XVI, 3; Tom Brown, "Commonplace Book," (bf. 1704), *Works* (London, 1730), III, 237. Also, for a possible source of Phillips's own remark, compare Milton's preface to *Samson Agonistes*.

¹⁹ "Heroic Poetry," *Essays* (ed. Ker, Oxford, 1900), I, 186.

²⁰ "Preface to Ovid," *op. cit.*, I, 239-40.

modestly, and without injury to his sacred ashes, somewhat of the purity of English, somewhat of more equal thoughts, somewhat of sweetness in the numbers, . . . is yet wanting. As for the soul of it, which consists in the warmth and vigour of fancy, the masterly figures, and the copiousness of imagination, he has excelled all others in this kind.²¹

That this discriminative tone of Dryden's criticism was typical of him was shown in two further passages, one of which, in 1693, called the Pindarics and latter compositions "undoubtedly the best of his poems, and the most correct,"²² and the other, in 1697, referred to his own translations in these terms:

I say nothing of Sir John Denham, Mr. Waller, and Mr. Cowley; 'tis the utmost of my ambition to be thought their equal, or not to be much inferior to them, and some others of the living.²³

Addison's youthful criticism in 1694²⁴ showed more perspicacity than Mr. Courthope is willing to acknowledge,²⁵ for Addison blamed Cowley's lavish wit, while he praised him for fitting "the deep-mouth'd Pindar to thy lyre"; and these dicta he never retracted. Moreover, Flatman's Pindaric on "Samuel Woodford's Version of the Psalms" showed how Cowley was still regarded toward the end of the century:

*Bold man, that dares attempt Pindarique' now,
Since the great Pindar's greatest Son
From the ungrateful Age is gon;
Cowley has bid th' ungrateful Age Adieu!
Apollo's rare Columbus, He
Found out new Worlds of Poetry;
He, like an Eagle, soar'd aloft,
To seize his noble prey [etc.].²⁶*

²¹ "Preface to *Sylvae*," *op. cit.*, I, 267. For Mulgrave's poem, see "An Essay upon Poetry," in Spingarn, II, 289.

²² "Orig. and Prog. of Sat.," *ibid.*, II, 19.

²³ "Ded. of the *Aeneis*," *ibid.*, II, 222.

²⁴ "Account of the Greatest English Poets," *Works* (London, 1854), I, 23-4.

²⁵ Courthope, *Addison* (*E. M. L.*, N. Y., 1884), p. 32.

²⁶ Quoted in Sir Thomas Pope Blount, *De Re Poetica* (London, 1694), pt. 2, p. 54.

Flatman, like many of his contemporaries, appreciated Cowley for causes not usually associated with the Neo-Classical period—i.e., for his originality, and for his “soaring” qualities. Finally, another characteristic not always associated with the period—its lack of unity—is illustrated by Swift’s *Battle of the Books*, for here Swift went diametrically against Dryden’s verdict when, in a spirited narrative, (he made Pindar destroy Cowley’s Pindaric part,) leaving only the *Mistress* to posterity.²⁷

2. *The Mistress and Other Lyrics*

Much more adverse criticism of Cowley is centered upon the *Mistress* than people often realize, and the body of this criticism constantly grew. The judgment of the public on Cowley’s lyrics in general, however, during his own lifetime, was probably reflected by Dryden in 1665 when, speaking of how the modern English surpassed the ancients in epic or lyric poetry, he wrote that there was “nothing so elevated, so copious, and full of spirit, as Mr. Cowley . . .”²⁸ Sprat, more specifically, was not “asham’d to commend Mr. Cowley’s *Mistress*,” altho he did wish that one or two expressions had been “left out.”

But of all the rest I dare boldly pronounce, that never yet so much was written on a subject so Delicate, that can less offend the severest rules of Morality. The whole Passion of Love is inimitably describ’d, with all its mighty Train of Hopes, and Joys, and Disquiets. Besides this amorous tenderness, I know not how in every Copy there is something of more useful Knowledge very naturally and gracefully insinuated, and every where there may be something found to inform the minds of wise Men as well as to move the hearts of young Men or Women.²⁹

But here again the Bishop tacitly confessed a reaction; and as a matter of fact there did appear, in 1670, an *Exclamation against an Apology for Cowley’s Verses*, in which the Rev.

²⁷ *Prose Works* (ed. Scott, London, 1897-1908), I, 181-2.

²⁸ “Dramatic Poesy,” *op. cit.*, I, 35.

²⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 131.

Edmund Elys condemned the love-poetry for lasciviousness.²⁰ The same charge was brought again by William Walsh in 1692, but his accusations in his *Letters and Poems, Amorous and Gallant* were valiantly and colloquially replied to two years later in Charles Gildon's "Essay at a Vindication of the Love-Verses of Cowley and Waller." Gildon massed his defence under the following heads of Walsh's attack:

1. *The Occasions on which their Poems are written are sought out, and that none meet with 'em but themselves, whilst those of the Ancients are such as happen to c'ry Men in Love.*

2. *That the Verses of the Moderns, are filled with Thoughts that are indeed Surprizing and Glittering, but not Tender, Passionate, or Natural for c'ry Men in Love to think.*²¹

Gildon confuted his opponent fairly well by citing passages from both the ancients, and the moderns under consideration, and also by defending the language, imagery, etc., of the latter. It is worth remarking, too, that especially at this time Gildon was an enthusiastic follower of Dryden, and also appealed to Locke and Le Clerc in his upholding of extravagant figures. In conclusion, it will be remembered that Swift gave the command of his modern "light-horse" in the *Battle of the Books* to "Cowley and Despreaux," and finally decided that the *Mistress* was better than the *Pindarics*.²²

3. *The Davideis*

Cowley's uncompleted epic seems to have been even more widely and more favorably known in this first period than were his lyrics, but at the same time, particularly toward the end of the century, the critical attitude was developing. Sprat, as usual, will not "pretend to a profess'd Panegyrick," but still "will affirm, that it [*Davideis*] is a better instance and beginning of a Divine Poem than I ever yet saw in any Language."

²⁰ See Grosart, I, li.

²¹ Gildon, in Durham, pp. 4 ff.

²² *Op. cit.*, I, 172; 181-2.

. . . in other matters his Wit excell'd most other mens; but in his Moral and Divine Works it outdid it self. And no doubt it proceeded from this Cause, that in other lighter kinds of Poetry he chiefly represented the humours and affections of others; but in these he sat to himself and drew the figure of his own mind.³³

Thomas Rymer, one of the most thoro-going "Classicists" who ever wrote, in 1674 rated the *Davideis* above Tasso's "*Hierusalem*"; and also compared Cowley with Davenant:

A more happy *Genius* for *Heroick Poesie* appears in *Cowley*. He understood the *purity*, the *perspicuity*, the *majesty* of stile and the vertue of *numbers*. He could discern what was beautiful and pleasant in Nature, and could express his thoughts without the least difficulty or constraint. He understood to dispose of the matters, and to manage his Digressions. In short, he understood *Homer* and *Virgil*, and as prudently made his advantage of them.

Yet as it might be lamented that he carried not on the work so far as he design'd, so it might be wish'd that he had lived to revise what he did leave us.

Nevertheless, Rymer would have been better pleased if Cowley had chosen one large action instead of several small ones, had not mixed the epic and lyric, and so on.³⁴ His point of view was well summed up four years later when, in his *Tragedies of the Last Age*, he wrote:

Nor will it, I hope, give offence that I handle these *Tragedies* with the same liberty that I formerly had taken in examining the *Epick Poems* of *Spencer*, *Cowley*, and such names as will ever be *sacred* to me.³⁵

The clerical attitude is reflected in Dr. Samuel Woodford's "Paraphrase upon the Psalms," 1679, in which Cowley's choice of the couplet form was commended over Davenant and Spenser, and then the entire poem was recommended as practically faultless.³⁶

In 1682, Mulgrave, while refusing to grant absolute success to any modern epic poet, still ranked Cowley, Milton,

³³ *Op. cit.*, p. 133.

³⁴ "Pref. to *Rapin*," in Spingarn, II, 171-3.

³⁵ In Spingarn, II, 186.

³⁶ See Blount, *op. cit.*, pt. 2, p. 53.

"Torquato," and Spenser as the leaders.³⁷ By the 1713 revision of the poem, however, the tide was turning quickly in the other direction, and the *Davideis* was no longer considered great enough to demand even a mention.

Finally, Dryden's attitude toward the *Davideis* underwent some changes, altho it was always critical and discriminative. In 1672 Dryden affirmed that Cowley's authority was "almost sacred" to him. Indeed, in 1667 he had based a short passage in his *Annus Mirabilis* on the *Davideis* , and continued to do the same thing in his translation of the *Aeneid* in 1697. In 1677, he analyzed wittily a couple of figures of speech taken from the epic; and in 1692 wrote his famous passage which has so often been taken for one of the dozen or so "death-blows" which Cowley was so constantly receiving:

I looked over the darling of my youth, the famous Cowley; there I found, instead of them [true turns on the word or thought], the points of wit, and quirks of epigram, even in the *Davideis* , an heroic poem, which is of an opposite nature to these puerilities; but no elegant turns either on the word or on the thought.

Notice, however, what Dryden carefully added, and what is often overlooked, when he also turned (vainly) to Milton in his search: "Then I consulted a greater genius [Milton] (without offence to the *Manes* of that noble author)," i.e., Cowley. It is clear that Dryden was not consciously or voluntarily dealing death-blows in his references to Cowley, especially when one considers that Dryden explicitly stated, a dozen lines or so above, that all this happened "about twenty years ago," and when one recalls all of Dryden's criticisms during those twenty years.³⁸

³⁷ *Op. cit.*, in Spingarn, II, 296.

³⁸ See, for these respective references in Dryden: "Of Heroic Plays," *op. cit.*, I, 154; E. Settle, quoted in Johnson, *Lives of the Poets* (ed. Hill, Oxford, 1905), I, 354; J. M. McBryde, *Study of Cowley's Davideis* (Johns Hopkins Dissertation, 1899), pp. 64-5; Dryden, "Heroic Poetry," *op. cit.*, I, 184, 188; and "Orig. and Prog. of Sat.," *ibid.*, II, 108-9.

4. *The Plays*

Cowley's plays may be dismissed quickly, altho it is a curious fact that the tone of the few mentions we have of them is favorable. Pepys mentioned reading "a Latin play, the *Naufragium Jocularis*,"³⁹ and also recorded the first presentation of *The Cutter of Coleman-Street*: "A very good play it is—it seems of Cowley's making."⁴⁰ Downes, the prompter at the "Opera," also spoke of the humorous treatment of the "Fanaticks" of 1658, of the dullness of the "serious scenes," but of the general interest of the whole. That the play was not popular at first because it was considered as a satire on the Cavaliers was also recorded by Downes, who added that it was later revived with considerable success.⁴¹ For some reason, Sprat did not even mention Cowley as a dramatist. Gerard Langbaine, however, in 1691 gave the additional information that the *Cutter* had been acted at Cambridge (in its earlier form of *The Guardian*, 1641-2), and also privately during the closing of the theaters, as well as publicly at Dublin—and always with applause.⁴²

5. *The Prose*

The work for which Cowley is most generally appreciated today is his prose, and yet it is true that his recognition in this field came rather slowly. In the later seventeenth century scarcely a reference to it is discoverable, except in Sprat, who first commended the excellence of Cowley's letters to his private friends, and then pointed out the difference between the essays and the verse as follows:

The last Pieces that we have from his hands are Discourses, by way of Essays, upon some of the gravest subjects that concern the Contentment of a Virtuous Mind. These he intended as a real Character of his own

³⁹ *Diary*, Feb. 19, 1660-1.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, Dec. 16, 1661.

⁴¹ See Genest, *Some Account of the English Stage* (London, 1832), I, 40.

⁴² *Dramatic Poets* (Oxford, 1691), p. 81; this account is based on Cowley's own 1663 preface.

thoughts upon the point of his Retirement. And accordingly you may observe in the Prose of them there is little Curiosity of Ornament, but they are written in a lower and humbler style than the rest, and as an unfeigned Image of his Soul should be drawn without Flattery. I do not speak this to their disadvantage. For the true perfection of Wit is to be pliable to all occasions, to walk or flye, according to the Nature of every subject.⁴³

Unfortunately, Cowley cared more to "flye" than to walk.

Cowley's incipient critical ability had also been noticed by 1685, in an anonymous translator's preface, "A Short History of Criticism":

Cowley was a great master of the *Antients*, and had the true *Genius* and Character of a Poet; yet this nicety and boldness of Criticism was a stranger all this time to our Climate.⁴⁴

Two additional, and minor, references, show that other of Cowley's prose works were at least known. In 1690, occurred one reference to Cowley's 1656 "Preface" to his first collected edition,⁴⁵ and in 1697 Dryden mentioned the poem following the essay "Of Agriculture."⁴⁶ These practically tell the tale.

That the predominant tone of criticism from 1660 to 1700 was appreciative would be more than ever clear if all the available quotations could be given. But the critical and discriminative attitude which the next period was to develop had also been born—a judicial viewpoint which is best represented in the greatest figure of the age, Dryden. In 1676 Dryden was accustomed to speak of "my better master Cowley";⁴⁷ in 1700, the year of his death, he sum-

⁴³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 137-8.

⁴⁴ "Pref." to *Miscellaneous Essays Written Originally in the French by the Sieur de Saint Evremont*, in Ker, *Dryden*, II, 313.

⁴⁵ "Pref." to 2nd part of Waller's *Poems*; reprinted in Fenton's ed. of Waller (London, 1744), p. 292.

⁴⁶ "Postscript to the *Aeneis*," *op. cit.*, II, 244.

⁴⁷ "Ded. to *Aureng-zebe*," *Works* (ed. Scott and Saintsbury, Edin., 1883), V, 194.

marized his ultimate decision as follows, altho he mentioned no names:

One of our late great poets is sunk in his reputation, because he could never forgive any conceit which came in his way; but swept like a drag-net, great and small. . . . All this proceeded not from any want of knowledge, but of judgment. . . . For this reason, although he must always be thought a great poet, he is no longer esteemed a good writer; and for ten impressions, which his works have had in so many successive years, yet at present a hundred books are scarcely purchased once a twelvemonth; for, as my last Lord Rochester said, though somewhat profanely, *Not being of God, he could not stand*.

The first query to make of interpreters of this passage is to ask whether it is better to be "a great poet" or "a good writer." That Dryden intended this distinction to mean something is clear when, later in the same essay, he reiterated what he had often said before: "I dare not advance my opinion [about Chaucer] against the judgment of so great an author [Cowley]; but I think it fair, however, to leave the decision to the public."⁴⁸

The second query is to ask exactly what the public's decision, expressed in the concrete terms of editions, had been during the period covered by Dryden's remarks. Such a study of editions, both for this and for the succeeding periods, has apparently never been properly made.⁴⁹

The complete works which Cowley himself had been preparing were brought out in 1668, the year after his death, by Herringman. The *Poemata Latina* also appeared in 1668. From then on, the editions are rather confusing because of the combining of different parts of old editions to make new ones; but this very fact is proof of the demand. In 1669 appeared at least three versions of the 1668 works, with various errata, etc., corrected. In 1671-2 appeared

⁴⁸ "Pref. to the *Fables*," *op. cit.*, II, 258, 265.

⁴⁹ Mr. Gosse again seems to go astray here in his *Sev. Cent. Studies*, p. 192.—The present writer is indebted to Mr. G. F. Barwick of the British Museum for a list of additions to its printed catalog. Supplementary data have been obtained from the *Term Catalogs* (ed. Arber, London, 1903, 3 vols.), and from incidental sources.

the third edition; in 1674, the fourth, with a second part of juvenilia added by Harper in 1681. In 1675 *A Satyre against Separatists* [doubtful?] was reprinted in *Ad Populum*, and again in 1677. In 1678 appeared the fifth edition, with the second edition of the *Poemata Latina* in the same year. In 1678 and 1679 were published *Songs . . . Collected out of Some of the Select Poems by the Incomparable Mr. Cowley, and Others*. In the latter year also, "The Garden" was reprinted with Evelyn's *Sylva*, or *Kalendar* (as likewise in 1691, 1699, etc.), and in the same year, "A Poem on the Late Civil War."⁵⁰ In 1680 the sixth book of the *Plantarum* was translated. In 1680-1 appeared Herringman's sixth edition, and Harper brought out a second part in 1681-2. "The Puritan and the Papist, a Satyr" appeared in 1682 in *Wit and Loyalty Revived*, and the Anacreontics in *Anacreon Done into English, etc.*, in 1683; the *Songs* were also reprinted in 1683. Another (unnumbered) edition of the works was brought out by Herringman in 1687-8, with the self-styled "sixth" by Harper in 1689, containing the translation of the *Plantarum*, altho Herringman had fostered a "seventh" in 1681, and an "eighth" in 1684. The seventh part of the "eighth," containing the *Cutler*, appeared in 1693. In 1700, the year of Dryden's remark, appeared editions of both the *Naufragium Joculare* and of the *Works*—the ninth.⁵¹

These facts speak for themselves. During the Restoration

⁵⁰ Concerning this poem, the "Publisher to the Reader" wrote: "*Meeting accidentally with this Poem in Manuscript, and being informed that it was a Piece of the incomparable Mr. A C's, I thought it unjust to hide such a Treasure from the World. . . . And there is not one careless stroke of his but what should be kept sacred to all Posterity. . . .*" And so on. (See A. R. Waller's ed. of Cowley, Cambr., 1906, II, 466.)

⁵¹ This edition, which must have been reprinted in 1704 ff. (see Grosart, I, xlvii), was prefaced by the following remarks of the booksellers concerning the early poems of Cowley just being printed: "The following Poems of Mr. Cowley being much enquir'd after, and very scarce, (the Town hardly affording one Book, tho' it hath Eight times been printed) we thought this Ninth Edition could not fail of being well received by the World. . . ."

Cowley was almost universally admired for all classes of his writing. Extravagant mental play for many years struck the Restoration mind, with its propensity toward liberty and freedom, as only a virtue. The occasional looseness of sentiment in the *Mistress* probably appealed to more readers than it offended. The Pindarics, too, broke away from the trammels of form and were controlled only by the flight of the writer's ideas. Roughness of rhythm outraged the ears of only a few early partisans of absolute smoothness and perfection of "numbers." The *Davideis* pleased those who were perhaps shocked by the *Mistress*. The beauties of English prose were just beginning to be remarked, and it was not until the next century that the qualities of simplicity, polish, gentility, and perspicacity began to be continually emphasized by "this age of taste."⁵²

II. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CRITICAL ATTITUDE TOWARD COWLEY (1701-1745)

The Neo-Classical period seldom abandoned a matter until it had investigated it to the bottom. This was the way in which it treated Cowley. The very minor poet Higgons (but minor people are almost as important as major in a study of reputation) summed it up in a single couplet:

*'Tis but his Dross that's in the Grave,
His Memory Fame from Death shall save.¹*

Those who were most nearly literary dictators during the first part of the eighteenth century were Pope and the *Spectator* writers. In his juvenile "Windsor Forest" (1704) Pope had written:

⁵² The place accorded Cowley by the Restoration, compared with its opinion of the rest of the "Metaphysical Poets," may be seen in the present writer's forthcoming article, "The Reputation of the 'Metaphysical Poets' during the Seventeenth Century," *Journal of Engl. and Ger. Phil.*

¹ "Ode upon the Death of Mr. Cowley," Tonson's 1707 ed., I, lxxiv.

Who now shall charm the shades, where Cowley strung
Hi living harp, and lofty Denham sung?²

By the appearance of the "Essay on Criticism," about 1711, he had improved his analytical faculties so far as to compose the famous passage beginning:

Some to conceit alone their taste confine,
And glitt'ring thoughts struck out at ev'ry line;
Pleased with a work where nothing's just or fit;
One glaring chaos and wild heap of wit. . . .³

Altho this might be a just criticism of Cowley, and is usually construed as being pointed toward him,⁴ it must still be remembered that, as in Dryden, no names are mentioned. Moreover, like Dryden, Pope praised Cowley's poetic powers to the very end, as when, about 1734, he said, "Cowley is a fine poet, in spite of all his faults," and then added, undoubtedly basing his remark on Dryden, "He . . . borrowed his metaphysical style from Donne."⁵

To Addison was due the credit of the first complete analysis of Cowley's most peculiar trait, his wit. One quotation will suffice here, altho more will be said on the subject later:

Homœr, Virgil, or Milton, so far as the Language of their Poems is understood, will please a Reader of plain common Sense, who would neither relish nor comprehend an Epigram of *Martial*, or a Poem of *Cowley*.⁶

A correspondent in Steele's paper of Aug. 10, 1711, followed in the footsteps of several predecessors when he wrote of the new taste in poetry:

² Pope, *Works* (ed. Elwin and Courthope, London, 1871 ff.), I, 357 (see also p. 356). The lines were allowed to stand at the publication in 1713.

³ *Op. cit.*, II, 50 ff.

⁴ For example, see W. L. Bowles's ed. of Pope (London, 1806), I, 234, n.; Sir A. W. Ward's ed. (London, 1911), p. 57, n.; etc.

⁵ See Joseph Spence, *Anecdotes, etc.* (ed. Singer, London, 1820), p. 173. For the history of the term "metaphysical" in this connection, see the present writer's article, "The Term 'Metaphysical Poets' before Johnson," *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXXVII (1922), 11-17.

⁶ *Spectator*, No. 70 (May 21, 1711).

The Admirers of what we call Point, or Turn, look upon it as the peculiar Happiness to which *Cowley*, *Ovid* and others owe their Reputation. . . . Now tho' such Authors appear to me to resemble those who make them selves fine, instead of being well dressed or graceful; yet the Mischief is that these Beauties in them, which I call Blemishes, are thought to proceed from (Luxuriance of Fancy, and overflowing of good Sense.) In one Word, they have the Character of being too Witty; but if you would acquaint the World they are not Witty at all. . . .⁷

This paradoxical charge was a severe one to make, and it and its like had their effect, but not universally, if the lesser known writers are examined.

Before this time, in 1713 (the work was probably composed about 1709), Henry Felton, D. D., of Oxford, had praised England more highly than Rome for bringing forth "the wonderful *Cowley's* Wit, who was beloved by every Muse he courted, and hath rivalled the *Greek* and *Latin* Poets in every Kind, but Tragedy."⁸ In 1710, Leonard Welsted continued the old catalog of poets:

Justly in death with those one mansion have,
Whose works redeem their glory from the grave;
Where venerable Chaucer's antient head,
And Spenser's much ador'd remains are laid;
Where Cowley's precious stone, and the proud mould
That glories Dryden's mortal parts to hold,
Command high reverence and devotion just
To their great relicks and distinguish'd dust.⁹

After this time, even more was made of Cowley's wit than

⁷ *Spect.*, No. 140.

⁸ *Dissertation on Reading the Classics, etc.* (London, 1723), pp. 30-1. Even more encomiastic than Felton was Edward Bysshe, in his very popular aid to plagiarism (or "imitation"), *The Art of English Poetry* (London, 1702). More of his "Collection of the Most Natural and Sublime Thoughts," etc., is drawn from Cowley than from any other poet, as many as half a dozen passages, from all classes of his writings, sometimes appearing on a single page. The difference made by six decades may be seen by comparing *A Poetical Dictionary* (sometimes ascribed to Goldsmith, London, 1761), which acknowledged a debt to Bysshe; in it, only four quotations from Cowley appeared in four volumes.

⁹ "Poem to the Memory of . . . Mr. J. Philips," *Works* (London, 1787), p. 24.

before. Typical of many of these criticisms were John Oldmixon's in his translation, or paraphrase (1728), of Bouhours' *La Manière de Bien Penser*; they may be represented partly by the following:

*I have made use of none but the best, whether they wrote in Verse or in Prose, the Faults of Great Men only being worth Observation, that those who have not their Talents may be upon their Guard; for if such Authors as Tacitus and Seneca among the Ancients, Tasso, Malherbe, Balsac, Cowley, and Dryden, among the Moderns, fall into the grossest Errors in Thinking, what have not meaner Genius's to fear from Negligence, and a worse Misfortune still, from Ignorance? . . . The Faults of great Men are like Land-Marks on Mountains, to direct Voyagers to avoid the Rocks and Shelves beneath them. . . .*¹⁰

The *Gentleman's Magazine* for June, 1739, could still praise Cowley, "an eminent genius of the last age," for not turning his wit to vice, and for possessing "so much Strength and Firmness of Mind, . . . as could not be perverted by the Largeness of [his] Wit, and was proof against the Art of Poetry itself."¹¹ A more intellectual, rational (and also unpoetical) temperament such as David Hume's, however, was affected differently:

It is a certain rule, that wit and passion are entirely incompatible. . . . We may also observe, that those compositions which we read the oftenest, and which every man of taste has got by heart, have the recommendation of simplicity, and have nothing surprising in the thought, when divested of that elegance of expression, and harmony of numbers, with which it is clothed. . . . It is sufficient to run over Cowley once; but Parnell[sic], after the fiftieth reading, is as fresh as at the first. . . .¹²

Everyone in 1741-2, however, did not prefer Parnell to Cowley.

1. *Latin Poetry, Anacreontics, Pindarics*

It is a remarkable, but apparently an unobserved, fact that in this period there were practically no direct and

¹⁰ *Arts of Logick and Rhetorick* (London, 1728), Preface, pp. xviii-ix.

¹¹ *Gent. Mag.*, IX, 285.

¹² Hume, "Simplicity and Refinement," *Essays* (London, 1870), pp. 115-6.

unqualifiedly unfavorable comments on this first class of Cowley's poetry. Felton praised the Latin poems, altho preferring the English, and at the same time styling Cowley "the most celebrated in both."¹³ Two references in the *Spectator* for 1712 show that the Anacreontics were still favorably known, the second passage running as follows:

I saw *Pindar* walking all alone, no one daring to accost him till *Cowley* joyn'd himself to him; but, growing weary of one who almost walk'd him out of Breath, he left him for *Horace* and *Anacreon*, with whom he seem'd infinitely delighted.¹⁴

But the odes were still the most widely known and discussed of Cowley's works. Even a partial list of the writers of Pindarics during the eighteenth century would show how much alive Cowley's influence was,¹⁵ and even a cursory examination of the evidence will show that the attacks on Pindarics were not leveled at Cowley at all, but at these imitators.¹⁶ Cowley was still the standard at the opening of the century,¹⁷ and remained so for some time.

Congreve's "Discourse on the Pindaric Ode," 1706 (contrary to the common idea today), definitely excepted Cowley from its arraignment of "these late Pindarics":

Having mentioned Mr. *Cowley*, it may very well be expected that Something should be said of him, at a Time when the Imitation of *Pindar* is the Theme of our Discourse. But there is that Deference due to the Memory, great Parts, and Learning of that Gentleman, that I think Nothing should be objected to the Latitude he has taken in his Pindaric Odes. The Beauty of his Verses, are [*sic*] an Atonement for the Irregularity of his Stanzas. . . .¹⁸

¹³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 201-2.

¹⁴ Steele, *Spect.*, No. 514; for the other passage, see Addison, No. 377.

¹⁵ For such a list, see J. Schipper, *Englische Metrik* (Bonn, 1888), II, 811 ff.

¹⁶ As Dryden had said in 1685 ("Pref. to *Sylvae*," *op. cit.*, I, 268): "What I have said is the general opinion of the best judges, and in a manner has been forced from me, by seeing a noble sort of poetry so happily restored by one man, and so grossly copied by almost all the rest."

¹⁷ Cf. the *Post-Angel* (June, 1701), I, 396. For this reference, as well as for several others, the present writer is indebted to Professor G. W. Sherburn of the University of Chicago.

¹⁸ *Works* (Birmingham, 1761), III, 435.

Felton asserted that Cowley was "of a Genius equal to his Author," but warned "weak Heads" against similar enterprizes.¹⁹ Addison's important attack upon "those monstrous Compositions which go among us under the Name of Pindaricks" had nothing at all to do with Cowley except—perhaps—by implication.²⁰ In the same year, 1711, Samuel Wesley imitated Cowley's "Second Olympic Ode of Pindar" thus:

COWLEY does to Jove belong,
 Jove and COWLEY claim my song. . . .
 Whatever COWLEY writes must please,
 Sure, like the Gods, he speaks all Languages.
 Whatever Theme by COWLEY's Muse is drest,
 Whatever he'll essay;
 Or in the softer or the nobler way,
 He still writes best.²¹

Giles Jacob, compiler of other men's opinions, wrote of the Pindaric in 1720:

Next to the Epick Poem, is the *Pindarick Ode*, which ought likewise to have much Nobleness of Thought, Elevation, and Transport: and it requires, to sustain all the Majesty of its Character, an exalted Wit a daring Fancy, and an Expression noble and sparkling, yet pure and correct. . . . This Poem has been introduc'd into our Language by the happy Genius of Mr. Cowley, and is fit for great and noble subjects, such as are boundless as its own Numbers.²²

On June 3, 1732, *Applebee's Journal* could yet state that altho Shakespeare and Cowley had been justly censured in the last age, the odes of the latter still made him "the Pindar of the English tongue."²³ After 1732, however, little of importance was written until the second half of the century.

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 168-9.

²⁰ *Spect.*, No. 160 (Sept. 3, 1711).

²¹ "On Mr. Cowley's Juvenile Poems," in Harper's 1711 ed. of Cowley, prefatory verses.

²² *Historical Account of . . . Our Most Considerable English Poets* (London, 1720), Introd. Essay, pp. xxii-iii.

²³ Quoted in *Gent. Mag.*, II, 786-7.

2. *The Mistress and Other Lyrics*

It was the *Mistress*, however, which received the brunt of the attack during this period. In fact, scarcely a single piece of unequivocal praise was awarded it. In the opening decades of the century, indeed, it was frequently quoted from or referred to without much comment,²⁴ but in 1711 the storm broke, in the form of (Addison's sixty-second *Spectator* paper, on "Wit.") Addison's definition of "Mist Wit" as consisting "partly in the Resemblance of Ideas, and partly in the Resemblance of Words" and his citation of Cowley as abounding in such wit more than "any Author that ever wrote" are too well-known to need elaboration. The remainder of the passage, however, being more often neglected than observed, should be considered:

I cannot conclude this Head of *mist Wit*, without owning that the admirable Poet out of whom I have taken the examples of it, had as much true Wit as any Author that ever writ; and indeed all other Talents of an extraordinary Genius.

Addison ended his discussion, however, by concluding that Dryden was both a better poet and a greater wit than Cowley.

The *Guardian* for March 30, 1713, struck the same note when it accused Donne and Cowley of a "redundancy of wit" in their songs,²⁵ but Prior, sometime before 1721, still took Cowley as one of the authorities for love-poetry:

My Cowley and Waller how vainly I quote,
While my negligent judge only hears with her eye!
In a long flaxen wig, and embroider'd new coat,
Her spark saying nothing talks better than I.²⁶

Oldmixon, however, was probably the severest of all in his

²⁴ E. g., Pope, "Weeping," *Works*, IV, 431-2; John Dunton, *Life and Errors* (London, 1818), p. 231; Richard Friend, "Pref. Verses," *ibid.*, p. x; Swift, "Cadenus and Vanessa," *Poet. Works* (London, 1895), II, 200; Steele, *Spect.*, No. 41; Addison, *ibid.*, No. 311; etc.

²⁵ *Guard.*, No. 16.

²⁶ Prior, "A Case Stated," *Works* II, 272.

censure of the wit of the *Mistress*. He wrote, in part, echoing Dryden:

Cowley especially, with as much wit as ever Man had, shews as little Judgment, by which his Poetry is in our Days so sunk in the Opinion of good Judges, that there is no hope of its rising again. The following . . . is an Instance of how little he knew of Right-thinking, though he knew so much of Thought. . . .²⁷

Indeed, he hardly allowed Cowley the modicum of praise yielded him by Addison, and, in fact, accused the *Spectator* of a general servile lack of originality in the selection of beauties and ideas.²⁸ After such a diatribe, an indictment like Elijah Fenton's (1729) for having "industriously affected to entertain the fair sex with such philosophical allusions" as Waller later "industriously avoided" passes almost unnoticed.²⁹—And here again is a break in comments.

3. *The Davideis*

By the opening of the eighteenth century Cowley's epic was beginning to be esteemed chiefly by a certain class of people—the clergy and the piously minded. Nevertheless, among the rest it did not fare quite so harshly as did the *Mistress*, altho it was constantly becoming less and less known.

The *Post-Angel* for July, 1701, claimed that Samuel Wesley's "Heroick Poem on the Life of Christ, and this on the New Testament" deservedly ranked "him with Herbert, Cowley, Dryden, and the best Wits of the Age."³⁰ In 1705 the eccentric printer, John Dunton, Wesley's brother-in-law (who had quarreled with him about financial matters), thought the *Life of Christ* "intolerably dull," but maintained that "Cowley's "*Davideis*," Milton's "*Paradise Lost and Regained*," are noble and innocent enough."³¹

²⁷ *Op. cit.*, Dedic., pp. vii-viii.

²⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 294 ff.

²⁹ "Observations on . . . Waller," *op. cit.*, p. lxi.

³⁰ *Op. cit.*, II, 63.

³¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 56.

In 1704 John Dennis incidentally arraigned Cowley for his employment of religion in poetry, under two heads: the "strange Inequalities" which resulted in him and Spenser when the religion was not incorporated in the action; and the lack of "Inclinations and Affections" in the "celestial Persons" of him and Tasso. These "rules" should have been followed, according to Dennis, for a perfect epic.³²

In 1712, Thomas Ellwood, the Quaker friend of Milton, published another *Davideis*, which he was careful to free from the charge of plagiarism by stating that he had refrained from looking at Cowley's work until his own was completed.

His aim and mine differ widely: The method of each no less. He wrote for the learned; and those of the Upper Form: and his flights are answerable. . . . His would have needed (if he had not added it) a large Paraphrase upon it; to explain the many difficult passages in it. . . . I am not so wholly a stranger to the writings of the most celebrated poets, . . . as not to know, that their great embellishments of their poems consist mostly in their extravagant and almost boundless fancies; amazing and even dazzling flights; luxurious inventions; wild hyperboles; lofty language; with an introduction of angels, spirits, demons, and their respective deities, etc., which, as not suitable to my purpose, I industriously abstain from.³³

In 1718, however, Major Richardson Pack stated that "*Spenser and Cowley* are Poets too of the Heroic Order";³⁴ and Giles Jacob in 1719, that Cowley's "*Davideis* . . . cannot be too much admir'd."³⁵ Oldmixon, on the other hand, objected to Milton's and Cowley's mixing of "pagan" and "revealed" religions;³⁶ agreed with Dryden about Cowley's "points"; and sneered at Felton as follows:

Now that *Mirrou* of Criticism, Dr. *Felton* assures us, that *Cowley's Davideis*, is as excellent a Poem as the *Ilias* on [*sic*] *Aeneis*; and I must needs say the Poet and the Critick are very equal: The *Davideis* being ex-

³² *Grounds of Crit. in Poetry*, in Durham, pp. 204-5.

³³ "Epistle to the Reader"; quoted by McBryde, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

³⁴ "Essay upon Study," *Misc. Works* (Dublin, 1726), p. 84.

³⁵ *Poetical Register* (London, 1719), p. 50.

³⁶ "Pref.," *op. cit.*, p. xxiv.

actly in comparison with the *Aeneis*, as the Doctor would be to *Varro* or *Quintilian*.³⁷

Finally, about 1742 Pope described his juvenile epic of *Alcander* as proposing to

. . . collect all the beauties of the great epic writers into one piece: there was Milton's style in one part, and Cowley's in another; here the style of Spenser imitated, and there of Statius; here of Homer and Virgil, and there Ovid and Claudian.³⁸

4. *The Plays*

The *Cutter* was revived on Oct. 5, 1702.³⁹ Dennis in the same year, speaking of the low state of English taste, mentioned that "several Plays have been indifferently received at first, which have succeeded very well afterwards," and cited Cowley.⁴⁰ Thomas Hearne, the antiquary, was probably referring to the 1663 "Preface" to the *Cutter* in his entry for May 18, 1706.⁴¹ On Aug. 1, 1711-2, the play was again given, at Drury Lane instead of Lincoln's Inn Fields; and was repeated on Nov. 1, 1723-4, at the latter.⁴² The *Naufragium Jocular*e was translated in 1705, probably by Charles Johnson, but was apparently unacted, altho the version was commended, as well as the original.⁴³ The 1712 preface to Waller's poems suggested that Waller had a hand in *The Rehearsal*, "with Mr. Clifford, Mr. Cowley, and some other wits."⁴⁴ Jacob, in 1719, gave a short account of all the plays, including "*Love's Riddle*; a Pastoral Comedy, 1633."⁴⁵ All this, however, seems to have played little part in determining Cowley's reputation.

³⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 309; the allusion apparently does not quite fit anything in the *Dissertation* (ed. 1723).

³⁸ Spence's *Anec.*, pp. 276-7.

³⁹ Genest, *op. cit.*, II, 262.

⁴⁰ "Large Account of the Taste in Poetry," in Durham, pp. 131-2.

⁴¹ *Remarks and Collections* (Oxford, 1885-1914), I, 246.

⁴² Genest, *op. cit.*, II, 500; III, 142.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, X, 65-6.

⁴⁴ Quoted by Hill, "Dryden," *Lives*, I, 368, n.

⁴⁵ *Poet. Reg.*, pp. 49-50.

5. *The Prose*

The only entirely unexpected development which took place in Cowley's reputation during this period was that which occurred to his prose, which includes the verse in his essays. It was not simply the essays which were known, however, but also the critical notes to the *Davideis*,⁴⁶ the *Proposition*,⁴⁷ and Cowley's own "Preface" to his 1656 edition.⁴⁸

A very general familiarity with the essays was shown, however, chiefly by means of simple quotation and allusion, at least eight of the eleven essays having been known in this way. "Of My Self" and "Of Greatness" took the lead.⁴⁹ The tone of the less frequent critical passages is easily illustrated. Steele, on July 11, 1711, wrote:

It is from this Reflexion that I always read Mr. Cowley with the greatest Pleasure: His Magnanimity is as much above that of other considerable Men, as his Understanding; . . . and it is no small Satisfaction to those of the same Turn of Desire, that he produces the Authority of the wisest Men of the best Age of the World, to strengthen his Opinion of the ordinary Pursuits of Mankind.⁵⁰

Other *Spectator* papers speak of "the excellent Mr. Cowley" (No. 251), of "that excellent epitaph" in "Of My Self" (No. 551), etc. Even Oldmixon, after another of his attacks on the wit of the *Mistress*, sorrowed because

. . . for a Man who wrote Prose as well as any one, and had as much Wit, to waste so much of it in Prosaick Poetry, is a Matter of Lamentation

⁴⁶ Cf. Dennis, *Grounds of Crit.*, in Durham, p. 176.

⁴⁷ Budgell, *Spect.*, No. 67 (May 17, 1711).

⁴⁸ Hearne, *op. cit.* (July 29, 1712), III, 415-6.

⁴⁹ See, for example, Pope, "The Garden," *Works*, IV, 430-1; Dunton, *op. cit.*, pp. 85, 184, 239, 288, 441, 513, 524, 585-6, etc.; Felton, *op. cit.*, p. 46; Mary Wortley Montagu, *Works* (London, 1803), I, 157, 162, and *Letters* (Boston, 1884), p. 214; *Spect.*, Nos. 114, 123, 251, 379, 406, 551, 562, 610, 613; John Hughes, "Essay on Alleg. Poetry" (1715), in Durham, p. 87; Pope, *Works*, IX, 30-1; VI, 397; Welsted, "Perfection of Engl. Lang." (1724), in Durham, p. 381; Oldmixon, *op. cit.*, pp. 127, 343; Melmoth (May 5, 1743), *Letters of . . . Fitzosborne* (London, 1795), p. 336.

⁵⁰ *Spect.*, No. 114; the reference is to "Of Greatness."

to all who know his Merit, and respect his Memory, which all Lovers of Good Sense and good Learning must do.⁴¹

In conclusion, two often misinterpreted passages in Pope's poems about 1737 almost certainly refer to the essays and to the verses appended to them. At this time toward the end of his life Pope wrote thus:

Though daring Milton sits sublime,
In Spenser native muses play;
Nor yet shall Waller yield to time,
Nor pensive Cowley's moral lay.⁴²

This was without much doubt an echo of this slightly earlier passage:

Who now reads Cowley? if he pleases yet,
His moral pleases, not his pointed wit:
Forgot his epic, nay Pindaric art
But still I love the language of his heart. . . .⁴³

Nothing else in Cowley's works fits this description so well as his reflective essays and poems, and Bishop Hurd, Joseph Warton, and Mr. Courthope agree.

In this period, too, the editions of Cowley corroborate the testimony of the texts. Some decrease in the very great activity of the Restoration period would naturally be expected, both because Cowley had now been over thirty years dead and also because Addison and others had been vigorously attacking his wit. In spite of these two handicaps, however, it is rather surprising to see how sales must have continued. In 1701 the seventh edition of the second and third parts of the works was brought out. In 1702, Cowley's *Letters . . . Written . . . to Mr. Bennett* appeared in *Miscellanea Aulica*. In 1705 his Latin play was published as *Fortune in Her Wits*. "The Garden" appeared with

⁴¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 37.

⁴² "Imit. of Hor. 9 Ode, 4 Bk.," *Works*, III, 419.

⁴³ "Imit. of Hor. 1 Epis., 2 Bk.," *ibid.*, p. 353.

Evelyn's *Kalendar* in 1706, 1729, etc. Tonson now came into the field and brought out a tenth edition of the works in 1707-8; an eleventh in 1710-1; and a twelfth in 1721. In 1716 "A Poem on the Civil War" re-appeared, this time in the sixth part of Dryden's *Miscellany Poems*.⁵⁴ "Love's Chronicle" appeared in 1730 [?], and *Cromwell* in the *Harleian Miscellany*, 1745.

The most important thing to note in interpreting the phenomena in this second period is that all of Cowley's writings did not stand or fall together. Those works which best conformed to the literary standards which the age had formulated from the basis of the Restoration rose in esteem; those which violated the principles of reason and good sense, especially the *Mistress*, were debased. The didactic works, being also shaped into a fitting form by their very nature, suited the didactic tendencies of Pope's contemporaries, who more than ever prided themselves on their "taste," and abhorred the "Gothic" and abnormal.^{54a}

On the other hand, tho people, beginning with Dryden in 1700, were continually discovering that Cowley was "sunk in his reputation," yet, when that discovery is made over and over again as a new and modern development, one begins to doubt. For instance, Gildon in 1718 wrote that "Cowley himself, so much ador'd for near Forty Years, loses every Day Ground with all those, who love *Nature*, and *Harmony*."⁵⁵ Harte, in the thirties, commented: "What a run had Cowley for about thirty years, the editions are innumerable.—There has been no edition now for this long time."⁵⁶ In one passage, again, Oldmixon talked about

⁵⁴ This circumstance seems to have led Grosart (*op. cit.*, I, cxxxiii) to conjecture that Dryden was the author of the "Publisher to the Reader" passage quoted above, p. 604.

^{54a} The present writer is now preparing an article which will show the attitude of the age of Pope toward the whole body of "Metaphysical Poets," including Cowley.

⁵⁵ "Complete Art of Poetry," in Durham, p. 38.

⁵⁶ See Spence, "Supplement" to *Anc.*, p. 339. Harte evidently was unacquainted with Tonson's three editions.

the vogue of the *Mistress* "about forty Years ago," and in another, of Cowley's fascination for him "thirty Years ago."⁸⁷ A sense of time and historical perspective seems absent in all of these cases, so that one wonders whether Cowley was really so dead as many claimed. Indeed, practically everyone seemed to know him. Aaron Hill, therefore, while comparing Milton and Cowley, and altho prejudiced against the former because of political beliefs, probably came pretty close to the solution when he wrote, on June 1, 1730, that he would not fear to throw open his breast to one

who, in contempt of the fashion we are fallen into, of decrying the works of the second, could have the courage to declare himself charmed, by both the *muse* and the *man*.⁸⁸

III. SCHOLARLY CRITICISM OF COWLEY (1746-1800)

During the period following his death the popularity of Abraham Cowley rested in the hands of a wide general public, composed of all classes of readers. During the first half of the eighteenth century his works had begun to pass into the possession of a somewhat more restricted class, composed chiefly of literary men, clergy, and others of education. In the last period the general trend was toward the critics and scholars, such as Dr. Johnson, Bishop Hurd, Joseph Warton, Lord Kames, and Professor Beattie, altho a fairly wide acquaintance with his writings was also shown by the populace.

The gap between the two latter periods was filled to a slight extent by such passing remarks as Robert Dodsley's, about 1748, when he compared "Milton's true sublime

⁸⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. 36-7, 275; see also passage quoted on p. 612 of the present article.

⁸⁸ "To Mr. Richardson," *Rich. Corres.* (London, 1804), I, 2-3. Samuel Richardson himself claimed Cowley as his favorite poet (see Erich Poetzsche, *Samuel Richardsons Belesenheit*, Kiel, 1908).

with Cowley's wit,"¹ and by such classical documents as the "Poetical Scale":²

This scale is supposed to consist of 20 degrees for each column, of which 19 may be attained in any one qualification, but the 20th was never yet attain'd to.	Genius	Judge- ment	Learn- ing	Versifi- cations
Chaucer.....	16	12	10	14
Spencer.....	18	12	14	18
Drayton.....	10	11	16	13
Shakespear.....	19	14	14	19
Johnson.....	16	18	17	8
Cowley.....	17	17	15	17
Waller.....	12	12	10	16
Milton.....	18	16	17	18
Dryden.....	18	16	17	18
Pope.....	18	18	15	19

Cowley's position here in relation to other men, as well as the balance in his qualities, is worth remarking.

Really important general criticism, however, was such as was inaugurated by Professor Hugh Blair, of the University of Edinburgh, in his lectures from 1759 to 1762. Blair's attribution of Cowley's fate to the difference in taste in different ages was followed by many people; and his contempt for Cowley's "laboured and unnatural conceits" and for his lack of "simplicity" met with considerable approval.³ William Shenstone, however, about 1764-9, could still

¹ "Art of Preaching," in R. Anderson, *Brit. Poets* (London, 1795), XI, 98.

² Attributed to Goldsmith by Gibbs in the Bohn ed. of Goldsmith, IV, 417 ff.; it appeared in the *Lit. Mag.*, Jan., 1758, p. 6.

³ Blair, *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* (London, 1812), I, 30; II, 31. Other similar opinions were expressed by Hume, 1754-61, *Hist. of Engl.* (London, 1822), VII, 339; Cowper, 1784, "Task," *Works* (London and N. Y., 1889), p. 245; H. Walpole, June 26, 1785, *Letters* (Oxford, 1904 ff.), XIII, 282.

mention "the wit of Cowley" as taking its place with the best qualities of the greatest writers.⁴

James Beattie, Scotch poet and philosopher, characterized Cowley thus, in an essay composed in 1769:

I know not whether any nation ever produced a more singular genius than Cowley. He abounds in tender thoughts, beautiful lines, and emphatical expressions, his wit is inexhaustible, and his learning extensive; but his taste is generally barbarous, and seems to have been formed upon such models as Donne, Martial, and the worst parts of Ovid: nor is it possible to read his longer poems with pleasure, while we retain any relish for the simplicity of antient composition. If this author's ideas had been fewer, his conceits would have been less frequent; so that in one respect learning may be said to have hurt his genius. . . .⁵

He also accused Cowley of "harshness."⁶ Thomas Gray, Apr. 15, 1770, also emphasized Cowley's conceits in his own plans for a history of English poetry such as Thomas Warton was writing, when he distinguished a "third Italian school . . . carried to its height by Cowley."⁷

Since Thomas Warton's history never reached a treatment of Cowley, Joseph Warton is more important to this study than is his brother. In the first volume of the *Essay on the Writings and Genius of Pope*, 1756, he placed Spenser, Shakespeare, and Milton, with perhaps Otway and Lee, among "sublime and pathetic poets."

In the second class should be placed, such as possessed the true poetical genius, in a more moderate degree, but had noble talents for moral and ethical poetry. At the head of these are DRYDEN, DONNE, DENHAM, COWLEY, CONGREVE.⁸

This classification was attacked on one or two scores, and Warton later conformed by reducing Donne to the third class; but even the attacking *Monthly Review* held that

⁴ Essay III, *Essays on Men and Manners* (London, 1787; in Harrison's *Brit. Classics*), VIII, 6.

⁵ *Essays on Poetry and Music, etc.* (Edinburgh, 1779), pp. 494-5.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁷ Gray, Letter to T. Warton, in the *Aldine Gray* (London, 1885), pp. cx-xii.

⁸ "Ded.," *op. cit.* (London, 1756), p. xi.

"There can be no exception to the rank assigned that excellent genius [Cowley], whose works are a valuable mine of literary and poetic jewels."⁹ Nevertheless, in his second volume, 1782, Warton explained his position in this way, in discussing Cowley's witticisms:

It is painful to censure a writer of so amiable a mind, such integrity of manners, and such a sweetness of temper. His fancy was brilliant, strong, and sprightly; but his taste false and unclassical, even though he had much learning.¹⁰

And in his commentary on Pope's *Works*, 1797, he ranked

. . . our most eminent poets, with respect to their learning, in the following order:—Milton, Spenser, Cowley, Butler, Donne, Jonson, Akenside, Gray, Dryden, Addison.¹¹

He also praised Dr. Johnson's "admirable observations in the *Life of Cowley*" on "Metaphysical Poetry."¹²

But Dr. Johnson dominated Cowley criticism much as he dominated a large portion of the literary world; and his praise was often hard to separate from his blame. Several passages in the early periodical essays are not of much value, but Boswell recorded that in 1773 Johnson asserted that there "is more sense in a line of Cowley than in a page (or a sentence, or ten lines,—I am not quite certain of the very phrase) of Pope," and represented Wilkes as saying in 1781, "Upon the continent they all quote the vulgate Bible. Shakespeare is chiefly quoted here; and we also quote Pope, Prior, Butler, Waller, and sometimes Cowley."¹³ Early in his famous *Life of Cowley* (1778-9), however, Johnson indicated the only sane attitude to take toward Cowley:

COWLEY, like other poets who have written with narrow views and instead of tracing intellectual pleasure to its natural sources in the mind

⁹ Review of Warton's *Essay*, *Month. Rev.*, XIV, 535.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.* (London, 1782), II, 45 ff.

¹¹ "Preface," ed. of Pope (London, 1822), p. 15.

¹² *Op. cit.* (London, 1797), VI, 235, n.

¹³ Boswell, *Life of Johnson* (ed. Hill, Oxford, 1887), V, 345; IV, 102.

of man, paid their court to temporary prejudices, has been at one time too much praised and too much neglected at another.¹⁴

1965- N. Johnson also denominated Cowley the best of his rather queerly assorted "metaphysical" group,¹⁵ and (most critics have agreed with him here, altho lately the trend has been in favor of Donne.^{15a} That Johnson's real criticism, however, was an excellent example of the discriminative type is proved by the following passages:

In the general review of Cowley's poetry it will be found that he wrote with abundant fertility, but negligent or unskilful selection; with much thought, but with little imagery; that he is never pathetic, and rarely sublime, but always either ingenious or learned, either acute or profound. . . . He read much and yet borrowed little.

His character of writing was indeed not his own; he unhappily adopted that which was predominant. . . .

He was in his own time considered as of unrivalled excellence. . . .

. . . . Upon every subject he thought for himself. . . .

His diction was in his own time considered as negligent. . . .

His versification seems to have had very little of his care. . . .

It may be affirmed without any encomiastick fervour that he brought to his poetick labours a mind replete with learning, and that his pages are embellished with all the ornaments which books could supply; that he was the first who imparted to English numbers the enthusiasm of the greater ode, and the gaiety of the less; that he was equally qualified for spritely sallies and for lofty flights; that he was among those who freed translation from servility . . . ; and that if he left versification yet improvable, he left likewise from time to time such specimens of excellence as enabled succeeding poets to improve it.¹⁶

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, I, 18.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 22, 35.

^{15a} For a discussion of this topic, especially of Donne's metrical technic, see the present writer's article, 'The Reputation of John Donne as Metrist,' *Swansea Review*, XXX (1922, No. 4), 1-12.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 55-65, *passim*. Others of the more important critical biographies of Cowley during this period are the following: a complete and favorable account in the *Biographia Britannica* (London, 1750), with even more favorable additions by Dr. Kippis in the second edition (1789), IV, 366-82 (the *Encyc. Brit.* based its early account almost entirely on this one); a still more laudatory one in "Mr. Cibber's" widely known *Lives of the Poets of Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1753), II, 42-62; a discriminative, but generally favorable, one in James Granger's popular *Biographical History*

Yet the tendency from the publication of the *Lives* onward, even more than before it, has been to overlook Cowley's good points and to fasten only upon his bad ones. A critic in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for Jan., 1795, may stand for his class: "This writer is ranked among the metaphysical poets; his wit is factitious, his genius artificial, if I may so express myself." He then practically refused to admit Cowley "to be really a poet."¹⁷

1. *Latin Poetry, Anacreontics, Pindarics*

It was only in the latter half of the eighteenth century that Cowley's own Pindarics joined a great deal of his epic and other lyric verse as a subject for directly unfavorable criticism; at the same time, however, his Latin poetry and Anacreontics retained their former status. Johnson held that Cowley's Latin was superior to Milton's; that "Cowley, without much loss of purity or elegance, accommodates the diction of Rome to his own conceptions"; but that the Latin of Thomas May improved on both.¹⁸ The *Plantarum* was also known.¹⁹ Several men, moreover, complimented the Anacreontics. Hume, for instance, after a violent attack on Cowley's various faults, added:

Great ingenuity, however, and vigour of thought, sometimes break out amidst these unnatural conceptions: a few anacreontics surprise us by their ease and gaiety. . . .²⁰

Bishop Hurd, in a critical note to the Anacreontics in his selected edition, 1772, insisted that

The *Anacreontics* shew, that the author wanted neither ease of expres-

of *England* (London, 1824—1st ed., 1769), III, 123-4, 244-5; and another just and discriminating one in Henry Headley's *Select Beauties of Ancient English Poetry* (London, 1810—1st ed., 1787), I, iii-vi.

¹⁷ *Gent. Mag.*, LXV, 17.

¹⁸ "Cowley," *op. cit.*, pp. 12-3; and "Milton," p. 87.

¹⁹ See the *Adventurer*, No. 39 (Mar. 20, 1753); and *Gent. Mag.* (Oct., 1787), LVII, 847.

²⁰ *Hist. of Engl.*, VII, 339.

sion nor the grace of numbers, when he followed the bent of his own taste and genius.²¹

Johnson tempered his praise thus:

. . . . Of those songs dedicated to festivity and gaiety, . . . he has given rather a pleasing than a faithful representation, having retained their spriteliness, but lost their simplicity. . . .

These little pieces will be found more finished in their kind than any other of Cowley's works. . . .

The *Anacreontiques* therefore of Cowley give now all the pleasure which they ever gave. If he was formed by nature for one kind of writing more than for another, his power seems to have been greatest in the familiar and festive.²²

Blair compared them with the Pindarics to the great disadvantage of the latter:

As to professed Pindaric Odes, they are, with a few exceptions, so incoherent, as seldom to be intelligible. Cowley, at all times harsh, is doubly so in his Pindaric Compositions. In his Anacreontic Odes, he is much happier. They are smooth and elegant; and, indeed, the most agreeable, and the most perfect, in their kind, of all Mr. Cowley's Poems.²³

A new translation of Pindar in 1749, by Gilbert West, was probably largely responsible for renewing the discussion of Cowley's odes. In his own preface, West called attention to the absence, in Pindar, of "the far-fetched thoughts, the witty extravagances, and puerile *concetti* of Mr. Cowley and the rest of his imitators," and pointed out the difference in form between the two, but nevertheless qualified his criticism by adding:

I say not this to detract from Mr. Cowley, whose genius, perhaps, was not inferior to that of *Pindar* himself, or either of those two other great poets, *Horace* and *Virgil*, whose names have been bestowed upon him, but chiefly to apologize for my having ventured to translate the same *odes*; and to prepare the reader for the wide difference between many parts of *his* translations and mine.²⁴

²¹ *Select Works of Mr. A. Cowley* (London, 1777), I, 138.

²² "Cowley," *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40.

²³ *Op. cit.*, III, 134.

²⁴ See the *Month. Rev.* (May, 1749), I, 39-40; also Chalmers, XIII, 144.

It is evident that Cowley's popularity still bore considerable weight; indeed, some people were still surprized to discover that Pindar's own odes were built on a regular scheme.²⁵

The use to which much of Cowley's work was being put at this time may be illustrated by a passage from Blair's lecture on "Comparison, Antithesis, Interrogation, Exclamation, and Other Figures of Speech":

Nothing is more opposite to the design of this Figure [Comparison], than to hunt after a great number of coincidences in minute points, merely to shew how far the poet's wit can stretch the resemblance. This is Mr. Cowley's common fault; whose Comparisons generally run out so far, as to become rather a studied exercise of wit, than an illustration of the principal object. We need only open his works, his odes especially, to find instances every where.²⁶

A mere citation to prove a point of rhetoric is far from flattering.

Criticism of the Pindarics at its extremest was represented by the Rev. Vicesimus Knox's "On the Merits of Cowley as a Poet," in his *Essays, Moral and Literary* (1778-9). Knox attributed Cowley's high position during the Restoration simply to Sprat's praises, but even he found it impossible to leave the subject without a word of praise for Cowley's Latin and his Anacreontics:

That he could ever be esteemed as a Pindaric poet, is a curious literary phaenomenon. He totally mistook his own genius when he thought of imitating Pindar. He totally mistook the genius of Pindar, when he thought his own incoherent sentiments and numbers bore the least resemblance to the wild, yet regular sublimity of the Theban. . . . Wit of any kind would be improperly displayed in such composition; but to increase the absurdity, the wit of Cowley is often false. . . .

That he had a taste for Latin poetry, and wrote in it with e'gance, the well-known Epitaph on himself, upon his retirement, and an admirable imitation of Horace, are full proofs. . . . But still he had great merit; and I must confess I have read some of his Latin verses with more pleasure than any of his English afforded.²⁷

²⁵ "Mr. Jones, of Welwyn," in Spence, "Sup.," to *Anecc.*, p. 349.

²⁶ *Op. cit.*, I, 405.

²⁷ *Op. cit.* (London, 1787), III, 435-8; see also p. 480 for appreciative passage on Anacreontics.

Beattie, too, asseverated that the Pindarics were "destitute of harmony, simplicity, and every other classical grace," but prefaced this remark by stating that "his imitations of Anacreon are almost the only parts of him that are now remembered or read."²⁸ Richard Hurd explained Cowley's harshness in a note to "Brutus":

It has been generally supposed, that Mr. Cowley had no ear for harmony, and even no taste of elegant expression. And one should be apt to think so, from his untuned verse and rugged style: but the case was only this: Donne and Jonson were the favourite poets of the time, and therefore the models, upon which our poet was ambitious to form himself. But unfortunately these poets *affected* harsh numbers and uncooth [*sic*] expression, and what they affected, easily came to be looked upon as *beauties*.²⁹

Johnson waxed somewhat ironic at Cowley's expense:

The *Pindarique Odes* have so long enjoyed the highest degree of poetical reputation that I am not willing to dismiss them with unabated censure; and surely, though the mode of their composition be erroneous, yet many parts deserve at least that admiration which is due to great comprehension of knowledge and great fertility of fancy. The thoughts are often new and often striking, but the greatness of one part is disgraced by the littleness of another; and total negligence of language gives the noblest conceptions the appearance of a fabric, august in the plan, but mean in the material. Yet surely those verses are not without a just claim to praise; of which it may be said with truth, that no one but Cowley could have written them.³⁰

Nevertheless, Johnson dropped a good word for the regular odes, "Of Wit," and "On the Death of Mr. Crashaw,"³¹ and even in 1791 Boswell approved of a thought "elegantly expressed" in the irregular "Ode upon His Majesty's Restoration and Return."³² After all, indeed, the 1797 *Encyclopaedia Britannica* took the most justifiable position—one of compromise—when it disagreed with Congreve's attack on Pindarics, maintained that there were many Pindarics (or "rather . . . irregular odes") deserving commendation,

²⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 495.

²⁹ *Cowley*, I, 168, n.

³⁰ "Cowley," *op. cit.*, p. 48; see also pp. 44, 47.

³¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 36, 39.

³² Boswell, *Johnson*, V, 333, n.

and argued that undoubtedly many of their writers deviated from Pindar's method thru choice rather than ignorance; nevertheless, it failed to mention Cowley by name.³³

2. *The Mistress and Other Lyrics*

The lyrics perhaps represent best of all the academic and instructive use to which much of Cowley's poetry was put during this period. Blair, in his lecture on "Metaphor," likened many of Cowley's figures to an "ænigma," and quoted from "The Stubborn Heart" and "To Sleep" to show "how forced and obscure" they were.³⁴ Lord Kames (Henry Home), in his *Elements of Criticism*, 1762, cited Cowley in discussing fantastic causes which have no relation to the effect produced, and again for "verbal antithesis."³⁵ A good example of his didactic method is the following:

Thirdly, these figures, a metaphor especially, ought not to be crowded with many minute circumstances; for in that case it is scarcely possible to avoid obscurity. A metaphor above all ought to be short: it is difficult, for any time, to support a lively image of a thing being what we know it is not; and for that reason, a metaphor drawn out to any length, instead of illustrating or enlivening the principal subject, becomes disagreeable by overstraining the mind. Here Cowley is extremely licentious: take the following instance. . . .³⁶

In similar illustrative passages, Kames quoted from no less than eight of Cowley's lyrics of this type.³⁷

Nevertheless, some of these poems were still enjoyed. Hurd, for instance, in 1764 called "The Complaint" "one of the prettiest of Cowley's smaller Poems," because of its "highly poetical" plan, its "natural and beautiful" expression, and its "air of *melancholy*," in spite of its occasional

³³ See under "Poetry," *Ency. Brit.* (1797), XV, 224.—Even Johnson, however, believed that Congreve "first taught the English writers that Pindar's odes were regular" ("Congreve," *Lives*, II, 234).

³⁴ *Op. cit.*, I, 352.

³⁵ *Op. cit.* (N. Y., 1858), pp. 187, 190.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 372.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 246, 387-8, etc.

unpleasing "numbers."³⁸ Moreover, several passages similar to the following are to be found in the same author's running commentary on his selected works of Cowley in 1772:

This agreeable Ballad ["The Chronicle"] has had justice done to it. Nothing is more famous, even in our days, than Cowley's *mistresses*.³⁹

Johnson's analysis resulted thus: as far back as Oct. 6, 1759, after commending "The Wayting-Maid," he had written:

Cowley seems to have possessed the power of writing easily beyond any other of our poets; yet his pursuit of remote thoughts led him often into harshness of expression.⁴⁰

In the "Life" he also selected, as follows:

His Miscellanies contain a collection of short compositions, written some as they were dictated by a mind at leisure, and some as they were called forth by different occasions; with great variety of style and sentiment, from burlesque levity to awful grandeur. Such an assemblage of diversified excellence no other poet has hitherto afforded. To choose the best among many good is one of the most hazardous attempts of criticism.

His favorites, however, were "The Motto" and "The Chronicle." Nevertheless, in "On the Death of Hervey"

. . . there is much praise, but little passion . . . when he wishes to make us weep, he forgets to weep himself, and diverts his sorrow by imagining how his crown of bays, if he had it, would *crackle* in the *fire* . . . But the power of Cowley is not so much to move the affections, as to exercise the understanding.

As for many of the poems in the *Mistress*,

They are neither courtly nor pathetick, have neither gallantry nor fondness. His praises are too far-sought and too hyperbolic, either to express love or to excite it: every stanza is crowded [*sic*] with darts and flames, with wounds and death, with mingled souls, and with broken hearts. . . . The compositions are such as might have been written for penance by a hermit, or for hire by a philosophical rhymer who had only heard of

³⁸ *Moral and Political Dialogues; with Letters on Chivalry and Romance* (London, 1771), I, 131, n.

³⁹ *Op. cit.*, I, 156, n.

⁴⁰ *Idler*, No. 77.

another sex; for they turn the mind only on the writer, whom, without thinking on a woman but as the subject for his talk, we sometimes esteem as learned and sometimes despise as trifling, always admire as ingenious, and always condemn as unnatural.⁴¹

This was the passage which so tickled Boswell's Scotch sense of humor that he wrote, in 1791:

Why may not a poet suppose himself to have the gout, as well as suppose himself to be in love, of which we have innumerable instances, and which has been admirably ridiculed by Johnson in his *Life of Cowley*?⁴²

3. *The Davideis*

By this time the *Davideis* was practically dead, and even the few who knew it condemned it, altho even they did not think it worth discussing at much length. *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* (1776) of George Campbell, another schoolmaster, under "Hobbes's account of laughter *examin'd*," referred to Cowley's "description of envy exaggerated to absurdity," in the first book of the epic,⁴³ and later on, after another allusion, added: "What an insatiable appetite has this bastard-philosophy for absurdity and contradiction!"⁴⁴ Beattie, in the same year, mentioned the *Davideis* in three or four remarks similar to those he had made in other connections; for instance:

Nothing has a worse effect, than descriptions too long, too frequent, or too minute; witness the *Davideis* of Cowley. . . . From Virgil's *Pulcherrima Dido*, and the simile of Diana amidst her nymphs, our fancy may form for itself a picture of feminine loveliness and dignity more perfect than ever Cowley or Ovid could exhibit in their most elaborate descriptions.

Or this, bearing on incongruous ideas depending on the same verb:

In all wit of this sort when laughter is intended, it will perhaps be necessary to blend greatness with littleness, or to form some other glaring conceit.

⁴¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 35-42, *passim*.

⁴² Boswell, *Johnson*, I, 179.

⁴³ *Op. cit.* (Edinburgh, 1816), I, 80.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 95.

Ovid and Cowley are fond of these conceits, but seldom raise a smile by them, and surely did not intend any. . . .⁴⁶

Johnson, altho making some errors in his figures, nevertheless summarized the case justly when he wrote:

. . . . That we have not the whole *Davideis* is, however, not much to be regretted, for in this undertaking Cowley is, tacitly at least, confessed to have miscarried. There are not many instances of so great a work produced by an author generally read and generally praised that has crept through a century with so little regard. Whatever is said of Cowley, is meant of his other works. Of the *Davideis* no mention is made; it never appears in books nor emerges in conversation. By the *Spectator* it has once been quoted, by Rymer it has once been praised, and by Dryden, in *Mac Flecknoe* , it has once been imitated; nor do I recollect much other notice from its publication till now in the whole succession of English literature.

Of this silence and neglect, if the reason be inquired, it will be found partly in the choice of the subject, and partly in the performance of the work. . . .

To the subject, thus originally indisposed to the reception of poetic embellishments, the writer brought little that could reconcile impatience or attract curiosity. Nothing can be more disgusting than a narrative spangled with conceits, and conceits are all that the *Davideis* supplies.⁴⁷

The following passage, indeed, written in 1782, apparently manifests the nearest approach to a sympathetic reference which the epic received during the latter part of the century:

Ingenuous COWLEY, the fond dupe of wit,
Seems like a vapour o'er the field to flit;
In David's praise he strikes some Epic notes,
But soon down Lethe's stream their dying murmur floats.⁴⁷

No one in that would accuse Hayley of sycophancy.

4. *The Plays*

If Cowley's epic was now moribund, his plays were dead. Johnson and Hurd, with two or three others, seem to have been the only ones to know them; still, the first commended the *Cutter* :

For the rejection of this play it is difficult now to find the reason; it

⁴⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 92, 329-30, n.; see also pp. 66, n.; 253.

⁴⁶ "Cowley," *op. cit.*, pp. 49-51.

⁴⁷ William Hayley, *An Essay on Epic Poetry* (London, 1782), p. 64.

certainly has, in a very great degree, the power of fixing attention and exciting merriment. . . . It appears, however, from the *Theatrical Register* of Downes the prompter, to have been popularly considered as a satire on the Royalists.⁴⁸

Johnson also cited Cowley as one who probably helped "in the original draft of *The Rehearsal*."⁴⁹ Hurd, too, said that the *Cutter* had "considerable merit," and would have liked to print it.⁵⁰

5. *The Prose*

The increasing appreciation of his prose, for which Cowley is undoubtedly most widely read today, was revealed in this period by an important change in the type of reference to it. An allusion or a quotation in most cases was no longer sufficient (altho there were still many references of this sort), but more and more frequently the writer was not content until he had expressed his enjoyment frankly, in so many words. The best known essays were still "Of My Self" and "Of Greatness," but it is worth noticing that much less than before was acquaintance confined to the essays alone. Not a single unfavorable reference, moreover, is discoverable, with the exception of possibly one or two which apply to ideas and opinions rather than to style.⁵¹

The growing historical point of view in literary matters is well illustrated in the treatment of the prose. In July, 1756, the *Monthly Review*, in describing the seventeenth century, disagreed with Joseph Warton's suggestion that "Our stile in prose was but beginning to be polished," by replying that "If Cowley had not wrote Essays, Dryden Prefaces, . . . we should, perhaps, have agreed with our Author."⁵² Moreover, on Nov. 24, 1759, Goldsmith, in describing "The Augustan Age of England," when the

⁴⁸ "Cowley," *op. cit.*, p. 14.

⁴⁹ "Waller," *ibid.*, p. 282.

⁵⁰ *Cowley*, I, 91, n.

⁵¹ See, for instance, Johnson, *Rambler*, No. 6 (Apr. 7, 1750).

⁵² Review of Warton's *Essay*, *op. cit.*, XV, 57.

English "language and literature arrived at its highest perfection," made this prediction: "The time seems to be at hand, when justice will be done to Mr. Cowley's prose, as well as poetical writings"³³ Hurd was always the most sympathetic of critics and the most enthusiastic about the prose. In 1764 he had written: "Lords and wits may decide of the qualities of Mr. COWLEY'S *head*, as they please; but, so long as these *Essays* remain, they will oblige all honest men *to love the language of his heart*";³⁴ and in 1772 defended his author still more valiantly and sympathetically:

In these discourses as in every thing, indeed, which Mr. Cowley wrote in prose, we have a great deal of good sense, embellished by a lively, but very natural expression. The sentiments flow from the heart, and generally, in a vein of pure and proper English.—What a force must he have put on himself, when he complied with the false taste of his age, in his poetical, which he too modestly thought, his best works?³⁵

Joseph Warton, after naming most of the prose compositions, said that Cowley "appears to be one of the best prose writers of his time."³⁶ Vicesimus Knox, after demolishing Cowley's verse, came to his prose and asserted that here Cowley was an elegant, a pleasing, a judicious writer, and that it was much to be lamented that he did not devote a greater part of his time to a kind of writing which appeared natural to him, and in which he excelled.³⁷ Johnson was of the same opinion:

After so much criticism on his Poems, the *Essays* which accompany them must not be forgotten. . . . No author ever kept his verse and his prose at a greater distance from each other. His thoughts are natural, and his style has a smooth and placid equability, which has never yet

³³ *Bee*, No. VIII.

³⁴ "On Retirement," *Dialogues*, I, 126, n. As early as 1751, Hurd had made the same point in his "Marks of Imitation," appended to his *Horace* (London, 1766; III, 180-1).

³⁵ *Cowley*, II, 83, n.; see also II, 196, n., where he called Cowley the better of "our two great models of essay-writing"—Cowley and Montaigne.

³⁶ *Essay on Pope*, II, 42.

³⁷ *Essays*, III, 438-40.

obtained its due commendation. Nothing is far-sought, or hard-laboured; but all is easy without feebleness, and familiar without grossness.⁵⁸

Johnson also called attention to Cowley's unnoticed critical ability:

. . . Cowley's critical abilities have not been sufficiently observed: the few decisions and remarks which his prefaces and his notes on the *Dauidis* supply were at that time accessions to English literature, and shew such skill as raises our wish for more examples.⁵⁹

Cowley's two other prose works, the *Proposition* and *Cromwell*, were both favorably known. Hurd compared the former to Milton's *Tractate on Education*, and found that Cowley's "was better digested and is the less fanciful."⁶⁰ Knox mentioned Cowley and Milton as taking the lead in such projects.⁶¹ As for the latter, it was used by Hume in his *History*,⁶² and finally eulogized by Hurd as

. . . the best of our author's prose-works. The subject, which he had much at heart, raised his genius. There is something very noble, and almost poetical, in the plan of this Vision; and a warm vein of eloquence runs quite through it.⁶³

After all, then, was not Samuel Richardson deceiving himself on June 4, 1750, when he wondered why Cowley was so absolutely neglected?

Cowley has great merit with me; and the greater, as he is out of fashion in this age of taste. And yet I wonder he is so absolutely neglected, as he wants not point and turn, and wit, and fancy, and an imagination very brilliant. . . .⁶⁴

How far right was Richardson when he went on to stigmatize

⁵⁸ "Cowley," *op. cit.*, p. 64.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 38; see also p. 54, and under "Dryden," pp. 410-1. In *Rambler*, No. 6, Johnson also showed his acquaintance with the 1656 preface.

⁶⁰ *Cowley*, I, 219.

⁶¹ *Liberal Education* (London, 1781), p. 165, n.

⁶² *Op. cit.*, VII, 287.

⁶³ *Cowley*, II, 1.

⁶⁴ *Corres.*, II, 229.

the age as one of "dictionary-learning and index-learning," and when he did not disdain to praise even the *Mistress* in *Pamela* and *Clarissa*?⁶⁵ At any rate, if he was not right about Cowley's popularity in 1750, it is undeniable that a new viewpoint soon entered in, coincident with the "Romantic Revival"^{65a}—a viewpoint which was summarized by the 1797 *Encyclopaedia Britannica* in its article on Cowley, which concluded thus:

So many of Cowley's productions being now esteemed scarcely worthy of a perusal, while others of them are distinguished by their beauty, Dr. Aurd [*sic*] (the present bishop of Worcester) thought proper to make a selection of them, which he published in 1772. . . .

The tendency of the last period, then, was toward editing and selecting. In 1755 some of Cowley's specimens were appended to *Martialis Epigrammata Selecta*. Hurd's selected edition of the works, in 1772, however, was probably the most important of all, for a second edition came out in the same year, a third in 1777, and a fourth by 1783,⁶⁶ all occasioning some comment.⁶⁷ In 1773, "select poems" appeared in volume VII of the *British Poets*. The poetical works appeared in J. Bell's *Poets of Great Britain*, 1777,

⁶⁵ See Poetzsche, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

^{65a} The present writer is now at work on an article which will attempt to point out the parts played by Cowley and the other "Metaphysical Poets" in the Romantic Revival during the latter eighteenth century.

⁶⁶ See John Nichols, *Illustrations of the . . . 18th Cent.* (London, 1817-58), V, 674.

⁶⁷ Johnson first disapproved of the idea of selecting and thus mutilating, but later retracted (Boswell, III, 29, 227). The *Morning Chronicle* for Jan. 30, 1776, wrote: "The learned Editor has cleared the Works of Cowley from many false thoughts, from ill-placed wit, and great puerilities; yet he certainly deprived us of many fine flights of true poetry and of some distinguishing marks which distinguish Cowley from every other poet." (Quoted in Nichols, *Lit. Anec.*, London, 1812-5, VI, 484, n.) The *Monthly Review* had already (Jan., 1773; XLVIII, 13-8) made the same complaint. When the *Gent. Mag.*, however, printed (Mar., 1776; XLVI, 115) the note from the *Chronicle*, another correspondent replied in defense of Hurd, claiming the necessity of selection (June, 1776; XLVI, 380).

and again in 1782. The poems and the essays were included in Johnson's *Works of the English Poets*, 1779, and the essays reprinted there in 1790. John Nichols printed three of Cowley's juvenile poems in 1781, and characterized their author.⁶⁸ Joseph Ritson also made selections in 1783 and 1793.⁶⁹ The poetical works also appeared in R. Anderson's *Poets of Great Britain*, 1792. Even the *History of Plants* was revived as late as 1795.

With these facts in mind, a true estimate of Wordsworth's analysis in 1815 may be obtained:

About the time when the Pindaric odes of Cowley and his imitators, and the productions of that class of curious thinkers whom Dr. Johnson has strangely styled metaphysical Poets, were beginning to lose something of that extravagant admiration which they had excited, the 'Paradise Lost' made its appearance. [Query: was this the situation in 1667?] . . . Dr. Johnson has fallen into a gross mistake when he attempts to prove, by the sale of the work, that Milton's Countrymen were 'just to it' upon its first appearance. . . . How careless must a writer be who can make this assertion in the face of so many existing title pages to belie it! Turning to my own shelves, I find the folio of Cowley, seventh edition, 1681. . . . I well remember that, twenty-five years ago, the booksellers' stalls in London swarmed with the folios of Cowley. This is not said in disparagement of that able writer and amiable man; but merely to show that, if Milton's work were not more read, it was not because readers did not exist at the time.⁷⁰

Not only did Cowley have readers enough for a seventh edition by 1681, as Wordsworth indicated, but he still had a presentable number "twenty-five years" before 1815 also, as Wordsworth failed to insist, and this number did not compare unfavorably with that of Milton and Dryden.⁷¹

⁶⁸ *A Select Collection of Poems* . . . (London, 1780-2), VII, 70-5.

⁶⁹ *A Select Collection of English Songs*. . . (London, 1813), I, 151; II, 26; 181. Also *The English Anthology* (London, 1793-4), I, 74-8.

⁷⁰ "Essay, Supplementary to the Preface, 1815," *Poet. Works* (Cambr. ed., N. Y., 1904), p. 810.

⁷¹ The writer is indebted for the following material, as well as for valuable critical help, to his friend and colleague, Professor R. S. Crane, of Northwestern University.

An examination of 206 book sale catalogs, dating from 1754 to 1800, reveals the fact that in these private libraries, chosen at random, the following editions of Cowley were present:

<i>Period I</i>	
<i>Latin</i>	<i>Copies</i>
1668.....	5
1678.....	1
<i>Mistress</i>	
1647.....	1
?1669.....	1
<i>Works</i>	
1656.....	2
1668.....	14
1669.....	3
1672.....	1
{ 1674.....	5
{ (1681	
{ re-issue).....	2
1678.....	4
{ 1680-1.....	5
{ (1688-9	
{ re-issue).....	9
1681.....	4
{ 1684.....	8
{ (1693	
{ re-issue).....	1
?1699.....	1
1700.....	7

<i>Period II</i>	
<i>Works</i>	<i>Copies</i>
1707-8.....	20
1710-1.....	21
1721.....	17

<i>Period III</i>	
<i>Works</i>	<i>Copies</i>
{ ?1765	1
{ 1772.....	8
1779.....	2
Edition unknown.....	2
Total copies.....	145

That the owners of these 145 copies of Cowley in 206 libraries existing in the third period were sufficiently diverse to represent a general public may be seen from the following names: Rev. Dr. Rooke; Earl of Macclesfield; J. Wilkes; Sir James Colbrooke; Hayter, Bishop of London; Another Gentleman; H. Fielding; A General Officer; Ed. Jacob, Esq.; A Divine of the Ch. of Eng.; Spencer Cowper, Dean of Durham; A Gentleman Lately Deceased; Dr. Edward Archer; John Landon, Esq., F.R.S.; Mr. Leathers, Apothecary; Gentleman in Army Going Abroad; etc., etc.

For the purpose of comparing Cowley's popularity with those whose reputation has never been questioned, the following figures are given: in the same 206 libraries there were 236 copies of the various works of Dryden, and 341 of those of Milton.

The interpretation of these phenomena during the third period seems to be somewhat as follows. Almost nobody praised Cowley unequivocally; in fact, most people—perhaps in accordance with a “fashion”—decried him; but still a very great number read him.^{71a} Criticism centered upon two chief things: his “wit” and his “harshness,” neither of which were in accordance with the “taste” of the age. Plenty of writers on the then youthful science of aesthetics summed up their general principles of criticism without any reference at all to Cowley, and yet it is easy to see how he would fall under their ban. Joseph Warton epitomized many more formal treatises when he wrote, on June 28, 1753:

In every species of writing, whether we consider style or sentiment, simplicity is a beauty. . . . A redundancy of metaphors, a heap of sounding and florid epithets, remote allusions, sudden flashes of wit, lively and epigrammatic turns, dazzle the imaginations, and captivate the minds of vulgar readers, who are apt to think the simple manner unanimated and dull, for want of being acquainted with the models of the great antique. . . .

^{71a} A similar development took place in the case of another popular seventeenth century poet; see the present writer's article, ‘The Literary Legend of Francis Quarles,’ *Mod. Phil.*, XX (1923), 225-240.

Among ourselves, no writer has, perhaps, made so happy and judicious a mixture of plain and figurative turns as Addison, who was the first that banished from the English, as Boileau from the French, every species of bad eloquence and false wit, and opened the gates of the Temple of Taste to his fellow citizens.⁷²

Very few of Cowley's writings which did not qualify in these requirements of the refined taste survived in the eighteenth century, altho ever since then most of his works have been undergoing a slow rehabilitation.

Before stating the final conclusions of this study, it may be valuable to adduce in condensed form some further evidence to show that the results so far arrived at have been based on sufficiently broad foundations. The accompanying tables, which list and classify all the material so far collected on Cowley, are necessarily approximate only, but a little study will show them none the less valuable on that account.

	Favor- able	Unfavor- able	Discrim- inative	Non- critical	Totals
I. 1660-1700 ⁷³					
1. General.....	45	0	6	20	71
2. Latin poetry....	3	0	1	5	9
Anacreontics....	1	0	0	0	1
Pindarics.....	23	2	4	11	40
Regular odes....	1	0	0	3	4
3. <i>Mistress</i> , etc....	12	2	2	14	30
4. <i>Davidicis</i>	13	2	3	7	25
5. Plays.....	4	1	0	4	9
6. Prose.....	6	0	0	5	11
Totals.....	108	7	16	69	200

⁷² *World*, No. 26.

⁷³ This table is based on remarks from the following sources: Joseph Addison, *Athenian Mercury*, John Aubrey, Capt. John Ayloffe, Philip Ayres, Mrs. Jane Barker, Richard Baxter, Sir Thomas Pope Blount, Roger Boyle, Tom Brown, Samuel Butler, Knightly Chetwood, Lord Clarendon, Daniel Defoe, Sir John Denham, John Dennis, J. Downes, John Dryden, the Rev.

II. 1701-1745 ⁷⁴					
1. General.....	33	16	6	25	80
2. Latin poetry....	0	0	1	0	1
Anacreontics....	3	0	0	2	5
Pindarics.....	14	1	3	17	35
Regular odes....	2	0	0	7	9
3. <i>Mistress</i> , etc....	5	10	6	18	39
4. <i>Dauids</i>	6	7	1	7	21
5. Plays.....	3	0	0	4	7
6. Prose.....	8	0	0	37	45
Totals.....	74	34	17	117	242

Edmund Elys, Sir John Evelyn, Thomas Flatman, *Gentleman's Journal*, Charles Gildon, Richard Graham, Henry Keepe, Gerard Langbaine, Sir George Mackenzie, the Earl of Mulgrave, John Oldham, Alexander Oldys, the Earl of Orrery, Thomas Otway, Samuel Pepys, Mrs. Katherine Philips, Edward Phillips, Matthew Prior, the Earl of Rochester, Thomas Rymer, Charles Scarborough, Elkanah Settle, Bishop Thomas Sprat, Jonathan Swift, the Rev. Thomas Tanner, Nahum Tate, James Tyrrell, William Walsh, J. Whitehall, William Winstanley, Anthony à Wood, T. Wood, Dr. S. Woodford, William Wotton, Dr. Thomas Yalden, and ten or a dozen anonymous writers.

⁷⁴ This table is based on remarks from the following sources: Joseph Addison, Anne Annesley, *Applebee's Journal*, Joshua Barnes, William Broome, Tom Brown, Eustace Budgell, Edward Bysshe, Lady Mary Chudleigh, the Rev. William Clarke, William Congreve, Mrs. E. Cooper, Sir J. Cotton, W. Coward, John Dennis, William Duncombe, John Dunton, Thomas Ellwood, the Rev. Henry Felton, Elijah Fenton, Henry Fielding (?), Dr. Philip Francis, Richard Friend, *Gentleman's Magazine*, Charles Gildon, *Guardian*, the Rev. Walter Harte, Thomas Hearne, Aaron Hill, John Hughes, David Hume, Lawrence Jackson, Giles Jacob, William King, Dr. Edward Littleton, *London Magazine*, William Melmoth, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, Thomas Morell, (the Earl of Mulgrave), John Oldmixon, Major Richardson Pack, William Pattison, Ambrose Philips, Alexander Pope, *Post-Angel*, *Post-Boy*, Matthew Prior, Allan Ramsay, Mrs. Randolph, Jonathan Richardson, Samuel Richardson, the Bishop of Rochester, Richard Steele, Jonathan Swift, *Universal Spectator*, Dr. Isaac Watts, Leonard Welsted, Samuel Wesley, the Countess of Winchelsea, Dr. Thomas Yalden, Edward Young, and seven or eight anonymous writers.

III. 1746-1800 ⁷⁸					
1. General.....	32	23	35	47	137
2. Latin poetry.....	9	2	1	8	20
Anacreontics.....	10	1	0	6	17
Pindarics.....	4	15	8	18	45
Regular odes.....	5	4	0	6	15
3. <i>Mistress</i> , etc.....	13	13	2	14	42
4. <i>Davidels</i>	0	12	1	8	21
5. Plays.....	6	0	1	7	14
6. Prose.....	27	0	0	31	58
Totals.....	106	70	48	145	369

These tables may be summarized as follows:

In the first period, the general references are overwhelmingly in Cowley's favor. In the second, they are almost counterpoised by the unfavorable, while the non-critical references increase. In the third period, there is a notably greater

⁷⁸ This table is based on remarks from the following sources: Robert Alves, Robert Anderson, *Annual Register*, David E. Baker, the Rev. J. Bannister, Dr. James Beattie, J. Bell, W. Beltcher, Richard Berenger, Dr. Hugh Blair, James Boswell, Mrs. Brooke, Dr. George Campbell, Elizabeth Carter, Theophilus Cibber (Robert Shiels?), William Clarke, *Connoisseur*, William Cowper, William Craig, *Critical Review*, Thos. Davies, Dr. Patrick Delany, Isaac D'Israeli, Robert Dodsley, Dr. James Dunbar, George Ellis, *Encyclopædia Britannica*, the Rev. Francis Fawkes, *Gentleman's Magazine*, Oliver Goldsmith, the Rev. James Granger, Thomas Gray, Sir John Hawkins, William Hay, William Hayley, Henry Headley, J. G. Herder, David Hume, the Rev. Joseph Hunter, Bishop Richard Hurd, the Rev. Thomas Janes, Dr. Samuel Johnson, the Rev. John Jones "of Welwyn," Lord Kames, Dr. Andrew Kippis, the Rev. Vicesimus Knox, John Kynaston, the Rev. John Langhorne, *Literary Magazine*, Robert Lloyd, Lord Lyttleton, Mrs. Catharine Macaulay, Henry Mackenzie, *Magazine of Magazines*, Lady Montagu, *Monthly Review*, T. R. Nash, *New and General Biographical Dictionary*, *New Annual Register*, *New Universal Magazine*, John Nichols, John Ogilvie, John Pinkerton, R. Potter, H. J. Pye, Samuel Richardson, Joseph Ritson, John Scott, William Shenstone, Laurence Sterne, William Stukely, William Thompson, Frazer Tytler, Gilbert Wakefield, Horace Walpole, F. G. Waldron, Bishop William Warburton, Joseph Warton, Thomas Warton, John Wesley, Gilbert West, J. Wilkes, William Wordsworth, and six or seven anonymous writers.

number of discriminative references, while the favorable and unfavorable retain about their former relation.

The Latin poetry and Anacreontics are praised in all three periods whenever they are mentioned. Contrary to the common opinion, Cowley's own Pindarics did not, on the whole, come in for their share of the attack which was being made on the other irregular odes until close to the third period, and even then they found defenders.

The *Mistress* and the lyrics were the earliest works to be attacked with much force and conviction; this attack reached its height in the second period, and tended to become somewhat more balanced in the third.

The *Davideis* was generally enjoyed at first, but by the end was almost forgotten by the general public and was universally attacked by the critics.

The plays were never very well known, but the *Culler* was represented on the stage into the third decade of the eighteenth century, and the opinions of readers were always favorable.

The essays and other prose increased in popularity so rapidly that by the end of the eighteenth century the verdict of Cowley's own contemporaries was completely reversed, and his reputation as one of the English "classics" depended mainly on them, rather than on his poetry.

Abraham Cowley once made the wish to "be forever known." Whether that wish will be fulfilled is still doubtful, but one thing is certain: up to the end of the eighteenth century (and indeed to the present time also) he always had that "inner circle of readers and students" which Grosart claimed for him.

ARTHUR H. NETHERCOT

XXIX. SHAFTESBURY AS STOIC

A new interest of late has awakened in Anthony Ashley Cooper, third Earl of Shaftesbury, through the realization that he is the fountain-head of much of the æsthetics and ethics prevalent in the last century and in our own time.¹ While it has been generally recognized that the background of Shaftesbury's thought is classical, as was to be expected of any student and thinker of his period, deriving both from Stoicism and from Platonism and neo-Platonism, attention and interest have chiefly been concentrated upon those aspects of his thought which look toward the coming romantic movement. Also, such classical influences as have been recognized are usually interpreted from the post-renaissance point-of-view, as agreeing in the main with such modifications of Platonic and neo-Platonic thought as are referred to in discussing "Platonism" of Shelley. Thus C. W. Weiser enlarges upon Shaftesbury's indebtedness to the Platonic and neo-Platonic traditions—terms which he uses, as he explains, in a very general sense, as pertaining to the life of the feeling (the Platonic way) in opposition to the life of the reason (the Aristotelian way).

Professor Rand,² in publishing for the first time Shaftesbury's *Philosophical Regimen*, suggested that the personal memoranda contained in the *Regimen* shed new light upon the *Characteristics* and should stimulate new critical study of them from the Stoic point of view. On the other hand, certain critics³ are inclined to discount the interest in the

¹ See C. A. Moore, "Shaftesbury and the Ethical Poets in England, 1700-1760," *P.M.L.A.*, XXXI. 264-325.

² Benjamin R. Rand, *The Life, Unpublished Letters, and Philosophical Regimen of Anthony, Earl of Shaftesbury*, New York, 1900.

³ E. g. Ernest Albee, in his review of Rand's book, *Philosophical Review*,

Stoics which Shaftesbury reveals in the *Regimen* on the ground that it is inconsistent with the general tenor of the doctrine in the *Characteristics*. Yet a careful comparison of the *Regimen* and the *Characteristics* seems to show a definite relationship between the popularly presented teachings in the *Characteristics* and the Stoic philosophy in the *Regimen*. These relationships become especially clear in the light of Shaftesbury's own explanation of his purpose and method in writing the *Characteristics* as it is disclosed in the *Miscellaneous Reflections* of the *Characteristics* themselves, and more illuminatingly in his notes for the plan of the *Second Characters*, recently published. The comparison, moreover, is of assistance in clearing up certain obscurities in Shaftesbury's teaching, which have given rise to certain disputed questions of critical interpretation.

PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS

It is generally recognized that Shaftesbury is carrying on the battle of the Cambridge Platonist group against superstition in the Church and materialism in philosophy, represented, particularly, by Hobbes. Like them he marshals the doctrines of a fundamental moral order in the universe, of which the personal will of God could not be independent; of the validity of a faculty inborn in man to perceive the essential principles of right and wrong; of the kinship of the truths of religion and the truths of natural morality, demanding a coöperation of faith and reason; of spiritual insight as the result of the moral discernment which is attained by discipline; of an ascending scale in the activities of conscious and moral life from the instincts of animals to the highest life of the reason, or the spirit, in man; of the satisfaction, or the happiness, of virtue as an end in itself; of the good of the individual as included in

XXV, 182, and C. F. Weiser, *Shaftesbury and das Deutsche Geistesleben*, Berlin, 1916.

the plan of the universe. Minor offshoots of these major doctrines also reappear in Shaftesbury's writings;—the distinction between false and true enthusiasm; the emphasis upon the value of good humor in teaching as against the melancholy of the zealot; the idea of virtue as an art. Now and then even similarities of phrase may be noted, as in Shaftesbury's term "relish," used by More or "benevolence," used by Cumberland.

This common fund of ideas is drawn variously from the company of ancient philosophers. Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius, Plotinus, are the great names, to which lesser ones are added scatteringly. It is the fundamental common-ground among the ancients, traditional ideas passed down the line, which, while taking on the stamp in passing of the school or the philosopher as he taught them in his turn, remained essentially the same that reappear in this group of seventeenth and early eighteenth century men, together with a blending of Cartesianism, some reinforcement from Spinoza, a twist in the strand of neo-Platonism imparted by the renaissance commentators, and the enlargement of the horizon of science.

In the presentation of these ideas Shaftesbury was like his immediate predecessors,—yet with a difference. To be sure, there were marked differences among the Cambridge Platonists themselves. That between Shaftesbury and the group as a whole, however, is more marked. A superficial difference is immediately seen in the tone of his writing. While theirs is scholarly, his is popular; theirs is addressed to the university and the Church, his to the drawing-room. But there are also basic differences in the thought itself. They, as their name implies, are primarily Platonists and neo-Platonists. Their phraseology and their symbolism in general belong to the neo-Platonic conception of the One, and of the spiritual end of the individual as absorption in the One. The One is a unity in which multiplicity is ultimately sunk. The prevailing symbolism of Shaftesbury,

on the other hand, is that of the Stoic whole, and of harmony, in the sense of cooperation of the individual with the whole. A man becomes a part of the whole by subordinating himself to it, becoming like it. His habitual conception of the universal order is one in which there is "nothing but what contributes to the perfection of the whole."⁴

Again, where the Cambridge Platonists tend to dwell upon grace, or an intuitive perception which transcends the reason (in the case of More the *divine sagacity* which is attained on the perfection of "right reason"), Shaftesbury does not look beyond the faculty of right choice which Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius make the means of purifying the vision.

The impulse to the study of the Stoics may have come, possibly, from the Cambridge Platonists, perhaps from More, who makes extensive reference to Marcus Aurelius in the section of his *Account of Virtue* which deals with ethical discipline. But, whatever the source of this impulse, the dates in the manuscript of the *Philosophical Regimen*⁵ show that from 1698 to 1712, the year before his death, the chief food for Shaftesbury's personal philosophical reflection came from the Stoic philosophers. In them he was steeped during the composition of the six treatises of his *Characteristics*. Whether he found in the Stoics a peculiarly congenial expression of a teaching which it was his purpose merely to continue, or whether he made use of the Cambridge Platonist ideas already familiar to his contemporaries in order the more quickly to gain attention for his Stoic interpretation of the traditional philosophy, it would be both impossible and unimportant to determine. Nor should we find help in deciding the question from the fact that the greater part of Shaftesbury's doctrines, including the large number of those held in common with the Cambridge Platonists, are presented mainly from the Stoic angle—an angle observable, as I

⁴ Rand, *Life, Letters, etc.*, p. 36.

⁵ See Rand, *Introd.*, p. x.

hope in certain respects to show presently, even in those reflections of the *Regimen* to be found in the *Characteristics*. Among these are the optimistic tenet of the welfare of the individual, even in apparent misfortune, by virtue of his relation to the Whole; the analogy between the art of living and the fine arts, or the sports; the ideas of freedom and of friendship; of virtue as happiness; of science as a study necessary to philosophy and one to be held in reverence, but not to take the place of the examination of the heart as a source of wisdom; as well as a number of other doctrines to be considered more in detail in the following sections. That Shaftesbury considered Stoics and Platonists as enlisted in the same cause is implied in the remark quoted by Professor Rand in his introduction: "Nor were there indeed any more than two real distinct philosophies, the one derived from Socrates and passing into the old academic, peripatetic and stoic; the other derived in reality from Democritus and passing into the Cyreniac and Epicurean." And his prevailing Stoic quotations in the *Regimen* are interspersed with quotations of the same tenor from Plato.

But that the Stoic point of view dominates and largely absorbs the other, does, particularly on comparison of the *Regimen* and the treatises written for the public, seem clear. Where Shaftesbury uses the Plotinian symbolism, it is apt to merge with the Stoic, and it is nearly always employed in the service of the dominant Stoic thought. While Shaftesbury varies the simpler Stoic conception of the ascending scale of intellectual and moral activity with the Plotinian idea of the lower forms of beauty and experience as the shadowing of the higher, his description of the highest will be that of the Stoic ideal.

But it is the study, against the background of Shaftesbury's actual opinion as seen in the *Regimen*, of certain teachings of dubious purport in the *Characteristics* with which the main part of this paper is concerned.

THE BEAUTIFUL

Nearly all of the seekers after beauty in the religious sense, from the beginning of time until now, have held one assumption in common, namely that beauty apparent to the senses is but the vehicle of the real beauty, a thing beyond sense, hints of which may reach a faculty other than sense perception through the medium of the sense record of the object. It is an assumption found in two such widely different minds as those of Plato in ancient Greece and Masfield in our own day. Probably the most familiar illustration of the idea is the one in the *Symposium* of Plato, who describes the wise lover of beauty as one who passes from his contemplation of the many lovely forms or features to that of the one ideal form, and from this to the contemplation of the inner essence of that form, the supreme and original beauty, transcending and informing all forms. And as there is the common assumption, so there is also a broad and general division of the seekers of beauty. The dividing line is the opinion concerning the use of the outer or peripheral forms as a means of attaining the inner essence. The neo-Platonist, conceiving of this inner essence as resident pure and concentrated at a centre, from which, more and more diluted, it permeated to the outmost fringe of created things, directed his attention always inward toward the source. For to the true Plotinian the meaning of the outer could be understood only by reaching the wisdom of the inner, which had formed it. The understanding of beauty, then, was to be reached not over the road of outer things, but by the abstracting of the mind from things of sense and proceeding towards the inward by an inward road. The extreme of this point of view is seen in the ascetic attitude which grew out of later neo-Alexandrianism. It was this which penetrated into the Church and was manifested typically in the writings of St. Augustine, by whom enjoyment of sensuous beauty was rejected in order to free the mind from all obstacles which blocked its path to the inner light. The other division

made its appearance at the time of the Renaissance in the new Platonism of Bruno, Ficino, and Campanella, a seed which found its flowering in the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. Its supporters emphasize the sacredness of all forms and experiences of life and dwell on the penetration of all things by the inner essence, which, again, they seek in all things. Their tendency, now more, now less, is to dwell on the value of the outer beauty as a means of approach to the inner.

It is on the side of the last-named division of the poets and philosophers of the beautiful that the influence of Shaftesbury has counted. The prevailing interpretation of his aesthetic may be briefly characterized as an identification of the good and the beautiful, and the consequent acceptance of beauty as a guide of life. While it is recognized that Shaftesbury's ideal of the highest, or, indeed, the only real beauty, is a thing of the spirit, the attainment of which involves austerity of life and discipline of will, yet the cultivation of the aesthetic sensibility by its exercise upon the world of outer beauty as a means of attaining insight into the inner beauty, on the grounds that the aesthetic and ethical senses are mutually inter-active, has been considered fairly generally a cardinal point in his teaching. It is the aesthetic sense that is first thought of as the primary requisite of Shaftesbury's *virtuoso*.

And the reasons for this interpretation as sought in the *Characteristics* are obvious. Shaftesbury's point of departure in *The Moralists*, which, more than his other treatises, is given to his theory of beauty, is the Platonic idea just mentioned of the progress of the seeker after beauty, from the outer to the inner fair.

"Knowing as you are," says the expositor, Theocles, "well-knowing and experienced in all the degrees and orders of beauty, in all the mysterious charms of the particular forms, you rise to what is more general, and with a larger heart, and mind more comprehensive, you generously

seek that which is highest in the kind. Not captivated by the lineaments of a fair face, or the well-drawn proportions of a human body, you view the life itself, and embrace rather the mind which adds lustre, and renders chiefly amiable."⁶

Shaftesbury then proceeds to trace the ascent which should follow this step, to higher and yet higher forms of beauty—to a "coalition of beauties which form a beautiful society," from "public good in one community" to "the good of mankind," and finally to the "universal mind" presiding over all. We may note here the almost equal emphasis on the goal of the seeker and on his initial equipment for the search. It is a man, as the speaker emphasizes, "well-knowing and experienced in all the degrees and orders of beauty, in all the mysterious charms of the particular forms," who ascends, as described, to the general, and finally to the supreme. And that Shaftesbury placed a high value on the intimacy with these outer kinds of beauty as an assistance to the understanding of the inner is a conclusion borne out by many familiar passages in the *Characteristics*.

Thus Shaftesbury re-emphasizes in his self-criticism in the miscellanies his assertion "that there is a power in numbers, harmony, proportion, and beauty of every kind, which naturally captivates the heart, and raises the imagination to an opinion or conceit of something majestic or divine."⁷

And from the *Inquiry* comes the assurance:

This too is certain, that the admiration and love of order, harmony, and proportion, in whatever kind, is naturally improving to the temper, advantageous to social affection, and highly assistant to virtue, which is itself no other than the love of order and beauty in society. In the meanest subjects of the world the appearance of order gains upon the mind and draws the affection toward it.⁸

In the same paragraph he refers to "the elegant passion and

⁶ *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*, London, 1900, II, 20.

⁷ *Char.* II, 174.

⁸ *Char.* I, 279.

love of beauty, which is so advantageous to virtue." Again his emphasis upon the fact that the higher or central is to be found in some degree in the lower and peripheral aspects of the world and of life is exemplified in the following:

Slender would be the enjoyments of the lover, the ambitious man, the warrior, or the virtuoso, . . . if in the beauties which they admire and passionately pursue there were no reference or regard to any higher majesty or grandeur than what simply results from the particular objects of their pursuit.⁹

And perhaps most significant of all, as prophetic of the later Wordsworthian attitude, the indebtedness of which to Shaftesbury has only of late been fully recognized, are the poetic flights in *The Moralists* in praise of nature, its beauty, its providence, as the work, even the visage, of the universal mind,—re-emphasized by the comment of Philocles to the approving Theocles: "I shall no longer resist the passion growing in me for things of a natural kind. . . ." Although heretofore, he says, he has checked himself on being filled with enthusiasm for the romantic and solitary beauty of nature, now "I shall no more have reason to fear those beauties which strike a sort of melancholy, like the places we have named, or like these solemn groves. No more shall I avoid the moving accents of soft music, or fly from the enchanting features of the fairest human face."¹⁰ This seems indeed like the very creed of the poets of nature and of beauty in the next two hundred years.

Now if the inspiration in nature really was a galvanic power in Shaftesbury's life as it was in Wordsworth's, we should expect to find it prominent in his more personal comments,—letters and private notes. But the letters, when they touch on the deeper matters of life, show nothing of the sort. And in the *Regimen*, where in the sanctum of his self-communion we should most surely look to find the man himself, there appears no haunter of shades such as Theocles

⁹ *Char.* II, 174-75; see also I, 90-92, and II, 268, note 1.

¹⁰ *Char.* II, 125-26.

in *The Moralists*. Here is not Shaftesbury with the woods and fields, but Shaftesbury with Shaftesbury, and, predominantly, Shaftesbury with Marcus Aurelius and Epictetus. Among other scattering citations from the classics we find quotation on quotation, paraphrase on paraphrase from the great Stoics, together with his own emendation, expansion, and comment, excursions from and around them as a point of departure. Here is a contrast alike to the urbane railleur and the enthusiast-lover of beauty of the *Characteristics*.

And in nothing, perhaps, is the contrast more striking than in the attitude toward beauty, in both art and nature. Where Philocles of *The Moralists* had said: "I shall no longer resist the passion . . . for things of a natural kind," Shaftesbury in his own person and to himself in the *Regimen* admonishes: "Therefore remember ever the gardens and groves within. . . . There walk in leisure and in peace; contemplate, regulate, dispose: and for this, a bare field or common walk will serve full as well; and to say the truth, much better. . . ." ¹¹ And he refers presently to "this or that order, and striking beauty, faintly shadowed out in those shapes and rangings of things which strike the sense, and are the entertainment of the vulgar great."

Again, in another section, we come on: "Tranquility, serenity, retreat, peacefulness, . . . and the rest that is found in nature at those times when the temper leads that way, and seeks the romantic places, the rocks and seashores, wood, caverns, etc. Thus also in Marcus Aurelius, Med. IV, §3.—See at what this aims.—They aim indeed, but not rightly." ¹²

Clearly, whatever may be the inclination of the Shaftesbury of the *Characteristics* the Shaftesbury of the *Regimen* shows no disposition to linger about the periphery.

"See, therefore, what is amiable in the first and what, but in the second and lower degree," he urges. "Go to the first

¹¹ *Reg.* (*Life, Letters, etc.*), p. 247.

¹² *Reg.*, p. 218.

object. Go to the source, origin, and principle of excellence and beauty. See where perfect beauty is, for where that is, there alone can be perfect enjoyment, there alone the highest good."¹³

Further, with his eye ever on his goal, he steels his mind against the delusions of any alluring secondary beauty:

Those who are good judges admire *simplicity* (in productions of art). . . . All this is right, but take care lest, whilst thou admirest simplicity of this sort, thou forgettest another simplicity infinitely more beautiful and of more importance.

And again:

Watch strictly when the fancy runs out upon any notable design or outward piece of work What is it that I am studying thus to bring into order? Dirt, matter, dregs. . . . Is it this I would beautify? Hear another person on this subject. As one (says he) delights in embellishing this thing or the other, so I in making myself still better and finding that I grow so. Remember the rival beauties and how the internal sort is acquired. (Beloved Pan, give me beauty in the inward soul. Plato: *Phaedrus* 279, B).¹⁴

What is the explanation of the contrast? An answer to this question may suggest itself on recollection of the practice of the teacher whose name occurs oftenest in the pages of the *Regimen*, the master, who, casting about for some simple means of inculcating the love of virtue into the effeminate youths that submitted themselves to his guidance, seized upon the primer lesson of the meaning of beauty. A few lines in the section headed "The Beautiful" in the *Regimen*, together with their context, give strong support to this surmise:

The transition easy. So, Epict. *Disc.*, Bk. IV, C. XI, §26. 'You seek beauty, and you do well. Be assured, then, that it springs from the rational part of you.' O that this were known! O that thou thyself would'st but know (truly know) this!¹⁵

¹³ *Reg.*, p. 59.

¹⁴ *Reg.*, pp. 179 and 122.

¹⁵ *Reg.*, p. 246.

A conjecture as to the significance of this hint would be unprofitable were it not for considerable other testimony of various kinds which points in the same direction. Shaftesbury's theory that morals should be taught only by means of pleasantry and fable is well-known. "'Tis real humanity and kindness," he tells us, in *The Freedom of Wit and Humor* "to hide strong truths from tender eyes. And to do this by a pleasant amusement is easier and civiler than by a harsh denial or remarkable reserve."¹⁶ He is at some pains to cite examples of the conveying of moral truth and admonition in pleasant forms,¹⁷ among them the teachings of Christ, whose discourses "carry with them a certain festivity, alacrity, and good humor."¹⁸ And that a pleasant seriousness was Shaftesbury's ideal not only for his writing but for his whole behavior is seen in the section headed *Character of the Regimen*.¹⁹ Moreover, he did not wish to have the rigors of his ideal of self-mastery confused with monastic asceticism, which he classed among the manifestations of the superstitious and melancholy type of enthusiasm decried in his first treatise. Thus in one of the *Letters to a Young Man at the University* he makes use of the familiar comparison of the effort of the artist and the effort of the man who would acquire any real control over his life (and this, significantly, is the only way in which reference to the pursuit of art occurs in these letters) "to show you that I am not by this an imitator of the severe ascetic monastic race of divines, or an admirer of anything that looks like restraint in knowledge, or learning, or speculation."²⁰

Shaftesbury had, also, a lively realization of the fact that "preaching" will not usually "go down." Further, he disliked it for its own sake. The harsh terms, the uncom-

¹⁶ *Char.* I, 45.

¹⁷ *Char.* II, 283, 229.

¹⁸ *Char.* II, 231.

¹⁹ *Reg.*, pp. 192 ff.

²⁰ *Several Letters written by a Noble Lord to a Young Man at the University*, London, 1716, p. 25.

promising rigidity of discipline of self by self he would have counted it incivility, unpleasantness, and ostentation to administer to his fellows.²¹ Part of this feeling arises from the scorn which he shares with his master, Epictetus, for the pedant-philosopher with his mouth full of maxims pertaining to an ideal which he is unable to embody in his own life.²² Expressions of such dislike, often as warnings to himself, occur repeatedly in the *Regimen*, especially the warning of Epictetus that a man's rules for personal discipline, to be useful to others, must be "digested," i.e., converted into life, as food is into bone and muscle.²³ And again Shaftesbury follows in the steps of Marcus Aurelius in the ideal of severity with self but indulgence to others.²⁴

Ease and pleasantness, then, in matter and manner, the smile, the fable, must usher into the drawing-room what he considered too austere or too formidable to be acceptable in its primary state. And for something in the nature of a fable to convey the teaching, what better could he do than follow the suggestion of Epictetus, and speak of virtue in the guise of beauty. There is a significant remark in his letter to Pierre Coste from Naples in 1712, at the time when he was embarking upon the treatises of the *Second Characters*. He has been asking for criticism of his draft of *The Judgment of Hercules* in order "to judge whether or no it would be worth my while to turn my thoughts (as I am tempted) towards the further study of design and plastic art, both after the ancient and modern foundations, being able (as I myself) to instil by this means some further thoughts of virtue and honesty and the love of liberty and mankind, after a way wholly new and unthought of; at least after a way very entertaining and pleasant to myself, and with the only sort of application or study which my weak health and exceeding low state allow

²¹ *Char.* I, 198 and 109.

²² *The Discourses of Epictetus*, tr. by George Long, London, 1916, p. 232.

²³ *Reg.*, pp. 26, 118, 242.

²⁴ *Reg.*, pp. 131, 132.

me. . . ." But "I should be sorry to throw away time in such little works or compositions, when at the bottom I found they would not (by my pen at least) be rendered so entertaining to the polite sort as to serve instead of an agreeable vehicle for the moral potion, which by itself is become mere *physic* and loathsome to mankind, so as to require a little sweetening to help it down."²⁵

There are in the *Miscellaneous Reflections* other comments concerning this sugar-coating method, and, most illuminatingly, in his memoranda for the project of his *Second Characters*. His device, as revealed in these interpretative comments and workshop notes, is two-fold. Sometimes the real teaching goes decked in glittering garb, through which, now less, now more, its true character is discernible; sometimes Shaftesbury uses his illusion as a decoy, which, having enticed the reader into pursuit, vanishes at the very moment of seizure, and gives place to the reality. To the use of the first method in the *Advice to an Author* Shaftesbury confesses in the *Miscellaneous Reflections*.²⁶ "His pretence [his own] has been to advise authors and polish styles, but his aim has been to correct manners and regular [sic] lives." Of *The Moralists* we are told that "It conceals what is scholastical under the appearance of a polite work." Moreover the author is apparently "put to a hard shift to contrive how or with what probability he might introduce men of any note or fashion, reasoning expressly and purposely . . . on mere philosophy or morals. . . ." Again it is hinted that the author has to handle his characters so as to "bear himself out against the appearance of pedantry." Thus Theocles at first "becomes a feigned preacher." Later he *takes up the humour of the poet and enthusiast*." [My italics.]

Even the *Inquiry*, though Shaftesbury declares it to be "more professed and formal"²⁷ shares the character of the

²⁵ *Reg.*, p. 503.

²⁶ *Char.* II, 272, 333-36.

²⁷ *Char.* II, 244.

rest of the *Characteristics*, as will be readily seen by contrasting it with the *Regimen*.

But it is in the *Idea of the Work* published in Mr. Rand's edition of the *Second Characters* that we see the enticer actually spreading his snares. Here the "veil" device is prepared with gusto. Under heading B. Style, comes the note, "Remember still, this the idea of the work, viz.: *Quasi*. The vehicle of other problems, i.e., the precepts, demonstrations, etc., of real ethics. But this hid: not to be said except darkly or pleasantly with raillery upon self; or some such indirect way as in Miscellany."²⁸ Various means of "hiding" are also noted: There is to be a small preface "To my Lord * * *: that excuse may be renewed, the ridicule again anticipated; the *moralist* or grave author vindicated, and the reader prepossessed."²⁹ Along with this are memoranda of all sorts of touches to lend a fashionable tone to the work. By means of this persiflage his object is "to twist, as it were, and interweave morality with plastics, that supreme beauty with this subaltern; those high and severe maxims with these curious and severe in their kind."³⁰ Following this comes a note concerning "the absolute opposition of pleasure to virtue, and the secret anti-Epicurean view running through the whole." The decoy is also carefully planned. "This [the anti-Epicurean view] may be said introductorily in the beginning of some chapter and confessed pleasantly and with raillery. Though with this artifice, that in this very chapter where warning is given there should be less doctrine, depth of morals, or learning discovered, only a small show or pattern of it; which the reader with little study may discover and applaud himself for it, believing the rest easy. So that it is in the next following chapters that the maxims, or deep precepts, theorems, etc. may be couched." Then comes the sketch for the very spring of his trap. "Effect of poetic (and so plastic) art, viz.

²⁸ *Second Characters, or The Language of Forms*, 1914, p. 6.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

and 'in vocal measures of syllables and sounds, to express the harmony and numbers of an inward kind.' [He quotes from the *Characteristics*] And follows next page, viz.: 'that what we most admired even in the turn of outward features, was but a mysterious expression of something inward.' Also a little below again of the same Treatise: 'For all beauty is truth.' Citations at length from the *Characteristics* are to be made for the purpose of "showing the dependency of . . . *Characteristics* on this new Treatise, and vice versa."²¹

The whole development of the idea of beauty in *The Moralists* is a clear cut example of the decoy device. The imagination of the reader is first caught by description of the beauty and solemnity of the "solitary places," in which much of the dialogue is carried on. It is then stirred by the poetic outbursts above described. These increase in fervor, until, nearing the end of the treatise, the skeptic, Philocles, confesses himself won over. He will never again, he declares, in the words above quoted, "resist the passion" for "things of a natural kind," or "fear those beauties" like the "solemn groves." The decoy has done its work. Now the real conversation begins.

If you are already, replied he [Theocles] such a proficient in this new love that you are sure never to admire the representative beauty except for the sake of the original, nor aim at other enjoyment than of the rational kind, you may then be confident.²²

As if to make assurance doubly sure, he indulges in a gentle warning of an anti-erotic tendency. Then follows the comment concerning the identity of beauty and good, and, after some remarks on true enthusiasm and the attainment of a true taste, which need not detain us here, the question as to how to reach the highest beauty is introduced. This requires another process of leading up by degrees, through the asseveration that "the beautifying, not the beautified,

²¹ *2nd Chars.*, pp. 9-10.

²² *Char.* II, 126.

is the really beautiful,"³³ and an exposition of the Plotinian conception of the three orders of beauty (forms; that which forms them, or mind; that which creates the forming mind, or the supreme source) until, to Philocles' complacent "I am ready enough to yield there is no real good beside the enjoyment of beauty," comes the retort, "And I am as ready to yield there is no real enjoyment of beauty beside what is good." And presently Philocles finds himself asking, "But show me, then, why beauty may not be the object of the sense?" And now, after an instant's breathing-space, the decoy is whisked from before our eyes, and, with a page of terse elucidation approaching the quality of the *Regimen*, the lurking reality comes full into view.

If we have not idly spent our hours, . . . it should appear from our strict search that there is nothing so divine as beauty, which belonging not to the body, nor having any principle or existence except in the mind and reason, *is alone discovered and acquired by this divinest part* [my italics]. . . . 'Tis thus the improving mind, slightly surveying other objects, and passing over bodies and the common forms (where only a shadow of beauty rests), ambitiously presses onward to its source, and views the original of form and order in that which is intelligent. . . . For neither is this knowledge acquired by contemplation of bodies or the outward forms, . . . but he (he only) is the wise and able man, who with a slight regard to these things, applies himself to cultivate another soil, builds in a different matter from that of stone and marble, and having righter models in his eye, becomes in truth the architect of his own life and fortune, by laying within himself the lasting and sure foundations of order, peace, and concord.³⁴

Thus concludes the conversation, and presently, the section of the treatise to which it is a climax. In the following section the supreme beauty only is spoken of, and no longer even by the name of beauty. And the reality, now clear to view, is the Stoic ideal of life found in the pages of the *Regimen*. "Is it not by this freedom from our passions and low interests that we are reconciled to the goodly order of the universe, that we harmonize with Nature, and live in friendship both with God and man?"³⁵

³³ *Char.* II, 131.

³⁴ *Char.* II, 144.

³⁵ *Char.* II, 148.

Finally, not only does Shaftesbury apply the idea of beauty in general in the service of his Stoic ideal, but, according to his purpose to "interweave that high beauty with this subaltern," intended always merely as the initial stimulus or point of departure for the pursuit of the other, every part of his so-called *aesthetic* is definitely related to the fundamental Stoic conception. Platonic and neo-Platonic ideas are, indeed very closely interwoven with the Stoic—Shaftesbury frequently alludes to outer beauty as the shadow of the inner—but the predominant analogy arises from the deepest motive of Shaftesbury's life and his writing. The truth which is his beauty is the oneness and the rightness of the universe, for the good of which all the parts, including man, exist. There are two aspects to this truth. The first, as just stated, is the essential nature of things perceived by man. The second relates to man's own function, his fulfilling of his part in the order of the whole. In this connection the term used is *goodness*, or *virtue*. The beauty, or the virtue, to be achieved by man is the management of his life for the good of the whole (as shown particularly in the *Inquiry*) by developing whatever affections and activities make for the good of the whole, and eliminating whatever of them make against it.

This is a distinctly Stoic conception. It differs from that of Aristotle in being the regulation or adjustment rather than the mean of qualities, a conception developed by Henry More in his *Account of Virtue*. It differs from Plato and Plotinus in that it makes the social aspect of self-mastery the man's direct relation to the Whole, with all that the term implies. His individual satisfaction rests upon the satisfaction of the whole, into harmony with whose ends he has brought himself. This social relation contrasts alike with the Platonic idea of civic expediency mingled with personal satisfaction, and with the Plotinian union with the One, which latter, as has been already said, is the distinguishing feature of the Cambridge Platonist group.

Shaftesbury's aesthetic, accordingly, takes a different turn from that of the Cambridge Platonists, who follow Plotinus. For Plotinus had found the principle of sensuous beauty in something antecedent even to symmetry and proportion, something existing in the color of gold or the perfection of a single stone.³⁶ This mystic "ideal form" the Cambridge Platonists thought of as something to be perceived by the intellectual eye while the sensuous eye beheld the object,³⁷ something which made an appeal to the higher nature of the beholder.³⁸ Again, where Plotinus does dwell upon the symmetry and the appearance of co-operation of parts in an object of beauty, the connotation of these qualities is intellectual rather than *social*. They suggest to him an act of contemplation in which the realization of the unity and the disappearance of multiplicity is attained rather than the active coöperation—perhaps we might say the *functional* relation implied in Shaftesbury's use of the terms. This tradition is particularly to be noted in Cudworth,³⁹ whose aesthetic bears a superficial resemblance to that of Shaftesbury, but belongs actually to a different philosophical realm.

It is the concept of the whole, including and dominating in perfect harmony of mutual adjustment all its parts, which has stirred the fervor of the praise of nature in Shaftesbury's *Moralists*. Now the domination of the whole, now the subordination of the part is dwelt upon.

I consider that, as there is one general mass, one body of the whole, so to this body there is an order, to this order a mind; that to this general mind each particular one must have relation, as being of like substance . . .

³⁶ *Plotinus: The Ethical Treatises*. Tr. from the Greek by Stephen Mac Kenna, London, 1917, pp. 79 ff.

³⁷ *A Treatise Concerning Eternal and Immutable Morality*, by Ralph Cudworth, 1731, pp. 177-78 and 181 ff.

³⁸ Preface to the *Immortality of the Soul*, VIII, in *A Collection of Several Philosophical Writings*, by Henry More, Ed. 4, London, 1712.

³⁹ *Treatise Concerning Morality*, p. 160.

and more like still, if it cooperates with it to general good, and strives to will according to the best of wills.⁴⁰

And also:

The vegetables by their death sustain the animals. . . . And if in natures so little exalted or preeminent above each other, the sacrifice of interests can appear so just, how much more reasonably may all inferior natures be subjected to that superior nature of the world! that world, Palimon, which even now transported you when the sun's fainting light gave way to these bright constellations.⁴¹

It is to be noted, here as elsewhere, that the "enthusiasm" of Shaftesbury's praise of nature or art is not the aesthetic emotion of the later eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. His outbursts in praise of nature are much the same in substance and in spirit, though expanded and accentuated, as the one or two fervent apostrophes to the universe which we find in Marcus Aurelius.⁴²

From the plastic arts, as an imitation of nature, Shaftesbury drew much the same sort of illustration as from nature itself. The best drawing from nature will "be comprised in certain complete portions, or districts, which represent the correspondency or union of each part of nature with entire nature herself. And it is this natural apprehension, or anticipating sense of unity, which makes us give even to the works of our inferior artisans, the name of pieces by way of excellence, and as denoting the justness and truth of work."⁴³

As in the realm of nature and the imitation of nature the emphasis is on the whole as animating and controlling its obedient parts, so in the realm of architecture and music the emphasis, as will be recalled of quotations given earlier in the paper, is upon proportion, order, symmetry, harmony—the harmony of the parts with reference to each other and to the whole.

⁴⁰ *Char.* II, 105.

⁴¹ *Char.* II, 22-23.

⁴² *The Communings with himself of Marcus Aurelius Antonius, Emperor of Rome*, tr. by C. R. Haines, London and New York, 1916, pp. 81, 277.

⁴³ *2nd Chars.*, p. 60.

And indications of the purpose of the analogy are seldom wanting. "T'is impossible we can advance the least in any relish or taste of outward symmetry and order, without acknowledging that the proportionate and regular state is the truly prosperous and natural in every subject,"⁴⁴ says Shaftesbury in the *Miscellaneous Reflections*. On the next page he changes the analogy to that of health, as consisting of proportion in the body, with the application: "Should not this . . . hold equally as to the mind? Is there nothing there which tends to disturbance and dissolution? Is there no natural tenor, tone, or order of the passions or affections? No beauty or deformity in this moral kind?"

All this is leading up to the final question at the end of the section: "Where then is this beauty or harmony to be found? How is this symmetry to be discovered and applied? Is it any other art than that of philosophy or the study of inward numbers and proportions which can exhibit this in life? If no other, who then can possibly have a taste of this kind, without being beholden to philosophy? . . ."⁴⁵

For the art of life to which Shaftesbury's virtuoso-analogy has in every case pointed is the art of self-mastery, the difficult regulation of all the "affections" according to the purpose, or the harmony, of the *whole*.

INSTINCTIVE VIRTUE

One of the charges made against Shaftesbury by his critics has been the advocacy of the idea of instinctive virtue for which the criterion was a "taste" or relish. To him, through Rousseau, and, in England, through the Shaftesburyan poets, is traced back the idea of virtue as an emotion welling spontaneously within the breast along with all other natural impulses and instincts, the thought of the shaping power of life as an on-sweeping tide of feeling upon which one is borne along. This was the type of virtue popularized for the

⁴⁴ *Char.* II, 267-68; see also p. 270.

⁴⁵ *Char.* II, 270.

eighteenth century by Rousseau,—an outpouring of sympathy, compassion, benevolence, that benevolence which became the favorite trait of the time. It was represented in its better effects by the practical reforms of laws and institutions and by the thawing of the proverbial chill of the eighteenth century hardness of heart, and in its worser ones by the flaccid sentimentality mirrored in the “weeping comedy” of Lillo and many of his school, perhaps best exemplified by the plays of Cumberland, whose lawless but amiable West Indian is an unintentional caricature of the prevailing hero.

And, like the virtue, the criterion by which it was judged has often been interpreted as more or less a matter of inclination,—the “taste,” or “relish,” with which Shaftesbury’s name is perhaps most notably associated. It is this term, and this conception, which draws together Shaftesbury’s aesthetic and his ethics; for his “taste” operates both in the field of art and in the field of morals. Perhaps the chief criticism of the Shaftesburian idea of taste as the criterion and the motive of morality has rested on the identification, whether apparent or real, of the aesthetic and the ethical tastes. This identification gives rise to a suspicion as to the trustworthiness of the latter as being grounded in impulse rather than judgment, and therefore an undependable and variable faculty.

Taste

It will be well, therefore, before considering Shaftesbury’s ideal of benevolence, to look carefully at his idea of taste, both aesthetic and ethical, with a view particularly to ascertaining what he meant by instinctive taste, how far the aesthetic and the ethical tastes are identical, and what is the character of the latter, both as affected by the comparison and independently.

In connection with the first point we must recall the well-known fact already mentioned that Shaftesbury’s pronouncements concerning the instinctive perception of moral values

were merely a continuation of the opposition begun by the Cambridge Platonists to an arbitrary and extrinsic allocation of the authority in right and wrong encountered on the one hand in the orthodox churchmen and on the other in the following of Hobbes. It is only in the *Characteristics* that he expatiates on this subject; in the *Regimen* it receives no attention. Although like most of Shaftesbury's doctrines it is to be found in the pages of both Marcus Aurelius⁴⁶ and Epictetus,⁴⁷ the supposition is reasonable that Shaftesbury would have given it as slight a proportion of his attention as did his Stoic masters had it not been for the special occasion which called for its use. It is, in fact, a theory so contrary to the main emphasis of Shaftesbury's teaching that the explanation of it makes him more trouble and involves him in more inconsistencies than almost any part of his philosophy.

The most carefully formulated statements concerning the innateness of moral perceptions are found in *The Inquiry Concerning Virtue or Merit*. The sense of right or wrong, we are told, is "a first principle in our constitution and make."⁴⁸ Again, "a creature having this sort of sense or good affection in any degree must necessarily act according to it."⁴⁹ But it is amusing to note how the innate sense of virtue changes character in the light of all the qualifications⁵⁰ accruing to it both from the *Inquiry* and from other treatises. Particularly a passage in the *Miscellaneous Reflections* effects practically a transformation.

Now a taste or judgment, 'tis supposed [referring to his own treatise on *Wit and Humor*], can hardly come ready formed with us into the world.

⁴⁶ *Communings*, p. 231.

⁴⁷ *Discourses*, pp. 131, 204.

⁴⁸ *Char.* I, 260.

⁴⁹ *Char.* I, 265.

⁵⁰ See in order:

Char. I, 258, 265, 252;

Char. II, 68;

Char. I, 256, 257.

Whatever principles or materials of this kind we may possibly bring with us . . . the general idea which is formed of all this management and the clear notion we attain of what is preferable and principal in all these subjects of choice and estimation will not, as I imagine, by any person be taken for innate. . . . A legitimate and just taste can neither be begotten, made, conceived, or produced without the antecedent labor and pains of criticism.⁶¹

In fact, this sense in the original form is finally represented as no more than a blindly-held, groping ideal,⁶² at the first incorrectly applied, and only rightly applied after vigorous training. Its characterization in this aspect bears a marked resemblance to the precognitions of Epictetus,⁶³ who, like Shaftesbury, places his principal emphasis not on the rudimentary state of the faculty, but on the purification and development of it into what shall become the eye of vision as well as the motive of right choice, or will. Here, again, Shaftesbury is in accord with the Cambridge Platonists with the difference that while his description savors of Epictetus, as just noted, theirs derives clearly from the *universal ideas* of Plato.

How far, and in what way does Shaftesbury make the ethical and æsthetic tastes identical? The relation, beyond doubt, is very close. The juxtaposition, however, is in the nature of analogy rather than identification. The analogy is employed as a form of one of Shaftesbury's two devices, now familiar. Just as beauty had been used as a decoy for truth, so æsthetic taste becomes the decoy for ethical taste. In this case the decoy is of a slightly different variety. The procedure, in general, is to show, in the field of art, acknowledged to be a delightful occupation, what difficulties must be overcome, what severities practiced by the artist in pursuit of his ideal. These severities are shown to be needed chiefly in the attaining of the primary requisite of all art—a right taste. In the same way, the same kind of effort must

⁶¹ *Char.* II, 257.

⁶² *Char.* II, 277-78 and note.

⁶³ *Discourses*, pp. 154-55, 66-70.

be exerted, severities practiced, in the supreme art of arts,—life. Here again the sternest effort must be put into the establishing of a right disposition (or evaluation, relish, taste) towards matters of right and wrong.

The development of the analogy, however, as with most of Shaftesbury's peculiarly devised thought structures, is not consecutive. For, as shown in his notes,⁴⁴ his plan was to let the idea filter into the reader's mind by a painless process, until, when all the treatises had been read, he should find it piecing itself together out of the fragments which had entered he knew not how. Not only are there pauses for diversion, but the procedure from pleasant to stern often reverts again to pleasant in some of the more elementary aspects of the analogy; where the innerness of a particular dose might penetrate too sharply to the palate it was accompanied or followed by an extra sweetness in the sugar coating.

Moreover, as much as possible, the burden of whatever severities he permits himself is borne by the decoy. For example when Shaftesbury comes to apply his discussion of literary taste cited on p. 664 f. above, to taste in the conduct of life, he has already made his point concerning the sternness of the effort required. All that he has to do now is merely to say—though he does it at considerable airy length—If in literature, how much more in life.

Let us begin at the beginning and following the actual, though not the apparent development of the analogy, observe how the character of the Shaftesburyan "moral taste" unfolds. A typical instance of the elementary stage is found in the *Inquiry*.

The case is the same in the mental or moral subjects as in the ordinary bodies or common subjects of sense. The shapes, motions, colours, and proportions of these latter being presented to the eye, there necessarily results a beauty or deformity, according to the different measure, arrangement and disposition of the several parts. So in behavior and actions, when presented to our understanding, there must be found, of necessity, an

⁴⁴ See above, pp. 665 ff.

apparent difference, according to the regularity or irregularity of the subjects.⁶⁶

Again—"For knavery is mere dissonance and disproportion."⁶⁶

If this appears to place the standard of ethics upon a somewhat unsteady base, certain other remarks contribute still more to the aspect of flimsiness and the air of dilettanteism.

By one of these tastes he [a man] understands how to lay out his garden, model his house, fancy his equipage, appoint his table; by the other he learns of what value these amusements are in life, and of what importance to a man's freedom, happiness, and self-enjoyment.⁶⁷

All this belongs to the first step. The second step is never very far away. For no precept does Shaftesbury emphasize with more care, however gently, than that above quoted: "A legitimate and just taste can neither be begotten, made, etc. . . . without the antecedent labor and pains of criticism."⁶⁸ More significant still is the denouncement with which the remark just quoted is followed, of "those indolent supine authors, performers, readers, auditors, actors, or spectators," who make "their humor alone the rule of what is beautiful and agreeable." For that high and abiding beauty toward which the forming taste should strive is for Shaftesbury an ever fixed mark. Notes for the uncompleted essay on *Plastic Art* in *Second Characters* show his purpose of reinforcing this point. They occur in connection with his exploring the prevalent artificiality and corruption of taste. "Better mere nature than half-way, elaborate, artful, merely critical judgment," he has been saying. And then, "Better the mere *je ne sais quoi* of the French. Though this is not our language: nor I hope ever will. But for us (I hope)

⁶⁶ *Char.* I, 251. Cf. Epict. *Discourses*, pp. 3-4, 195, and Marcus Aurelius, *Communings*, p. 27.

⁶⁶ *Char.* I, 136.

⁶⁷ *Char.* II, 259.

⁶⁸ *Char.* II, 257; see also *2nd Chars.* p. 115.

something better reserved."⁵⁹ And again, in the same sketch: "'Tis not the *je ne sais quoi* to which idiots and the ignorant of the art would reduce everything. 'Tis not the *sokéi*, the I like and you like. But why do I like? And if not with reason and truth I will refuse to like, dislike my fancy, condemn the form, search it, discover its deformity and reject it."⁶⁰

The formation of a right taste in any art must meet with difficulties and discouragements. For false taste is rampant. Shaftesbury inveighs against it particularly in *Second Characters*.⁶¹ It is the most difficult thing in the world to contend with.⁶²

And periodically, from enlarging on the difficulty of the formation of right taste in art, and the necessity of it as the only means of discerning the real beauty in art, Shaftesbury recurs to the shortsightedness of not attacking with equal thoroughness the difficulties which must be overcome in the more important art of life before the real goal can be reached, and the necessity of "taste" in life as the faculty for perceiving truth.

Observe how the case stands in all those other subjects of art or science. What difficulty to be in any degree knowing! How long ere a true taste is gained! How many things shocking, how many offensive at first, which afterwards are known and acknowledged the highest beauties! . . . Is study, science, or learning necessary to understand all beauties else? And for the sovereign beauty, is there no skill or science required?⁶³

Finally, a right taste both in the arts and in life is gained only by the most rigorous discipline. The full development of this idea with the application of the analogy between taste in art and taste in life was to have come in the essay on *Plastic Art*. It is blocked out in his notes.

⁵⁹ *2nd Chars.*, p. 116. See also *Char. I*, 218.

⁶⁰ *2nd Chars.*, 144.

⁶¹ *2nd Chars.*, p. 61; see also p. 111.

⁶² *Char. I*, 228.

⁶³ *Char. II*, 129-130, (Quoted verbatim from *Reg.* p. 34).

The great business in this (as in our lives, or in the whole of life) is 'to correct our taste.' For whither will not *taste* lead us? ἀρέχων, arrest, suspend, defer, delay, proceed gradually, wait, expect, improve. Else we are run away with. The man upon the runaway horse in Lucian's cynic (if so good a piece as that be Lucian's), 'Whither away! Whither *this* pleases,' viz. his horse, pointing to it. Therefore stop it in its full career, cross it, turn it; and sometimes when lazy even give it the spur; just as in horsemanship, as in breaking the colt. 'Check your temper, which if not ruled will sternal rule. Hold it hard in with bit and rein.' Horat. Epistola, Lib. I, Ep. 2, lines 62, 63.⁶⁴

Self-examination, therefore, is urged upon artists in every field, the ostensible end being the furtherance of their art. In this connection particularly the virtuoso analogy is brought in—a blind which is occasionally partly lifted, revealing the real purpose beneath it. One instance of this is the familiar passage in the *Advice to an Author*, where, just as in *The Moralists* Theocles had reversed the statement of Philocles by his reply, "And I am as ready to yield there is no real enjoyment of beauty beside what is good", Shaftesbury clinches his rambling virtuoso parallel with the misleadingly "shop"-like comment, "And thus the sense of inward numbers, the knowledge and practice of the social virtues, and the familiarity and favor of the moral graces, are essential to the character of a deserving artist and just favorite of the Muses. *Thus* [my italics] are the Arts and Virtues mutually friends; and thus the science of virtuosos and that of virtue itself, become, one and the same."⁶⁵

Throughout the *Characteristics* the two halves of the analogy remain linked. It is only in the *Regimen* that they separate, the decoy of taste in art disappearing except for an occasional brief comparison, more or less after the method of Epictetus,⁶⁶ from whom the suggestion may very possibly have come. In the *Regimen* we step from the last stage of the ascent in the *Characteristics* out upon the table-land of

⁶⁴ *2nd Chars.*, p. 114; see also *Char. I*, 208 and *2nd Chars.*, p. 143.

⁶⁵ *Char. I*, 217.

⁶⁶ *Discourses*, pp. 42, 140, 158; see also 4, 131.

Shaftesbury's Stoic ideal. The key to the interpretation of his whole treatment of the subject of taste is found in a quotation in the *Regimen* from Marcus Aurelius. "You will never cease to lament until you can do with enjoyment whatever is conformable to your own nature—,"⁶⁷ together with a note in another section beginning with a quotation from Horace: Responsare cupidinibus (To restrain the appetites), and followed by his comment, "No such thing, but κρίσις φαντασιᾶς (examination of the fancies). This is the thing. Here the resistance—the father (opinion) subdued, the children fall, of course . . . This way and in this sense to restrain the passions."⁶⁸ Here is simply the old problem of all great pagans and Christians alike,—the control of the imagination as the strongest motive force in life.

This need Shaftesbury also attempted to make clear in the *Characteristics*, certain passages of which acquire a new significance after a reading of the *Regimen*. Thus in the *Advice to an Author*:

Thus we see, after all, that 'tis not merely what we call principle, but a taste which governs men. They may think for certain, 'this is right, or that wrong'; they may believe 'this a crime or that a sin; this punishable by man, or that by God': yet if the savour of things lies cross to honesty; if the fancy be florid and the appetite high towards the subaltern beauties and lower order of worldly symmetries and proportions, the conduct will infallibly turn this latter way.⁶⁹

Wrestling, then, with the "fancies" is Shaftesbury's own chief preoccupation in the *Regimen*. Here we see him at work on the Stoic "use of appearances" in the method—often indeed the very style and words of Epictetus. And the terminology occurring again and again in these meditations thows even without the aid of the many quotations, from whence their stimulus is derived. In the *Regimen* this

⁶⁷ *Reg.*, p. 205.

⁶⁸ *Reg.*, p. 210.

⁶⁹ *Char.* II, 265; see also *Char.* I, 122, 207, II, 278, note.

strict watch over the eddying "*visa*" goes by its Stoic name, attention. The practice of plain dealing with whatever is relished by the false taste, becomes, in his own stringent practice, the *aversion* of the *Thoughts* and more particularly the *Discourses*.

In the *Regimen*, too, we find a differentiation between the aesthetic and the ethical taste not marked, except by the obscurest of hints, in the *Characteristics*. The ethical taste, as it is the more important or desirable is proportionately more difficult. The pursuit of it, unlike that of the other, may never be interrupted.

"All other arts require some relaxation and diversion, and are more vigorously prosecuted after such relief. This art alone admits not of any interval, and is the worse for every relaxation."⁷⁰

And in the division headed *Attention and Relaxation*:

"All depends on a certain succession, series, or train of fancies, and on that faculty or power which controls, manages, and uses them. If this be once interrupted, it is chance that governs . . . Deceive not thyself. There is no relaxation, no remission, no unbending, no relieving, resting, recreating, reposing."⁷¹

Rare hints of this, only, appear in the *Characteristics*, and then, as would be expected, in very different tone and phrasing. The nearest approach comes in the *Advice to an Author*. "This [holding of the fancies under discipline] is a business which can never stand still . . . Either I work upon my fancies, or they on me . . . There can be no truce, no suspension of arms between us."⁷²

This effort for control of the imagination, then, or formation of taste, is the base from which proceed all of Shaftesbury's various methods for acquiring the mastery of self. The strength and persistence of this effort is attested by

⁷⁰ *Reg.*, p. 173.

⁷¹ *Reg.*, pp. 235-36; see also p. 220.

⁷² *Char.* I, 208.

the number and variety of these methods and by the constant reappearance of the notes concerning them. Some of these, usually in a more or less modified form, are mentioned in the *Characteristics*.

One article of advice common to both the published writings and the *Regimen* concerns the "temper," which is included under the general idea of taste or imagination, as meaning the momentary disposition, preference, or inclination. Shaftesbury's recommendation is the practice of a supererogatory discipline, the thwarting of the "temper" even in times of no especial need to do so, simply for the acquiring of habitual command.⁷³

Much of the effort begins farther back than this. It is the work of determining what the temper shall be. Its material is the flood of images, fancies, ideas, which stream through the mind. These, he who would be wise must contemplate; make selections and rejections from among them; readjust his opinion concerning them and reactions toward them according to their real value; never be caught by the lure of an unquestioned appearance.

This self-examination in its less stringent forms is frequently urged in the *Characteristics*, particularly in the *Advice to an Author*, the chief purpose of which is to recommend Shaftesbury's own *regimen* system. "Idea! wait a while till I have examined thee, whence thou art and to whom thou remainest,"⁷⁴ Shaftesbury exclaims in the language of Epictetus.⁷⁵ And in this kind of echo from the elder Stoics the *Regimen* abounds. A variation of it is the practice of making the idea "speak up," "high up, aloud; no muttering, no half-words."⁷⁶ Frequent, again, among Shaftesbury's devices is the practice of aversion.

Remember that the sovereign precept, 'to cut off the *ῥοεῖς* (desire), and to use strongly the *αὐχλῆς* (aversion), is in a real sense dejection and morti-

⁷³ *Reg.*, p. 195; see also pp. 198 and 200.

⁷⁴ *Char.* I, 207.

⁷⁵ *Discourses*, p. 161.

⁷⁶ *Reg.*, p. 176.

fication. It is a depressing, extinguishing, killing that wrong sort of joy and enlivening temper; the starving, supplanting that exuberant luxuriant fancy; and the sapping and undermining of the passions, . . . It is the introducing of a contrary disposition: . . . that which creates a mean and poor opinion of outward things.⁷⁷

The value of this method is very gently touched on in the *Characteristics*.

We are to work rather by the weaning than the engaging passions; since if we give way chiefly to inclination, by loving, applauding, and admiring what is great and good, we may . . . in some high objects of that kind, be so amused and ecstasied as to lose ourselves and miss our proper mark for want of a steady and settled aim. But being more sure and infallible in what relates to our ill, we should begin, they tell us, by applying our aversion on that side and raising our indignation against those meannesses of opinion and sentiment which are the causes of our subjection and perplexity.⁷⁸

As for Shaftesbury himself, the grosser relish of mere sensation and the more delicate enticements of a philosopher's imagination come in for equal watchfulness.

"By what, then is the carcase to be subdued?" asks the self-mentor in his *Regimen*. "By what, but by coming out of it? by not being *it*, but in it; and only so far in it . . . as Nature has made me: giving me withal my reason and those suitable faculties by which I can abstract myself, and find out how to manage *myself* . . . Man! use thy arms . . . Work thyself out of earth and stand above ground, if thou can'st . . . No quarter to this death; for it is death, true death, the other is nothing."⁷⁹

On the other hand, in writing of the finer fancies, of which he is enumerating four orders, we find—"The second are of a mixed kind, and flattering by what they borrow from virtue. Against these, fight, as against chimeras, centaurs, monsters."⁸⁰

⁷⁷ *Reg.*, pp. 156-57.

⁷⁸ *Char.* II, 280-81.

⁷⁹ *Reg.*, pp. 148-49.

⁸⁰ *Reg.*, p. 164.

Such were Shaftesbury's efforts in the steps of his Stoic teachers, to acquire the faculty which should enable him to perceive the nature of the good and to live in accordance with it, and which he called popularly, "taste."

BENEVOLENCE, OR NATURAL AFFECTION

We may pass, then, to the second aspect of the Shaftesburian instinctive virtue. Foundation for the interpretation of Shaftesbury's idea of benevolence and natural affection as the following of a spontaneous impulse is, if possible, even more obvious than that on which have rested the interpretations of his ideas of beauty and of taste. Repeatedly benevolence and natural affection are referred to as (1) instinctive, (2) of the nature of a passion or appetite, and (3) the chief source of pleasure in life.

In Treatise II, on *The Freedom of Wit and Humour*, these qualities are put on the footing of instinct in much the same way as was taste in the initial discussions of it. "If eating and drinking be natural, herding is so too. If any appetite or sense be natural, the sense of fellowship is the same."⁸¹ Also: "'Tis ridiculous to say there is any obligation on man to act sociably or honestly in a formal government, and not in that which is commonly called the state of nature. For to speak in the fashionable language of our modern philosophy: 'Society being founded on a compact, the surrender made of every man's private unlimited right . . . was of free choice, and by a promise.' Now the promise itself was made in the state of nature; and that which could make a promise obligatory in the state of nature, must make all other acts of humanity as much our real duty and natural part."⁸²

In the *Inquiry* the affection for one's fellows is spoken of as one of the natural passions. Every man, says Shaftesbury, is naturally inclined to seek the familiarity and friend-

⁸¹ *Char.* I, 74.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 73.

ship of his fellows. "Tis here that he lets loose a passion, and gives reins to a desire which can hardly by any struggle . . . be withheld."⁸³ And presently, "Thus it may appear how much natural affection is predominant . . . how interwoven with our other passions."⁸⁴ It is spoken of again as a passion, the restraint of which is dangerous to spiritual health. "Let indolence, indifference, or insensibility be studied as an art, or cultivated with the utmost care, the passions thus restrained [the social or natural affections] will force their prison. . . . They will be sure to create to themselves . . . unnatural exercise where they are cut off from that which is natural and good."⁸⁵

Virtue in general (though not benevolence in particular) is referred to in much the same manner in the *Miscellaneous Reflections*. "Even virtue itself he [himself] takes to be no other than a noble enthusiasm justly directed and regulated by that high standard which he supposes in the nature of things. He seems to assert 'that there are certain moral species or appearances so striking and of such force over our natures, that when they present themselves they bear down all contrary opinion or conceit, all opposite passion, sensation, or mere bodily affection.' "⁸⁶

In the *Inquiry*, again, is emphasized the pleasure to be found in the experience of the force of "generous moral affection."⁸⁷ "To begin therefore with this proof, 'That to have the natural affections (such as are founded in love, complacency, good-will, and in a sympathy with the kind or species) is to have the chief means and power of self-enjoyment; and that to want them is certain misery and ill.' "⁸⁸ He reminds the reader particularly of the pleasure which

⁸³ *Char.* I, 315.

⁸⁴ *Char.* I, 316; see also p. 293.

⁸⁵ *Char.* I, 314.

⁸⁶ *Char.* II, 176; cf. Epictetus, *Discourses*, pp. 54 and 161.

⁸⁷ *Char.* I, 275.

⁸⁸ *Char.* I, 293; see also p. 294.

comes from the approbation and sympathy of one's fellows.⁸⁹ And finally, of virtue in general, he says: "'Tis in a manner impossible to have any great opinion of the happiness of virtue without conceiving high thoughts of the satisfaction resulting from the generous admiration and love of it.'" ⁹⁰

Here, it would seem, is more than sufficiency to make out the case for what is a prevalent interpretation of Shaftesbury's idea of virtue. The reader who has persued the *Regimen*, however, and who has a foreknowledge of Shaftesbury's method of "leading up," will wish to inquire as to where and how these statements are made.

Let us begin with the representation of virtue as a natural instinct of the species. This occurs, as just seen above, in Treatise II, *The Freedom of Wit and Humour*. It is presented together with Shaftesbury's earliest remarks concerning instinctive taste, the one being treated in Sections I, II, and IV of Part III, the other in Section IV of Part III and Section II of Part IV. Moreover, the two ideas are very closely related. The conception of instinctive taste, as we have already noted, was advanced primarily in opposition to Hobbes and the orthodox; and that this was the case also with the theory of instinctive "affections" is clear in the above quotations from *The Freedom of Wit and Humour* (p. 674 above). Like the conception of instinctive taste it is found as a minor doctrine in the pages of Epictetus⁹¹ and Marcus Aurelius,⁹² where the treatment bears in detail a close resemblance to that of Shaftesbury, and was probably emphasized for the same reason that led him to emphasize the other. Further, this treatise, like Treatise I, *A Letter Concerning Enthusiasm*, has very much the character of a curtain-raiser. It is tentative and initiatory. Its whole tone is light. Shaftesbury's intention is evidently barely to touch here on matters for which he intends a more full

⁸⁹ *Char.* I, 298.

⁹⁰ *Char.* I, 275.

⁹¹ *Discourses*, pp. 69, 168-70.

⁹² *Communings*, pp. 239, 241.

and serious development in other treatises. This is more than hinted in the concluding paragraph:

And now, my friend, I can perceive t'is time to put an end to these reflections, lest by endeavoring to expound things any further, *I should be drawn from my way of humour to harangue profoundly* [my italics] on these subjects.²⁸

And he takes care to end in an almost flippant tone: "I have taken the liberty, you see, to laugh upon some occasions; and if I have either laughed wrong, or been impertinently serious, I can be content to be laughed at in my turn."

More significant still in this connection is the character of the *Advice to an Author*, which is placed immediately after the treatise on *Wit and Humour*. Both its position and the fact that it is addressed to men of letters suggest that it is supplementary to the other in an even closer way than that of the interrelation of all the treatises. The main concern of the *Advice to an Author* is to carry on the subject of natural and aesthetic taste, and to bring the analogy of the two tastes nearer to the point of view of the *Regimen* than perhaps in any other portion of the *Characteristics*. It emphasizes particularly the difficulty and the discipline involved in the acquiring of a right taste. The specific subject of benevolence, or natural affection, as a racial instinct is not carried on in the second treatise. It is possible that since, as we recall, Shaftesbury elsewhere extended his idea of *taste* to include "temper" or disposition, he may have felt that his discussion in the *Advice to an Author* included instinctive sociability as a part of the taste which needs to be developed from the rudimentary to the complete state by "labour and criticism." Yet, though Shaftesbury's habitual care in completing the "leading-up" process supports this supposition, the suggestion can remain only a conjecture. It is safe to assume, however, that Shaftesbury considered his treatment of the social instinct in *The Freedom of Wit and Humour* as no more final than that of taste.

²⁸ *Char.* I, 98.

Second, as to the representation of virtuous benevolence as one of the passions. This occurs in the *Inquiry* (p. 674 above), where it constitutes one of those lapses into primer language mentioned (p. 666) above. Shaftesbury has just arrived in his development of the idea of social benevolence at the sterner point of view towards which he has been spiraling, when, suddenly reproaching himself with talking so far above the reader's poor head with "But lest this argument should appear perhaps too scholastically stated, and in terms and phrases which are not of familiar use,"⁹⁴ he descends to more nursery-talk, of which this is a part. For the idea of virtue in general as "a noble enthusiasm" "which will bear down all contrary opinion" (p. 675, above) we have the antithesis: "Now as all affections have their excess, and require judgment and discretion to moderate and govern them, so this high and noble affection . . . requires a steady rein and strict hand over it."⁹⁵

Third, concerning virtue as pleasure. It is in the apparently repented flight of the *Inquiry* mentioned just above that Shaftesbury's own point of view, the point of view of the *Regimen*, is reached and momentarily held. He has used here the familiar decoy device. Beginning, as seen above (p. 675) by giving the reader a taste of satisfaction and a sense of nobleness in the contemplation of his own pleasure in sociability, generosity, pity, Shaftesbury continues:

But lest any should imagine with themselves that an inferior degree of natural affection, or an imperfect partial regard of this sort, can supply the place of an entire, sincere, and truly moral one; lest a small tincture of social inclination should be thought sufficient to answer the end of pleasure in society, and give us that enjoyment of participation and community which is so essential to our happiness; we may consider first, that partial affection, or social love in part, without regard to a complete society or whole, is in itself an inconsistency, and implies an absolute contradiction. Whatever affection we have towards anything besides ourselves, if it be not of the

⁹⁴ *Char.* I, 302.

⁹⁵ *Char.* II, 178.

natural sort towards the system or kind, it must be of all other affections the most dissociable, and destructive of the enjoyments of society. If it be really of the natural sort, and applied only to some one part of society, or of a species, but not to the species or society itself, there can be no more account given of it than of the most odd, capricious, or humoursome passion which may arise."⁹⁶

He proceeds presently to show that "partial affection" is not to be identified with virtue⁹⁶ and that the approval of friends formed by a "partial affection" may be discounted as the source of no real satisfaction.⁹⁷ It is impossible for those who "esteem or love by any other rule than that of virtue" to "place their affection on such subjects as they can long esteem or love."⁹⁷ It is "entire affection," only, which is virtue. "And to have this entire affection or integrity of mind is to live according to Nature, and the dictates and rules of supreme wisdom. This is morality, justice, piety, and natural religion."⁹⁷

For the full conception of this "entire affection" we must go to the *Regimen*. Whatever doubts and perplexities may have beset us in the mazes of the *Characteristics*, we shall find none here.

One of the most baffling entanglements is straightened out on the discovery of the distinction in Shaftesbury's mind between the "natural affections" and "natural affection." This is clear on a reading of his notes printed under the heading, *Natural Affection*.⁹⁸ Here the missing link between the point of view in the treatise on *Wit and Humour* and that in the *Inquiry* just quoted (p. 674 and p. 678 above) is supplied. The writer has been citing instances of instinctive parental love seen even in beasts,⁹⁹ from which he proceeds: "Now if it has been made the good and happiness even of unknowing and irrational creatures to follow that private and inferior affection which is only toward a species

⁹⁶ *Char.* I, 299-300.

⁹⁷ *Char.* I, 301; see also p. 280.

⁹⁸ *Reg.* pp. 1-12.

⁹⁹ *Reg.* p. 3.

and part of the whole, how can it be much more the good of every knowing and rational creature to live according to that affection which is highest and most perfect?"¹⁰⁰ And presently: "Remember, therefore, henceforward not to think any more of natural affection in the imperfect and vulgar sense, but according to the just sense and meaning of the word and what it imports."¹⁰¹

Indeed, "natural affection" is so far from coming by instinct that we find an expression of longing in which Shaftesbury's essentially Hellenistic temper approximates that of the Hebrew psalmist's "When shall I come and appear before God?"—"When shall this happy disposition be fixed, that I may feel it perpetually, as now but seldom? When shall I be entirely thus affected and feel this as my part grown natural to me?"¹⁰²

The character of "natural affection" now becomes unmistakable. It is the Stoic loyalty to the *whole*, a loyalty which requires the submission and subordination of the "natural affections."

If every other affection of that lower order (however natural any such may be) be not entirely subordinate to this superior affection, this is wrong. . . . This is the province of the truly wise man who is conscious of things human and divine: to learn how to submit all of his affections to the rule and government of the whole; how to accompany with his whole mind that supreme and perfect mind of the universe. *This is to live according to Nature, to follow Nature, and to own and obey Deity.*¹⁰³ [Shaftesbury's italics.]

Other phrasings of the same thought touch more nearly on the subject of relation with men. So: "A generous affection, an exercise of friendship uninterrupted, a constant kindness and benignity of disposition, a constant complacency, constant security, tranquility . . . are not these ever and at all times good?"¹⁰⁴ For the "lover of men",

¹⁰⁰ *Reg.* pp. 4-5.

¹⁰¹ *Reg.* p. 8.

¹⁰² *Reg.* p. 2.

¹⁰³ *Reg.* p. 6; cf. Epictetus, *Discourses*, pp. 205, 338.

¹⁰⁴ *Reg.* pp. 54-55.

as he translates the Greek term taken from Marcus Aurelius, will have learned "neither to scoff, nor hate, nor be impatient with them, . . . nor overlook them; and to pity in a manner and love those that are the greatest miscreants, those that are the most furious against thyself in particular, and at the time when they are most furious."¹⁰⁵

And in what does the exercise of friendliness toward men consist? The name of Shaftesbury ranks high on the list of men of letters who broke the complacent selfishness of the eighteenth century, stimulated philanthropic and other reforms, and in general directed the attention of their contemporaries to the grace of charity as an ideal to be put into active practice. Yet, although the disinterested effort to better the conditions of human life, and the generous exercise of charity in all kinds of need were an essential part of Shaftesbury's conception of the right-minded man, as well as prevailing characteristics of his own life, his emphasis is not on these. For to him the only abiding good was that which he variously termed *beauty*, the *harmony* with the whole, the power of *natural affection*, according to the Stoic ideal, as we have seen. The imparting of this *summum bonum* is the highest, the only real service. Even his devotion to the cause of political freedom, which he loved with the ardor of all true Englishmen, gives place to it. But there is one way and one only by which it may be imparted to others.

This is touched on in the *Inquiry*. "But though a right distribution of justice in a government be so essential a cause of virtue, we must observe in this case that it is example which chiefly influences mankind and forms the character and disposition of a people."¹⁰⁶ The same thought occurs in a typically stronger statement in the *Regimen*. "See, therefore, what thou makest of thyself whilst acting thus (as thou sayest) for virtue and thy country? . . . Is this thy service?"¹⁰⁷ And again: "How goes the world?—No matter;

¹⁰⁵ *Reg.*, I.

¹⁰⁶ *Char.* I, 272.

¹⁰⁷ *Reg.*, p. 101.

but how go I? This is a matter, and the only matter. This is of concern . . . How do I govern? The world?—No. But how do I govern MYSELF?"¹⁰⁸

To be able to render this higher service requires the strictest discipline of all. It is necessary to be independent of people, of their opinion, of their ideas of the good that can be rendered them. Thus Shaftesbury in the *Regimen*, in a very echo of Epictetus, urges upon himself, until he shall have acquired entire control in certain respects, stricter methods—even, if necessary, a temporary separation from the ways and doings of men of the world.

But how shall I be of aid to others? of what use shall I be?—O folly! as if it were not apparent that if thou but continuest thus, and art able to persevere, thy example alone (when thou least regardest it) will be of more service than all that thou canst do while thou retainest thy selfishness, thy meanness, and subjection. . . .¹⁰⁹

Again the "lover of men" must practice restraint upon his social impulses in order to render them subservient to the "entire affection" and the will of the *whole*.

Cut off tenderness of a certain kind. . . . Learn to be with self, to talk with self. . . . See what thou hast got by seeking others. Is this society? Is it genuine and of a right kind, when it is that fond desire of company, that seeking of companionship, and that want of talk and story? . . . Friends are not friends if thus wanted.¹¹⁰

To the same end we find Shaftesbury at his customary examination of ideas as follows:

To compassionate, i.e.—To join with in passion, . . . to commiserate, i.e. to join with in misery, be miserable with. . . . This as to one order of life, where this fellow-wretchedness agrees admirably and makes so great a part in the order of things, and shows us so fair a side of Nature. Hence the union of several species, their mutual relation, sympathy, life. But in another order of life, in another species, and in respect of another, a higher relation, nothing can be more dissonant than this; nothing more inconsistent with that true affection, which in a mind soundly rational is, as it were, in

¹⁰⁸ *Reg.*, p. 102.

¹⁰⁹ *Reg.*, pp. 115-18; cf. Epictetus, *Discourses*, pp. 323, 232, 277.

¹¹⁰ *Reg.*, p. 144.

the place of all. . . . Let those who commiserate themselves, commiserate others in the things which, according to them, misery lies. . . . And only congratulate and condole according to the precept, 'When you see one weeping, have sympathy, but do not inwardly lament.' (Epict. Ench. c. 26). In no way sympathize or feel as they feel, when they take either this or the other event for good or ill.¹¹¹

Indeed, in extreme cases, the service to the *whole* (or "entire affection") may even involve a cessation of all social relations, a withdrawing from the sympathy of all men,—who constitute, according to the Stoic conception, only today's fragment of the eternal whole.

What if all these and all besides that are upon earth should conceive the highest opinion of thee . . . or, if they all thought ill, what ill! I should be useless to the world. Retire then. Where is the harm? . . . What else is it but death? In the meantime, what is it to me . . . where my service is, how far it extends, how near ceasing and coming to that period to which, of its own accord, and by the course of nature, in a few years it will come?¹¹²

And again in the same strain:

What is this stir about an outward character? . . . Is it with respect to Him who distributes the parts? . . . But with respect to men—what are men? What are their interests, what is society or community but with respect to this superior and his appointment? If I have no concern for them, what is it to me what my part has been among them? If I have concern and am desirous of a part, it is because of nature; and what part would I have, for nature's sake, other than what nature has appointed me? What service would I render to the whole but what the whole has willed?¹¹³

In this way, in his closet, the author of the *Characteristics* schooled himself for the practice of "natural affections."

There is matter for much interesting discussion concerning aspects of Shaftesbury's Stoic outlook which have been merely touched on here. Much remains to be enlarged on in connection with both the resemblances and the differences between Epictetus and Antonius and their eighteenth century pupil. The purpose of this paper will have been

¹¹¹ *Reg.*, pp. 158-59.

¹¹² *Reg.*, p. 62.

¹¹³ *Reg.*, p. 63.

accomplished, however, if it has shown that the Stoic philosophy is the foundation not only of Shaftesbury's private thought, but of his popular teaching, and that the *Characteristics*—particularly its three fundamental problems; the beautiful, ethical taste, and natural affection—can be fully understood only on comparison with his *Philosophical Regimen*.

ESTHER A. TIFFANY

XXX. PROSE RHYTHMS

The subject of prose rhythms is an ancient one. Even without going back of English usage, we find prose rhythms consciously developed, and consequently suggesting some sort of mature theory, as early as the time of Elizabeth. The rhythms of Bacon may be Ciceronian, and those of the King James Bible the habits of the translators, many of whom for the better part of a lifetime had been chanting, or half chanting, the Scriptures in their pulpits. But Lyly's rhythms are a deliberate thing, one is tempted to say, in his case, a premeditated crime. Sir Thomas Browne's rhythms a little later are plainly conscious. With De Quincey the usage has become an art with rules and classified practices.

Into the same class with these conscious and deliberately patterned prose rhythms we are justified in putting a large portion of the rhythms of free verse. Some free verse, as Bliss Perry has pointed out, is merely conventional verse cut up into odd line lengths, looking somewhat like an old fashioned ode out on a spree. Other free verse is merely prose cut into line lengths. The appeal here is intellectual, and the eye is pleased and perhaps aided, by having the end of an idea marked by the end of a line. But there is nothing that appeals to the ear's sense of rhythm. Of such sort is most of the *Spoon River Anthology*. Then there is free verse that will not scan according to rule, yet that has unmistakably a rhythm of its own. Such free verse has the rhythm of rhythmical prose, and differs from it only in the immaterial detail of being printed in irregular lines.

The prose rhythms all differ from the ordinary verse rhythms in that they take into account only the sentence stresses, not the lesser word stresses. Each sentence scans according to logical emphasis. The rhythms vary with

different authors. It will be best perhaps first to present the different types, then look for possible law among them. The specimens quoted here are illustrations only. Other examples necessary for a complete proof can be seen in any distinctly rhythmical prose, and often in popular and even in newspaper writing. In oratory they are particularly abundant. In all prose they occur to a certain extent.

From Ruskin's prose I have selected a passage from *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, "The Lamp of Memory." This may be divided into line lengths, roughly corresponding to the cadences of so called free verse. The accented and unaccented syllables, arsis and thesis, are marked - and x respectively, and the pauses Λ . The movement of the passage is plainly iambic in type, but differs from metrical iambic verse in two ways. First, iambic verse permits only three forms for the iambic foot, or one form with two substitutions, Λ -, x-, xx-, with a possible fourth, the pæonic xxx- (for this last see Shelley's usage); prose rhythms in this passage exhibit also the forms xxxx- and xxxxx-; second, in verse there must be a dominant type of foot, say x-, which is the type for the majority of feet, the exact size of the majority being as yet undetermined, but none the less a definite fact; in the prose rhythm there is no dominant type of foot. Naturally the foot xxxxx- is rare. Among the other five feet, no one seems to have the preference as the type form. The number of each in this passage is: Λ -, 2; x-, 20; xx-, 30; xxx-, 22; xxxx-, 15; xxxxx-, 4.

Feminine endings of the lines seem common, and alliteration is used. The number of accents to the line may bring up some question as to a possible different division into lines. As the passage is printed, the figures are: lines of 3 accents, 8; of 4, 4; of 5, 5; of 6, 2; of 7, 0; of 8, 2. To this class of rhythm belong among others Sir Thomas Browne's, Walter Pater's and many of the emotional passages of the King James Bible. The specimen is from Ruskin.

x x x — | x — | x x x — (x
 This is no slight, no consequenceless evil;
 x x — | x x x — | x x — | x x x x — | x x — (x
 It is ominous, infectious, and fecund of other fault and misfortune.
 x x x x — | x — | x — | x x x — (x
 When men do not love their hearths, nor reverence their thresholds,
 x x — | x x x x — | x —
 It is a sign that they have dishonored both,
 x x x x — | x x — | x x — | x x x — | x x x x
 And that they have never acknowledged the true universality of that
 — | x — (x
 Christian worship
 x x x — | x x x — | x x — | x x x x x — | x x x x — (x
 Which was indeed to supersede the idolatry, but not the piety of the pagan.
 x — | x x — | x — | x — | x x — | x x —
 Our God is a household God, as well as a heavenly one;
 x x x — | x x — | x x — (x
 He has an altar in every man's dwelling;
 x x — | x x x x — | x — | x x — | x x — (x
 Let men look to it when they rend it lightly and pour out its ashes.
 x x — | x — | x x — | — | x x x —
 It is not a question of mere ocular delight,
 x x x — | x x x x — | x x —
 It is no question of intellectual pride,
 x x — | x x x x — | x x — (x
 Or of cultivated and critical fancy,
 x x x x — | x x x x — | x x x x x — (x
 How and with what aspect of durability and of completeness,
 x x — | x — | x x x — | x x x —
 The domestic buildings of a nation shall be raised.
 x x — | x x — | x — (x
 It is one of those moral duties,
 x x x x — | x x x x — | x x x x x — | x x x x
 Not with more impunity to be neglected because the perception of them de-
 — | x x — | x — | x — | x x x — (x x
 pends on a finely toned and balanced conscientiousness,
 x — | x — | x x — | x — (x
 To build our dwellings with care, and patience,
 x — | x x — | x x x — (x
 And fondness, and diligent completion,
 x x x — | x x x — | x x — | x x x — | x x —
 And with a view to their duration at least for such a period as,
 x x — | x x x — | x — | x x x x — (x
 In the ordinary course of national revolutions,
 x x x — | — | x x x — | x x x — | x x — | x x x x — | x
 Might be supposed likely to extend to the entire alteration of the direction
 x — | x — (x x
 of local interests.

Corresponding to these distinctly rhythmical passages
 we have passages of ordinary prose not conspicuously
 melodious except in so far as all English is rhythmical in
 character. Of this class are the two following passages, one

from Burke's *Nabob of Arcot's Debts*, the other from a popular article picked up almost at random. It happens to be from *The National Geographic Magazine*, for September, 1921. First Burke's:

x — | — | x x — | x x — | x x x x — | x x x — | x
On this scheme of their servants, the Company was to appear in the Carnatic
x x — | x — | x x x x — | x x x x — | x x — | x x x — |
in no other light than as a contractor for the provision of armies, and the hire
x — | x — | x x x — | x — | x x x — (x ^ x x x — | x x
of mercenaries for his use and under his direction. This disposition was
x x x — | x x — | x — | x x — | x x x — | x x x — |
to be secured by the Nabob's putting himself under the guaranty of France,
x x x — | x x — | x — | x x — | x x — | x x — | x x
and, by the means of that rival nation, preventing the English forever from
x — | x x x — (x x ^ x — | x x x — | x x x x — (x
assuming an equality, much less a superiority, in the Carnatic.

From *The National Geographic Magazine*:

^ — | x x x x x — | x x x — | x x x x — | — | x x — | x — |
Realizing the importance of the testimony of this man, Mr. Hagelbar-
x x — | x x — | x x — | x x — | x — | x — | x — | x — |
ger endeavoured by questioning to elicit further details, but none were to be
x — | — | x x x — | x x x x — | x — | x x x x
obtained. He and his associates were too badly frightened and too much
x — | x — | x x x — | x — | x — | x x x — | x x —
concerned with fleeing from the wrath to come to make any detailed observa-
(x
tions.

In the passage from Burke the different types of feet number: x-, 7; xx-, 9; xxx-, 11 xxxx-, 3; xxxxx-, 3. In the second passage: x-, 7; xx-, 5; xxx-, 4; xxxx-, 4; xxxxx-, 2. In both of these, occasional variations, such as the juxtaposition of accents on adjoining syllables, and a truncated foot, may be ignored, as they appear infrequently, and an infrequent appearance is to be expected, in fact is almost necessitated by the exigencies of English syntax.

Wherein then do these passages differ from the more musical passage of Ruskin? Plainly not at all in the character of the feet. The passage from Burke especially is singularly smooth in the distribution of accents, yet is far inferior to the passage from Ruskin in melody. The difference lies, as a brief inspection will show, in the alliteration used by Ruskin, and in the tone colouring of his vowels, not in the

meter. Meter therefore plays only a small part in the difference between melodious prose of this type, and the ordinary or less melodious prose of the same type.

These types then are metrically simple, though not so simple as the meter of verse. When, however, we turn to the rougher but none the less rhythmical prose of other types, we encounter a perplexing condition. Iambic and trochaic feet appear to be interchanged at will, and both are intermixed with strange feet that plainly have a swing of their own, yet that do not look like any normal verse type. On closer inspection a strange fact appears. All of these apparently abnormal types can be classified as of one or another of the types of feet that appear in Anglo-Saxon alliterative verse, provided we admit some slight modification of the Sievers types. I use the notation of Bright's *Anglo-Saxon Reader*, adding opposite each line the letter representing the type. Here again we use sentence accents, not word accents. The following are all of this character:

Francis Bacon, *Of Love*:

- B. x — | x x —
 For as to the stage,
 A. — x | — x | — x x | — x x
 Love is ever matter of comedies,
 B. x — | x — | x — (x x
 And now and then of tragedies;
 B. x x —
 But in life
 D¹. x | — | — — x
 It doth much mischief;
 E¹. — — x x | — x
 Sometimes like a syren,
 E¹. — — x x | — x
 Sometimes like a fury.

Bacon, *Of Dispatch*:

- B. x — | x x —
 Affected dispatch
 E¹. x x x x | — — x x | —
 Is one of the most dangerous things
 E². x | — x x x — | —
 To business that can be.
 D². x x x | — | — x x — x
 It is like that which the physicians

- D³. — | — x — (x
 Call predigestion,
 B. x — | x x — (x
 Or hasty digestion;
 B. x x — | x — | x — (x
 Which is sure to fill the body
 A. — x | — x x
 Full of crudities
 B. x — | x — | x x — (x
 And secret seeds of diseases.

Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*:

- B. x — | x x — (x
 In vegetal creatures
 E². x | — x x — | —
 What sovereignty love hath,
 B. x x x — | x —
 By many pregnant proofs
 B. x x — | x x — | x x x —
 And familiar examples may be proved,
 E². x | — x x x — | —
 Especially of palm trees,
 B. x x x — | x —
 Which are both he and she,
 B. x x — | x x — (x x
 And express not a sympathy
 C. x x — | — x
 But a love passion,
 B. x x — | x x x — (x
 And by many observations
 A. — x x | — ^
 Have been confirmed.

De Quincey, *Joan of Arc*:

- A. — x x x | — ^
 Bishop of Beauvais!
 E¹. x x x | — — x | —
 Because the guilt-burdened man
 C. x x — | — x
 Is in dreams haunted
 B. x x — | x x x — | x x x —
 And waylaid by the most frightful of his crimes,
 B. x x x x x x — | x x x — (x
 And because upon that fluctuating mirror—
 A. — x
 Rising
 B. x x — | x — | x x x —
 (Like the mocking mirrors of mirage
 B. x x — | x x — (x
 In Arabian deserts)
 B. x x — | x —
 From the fens of death—

- B. x x — | x x — (x
Most of all are reflected
D^a. x | — | — x — x
The sweet countenances
B. x x — | x — | x —
Which the man has laid in ruins;
E^a. — x x — | — x
Therefore I know, bishop,
C. x — | — x
That you also,
D^a. — x x x | — x —
Entering your final dream,
B. x — x —
Saw Domrémy.

Ibid.—

- D^a. x | — | — x x — (x
My Lord, have you no counsel?
D^a. — x | — x —
"Counsel I have none;
B. x — | x x —
In heaven above
B. x x — | x —
Or on earth beneath,
E^a. — x x x x — | —
Counsellor there is none now
B. x x x x — | x —
That would take a brief from me:
A. — x | — x
All are silent."
D^a. x x x | — | — x —
Is it, indeed, come to this?
B. x — | x — | x —
Alas! the time is short,
B. x — | x x — (x
The tumult is wondrous,
D^a. x | — | — x x —
The crowd stretches away
A. — x x | — x x
Into infinity.

Lafcadio Hearn, *Chita*:

- D^a. — | — x x x —
Sometimes above a waste
D^a. x | — x | — x —
Of wind-blown prairie-cane
B. x x x x — | x x — (x
You see an oasis emerging, —
B. x — | x — (x
A ridge or hillock
A. — x x | — x
Heavily umbraged

- B. x x — | x — (x
With the rounded foliage
- B. x — | x x —
Of evergreen oaks:—
- B. x — | x —
A cheniére
- B. x x x — | x —
And from the shining flood
- A. — x
Also
- E². — x x — | x —
Kindred green knolls arise,—
- A. — x | — x
Pretty islets,
- E². — x x — | — x
Each with its beach girdle
- B. x — | x — | x —
Of dazzling sand and shells,
- A. — x | — ^
Yellow white,—
- B. x x — | x x x x — | x x — (x
And all radiant with semi-tropical foliage,
- A. — x x x | — x
Myrtle and palmetto,
- A. — x x x | — x x
Orange and magnolia.

Ibid:

- E¹—D². — — x | — x | — x x — (Scansion doubtful)
Sometimes of autumn evenings there,
- B. x x — | x x — (x
When the hollow of heaven
- A. — x x x | — x x x | — x
Flames like the interior of a chalice,
- B. x — | x —
And waves and clouds
- E². x | — x x x — | —
Are flying in one wild rout
- B. x — | x —
Of broken gold
- B. x x — | x — | x — (x
You may see the tawny grasses
- B. x — | x x — | x x —
All covered with something like husks
- E¹. — — x | —
Wheat-coloured husks.

Higginson, My Out-door Study:

- B. x — | x — | x x — (x
A finely organized sentence
- B. x — | x — (x x
Should throb and palpitate
- B. x x x — | x x x — (x
Like the most delicate vibrations

- B. x x — | x —
Of the summer air.
B. x x x — | x x —
We talk of literature
C. x x x x x — | — x
As if it were a mere matter
B. x — | x — (x x
Of rule and measurement,
B. x — | x x — (x x
A series of processes
B. x x — — | x x — | x x x — (x
Long since brought to mechanical perfection:
D². x x x x | — | — x —
But it would be less incorrect
B. x —
To say
D². x x | — | — x x — (x
That it all lies in the future.

A similar rhythm is exhibited in some free verse. This proves nothing, however, except that free verse which does not follow poetic scansion, follows prose scansion, and so is really nothing but prose. In the following I have broken up some of Miss Lowell's long lines into shorter to show the meter.

Amy Lowell, *At the Bookseller's*:

- E². — x x x — x | x —
Hanging from the ceiling by threads
B. x —
Are prints.
A. — x x | — ^
Hundreds of prints
B. x — | x x — (x x
Of actors and courtesans,
D². — | — x x —
Cheap, everyday prints
B. x x — | x — | x — (x
To delight the common people.
E². — x — | x —
Those which please the most
B. x — (x
Are women
D¹. x | — | — — x
With long slim fingers,
E². x | — x x — | —
In dresses of snow-blue,
B. x — | x — | x x x —
Of green the colour of the heart
C. x x — | — x
Of a young onion,

- B. x — | x —
Of rose, of black,
B. x — | x —
Of dead-leaf brown.

From the same author, *The Dusty Hour-Glass*—

- C. x x x x — | — x
It had been a trim garden,
E². x x | — x — | —
With parterres of fringed pinks
B. x — | x — (x
And gillyflowers,
E¹. x | — — ^ | —
And smooth raked walks.
A. — x | — x
Silks and satins
D¹. x | — x | — — x
Had brushed the box edges
B. x x — (x
Of its alleys
E¹. x | — — ^ | —
The curved stone lips
C. x x — | — ^
Of its fish ponds
B. x x x — | x x — (x
Had held the rippled reflections
C. x — | — ^
Of tricorns
B. x — | x — | x —
And powdered periwigs.

From the same author, *Planning the Garden*:

- B. x — | x —
These narrow lines
D². x | — | — x —
Are rose-drifted thrift,
A. — x x | — ^
Edging the paths.
B. x — | x —
And here I plant
D². — x | — x —
Nodding columbines,
E¹. x | — — x | — x x
With tree-tall wistarias
C. x — | — ^
Behind them,
E¹. — — x | — x
Each stem umbrella'd
B. x x — | x —
In its purple fringe.

To show that these types of rhythm may be used un-

consciously in everyday writing, I have selected the following from the *Atlanta Constitution* for August 22, 1921:

- E². — x x — | x —
More than a score of lives
B. x x — | x x x —
Are believed to have been lost
B. x x — | x — (x
In a fire that followed
B. x x — | x x — (x x
An explosion of chemicals
E². x x | — x — | —
In the Brunner Drug store
C. x x — | — ^
In the Brown House,
A. — x | — x | — x | — ^
Macon's oldest frame hotel
A. — x x | — x
Early this morning.

We have then in English prose two distinct types of rhythm, one of which uses modern verse meters, but with more freedom of substitution, and with no standard-sized foot, the other of which uses Anglo-Saxon rhythms, but again with the free admission of unstressed syllables not admitted in the poetry. Both use sentence accents instead of word accents. These two types may be illustrated in simpler form by the following (extemporized) passage, in which by slight changes one type of meter, illustrating the seven forms of feet, is converted into the other.

- E¹. — — x | —
Sometimes it seems
A. x | — x x | — x | — x
The dream of a drowsy satyr
B. x — | x — (x x
Whose proudest victory
C. x x — | — x
Is the foul conquest
E². x x | — x — | —
Of some fleeting nymph soul
D¹. — x x | — — x
Flying in fresh terror
D². x x | — | — x x —
From the brute born in his heart.

— x x | — x x | — x x | — x | — x | — x |
Sometimes it seems but the dream of a drowsy satyr, whose proudest
— x x x | — x | — x x x | — x | — x x | — x | — x
victory is the foolish conquest of some fleeting nymph of the forest, flying
x | — x x x | — x x | — x
in terror from the brute in his bosom.

Now for general principles. All verse is musical, written *as if* to be accompanied by music, even when it is not likely ever to be so accompanied. Now the use of a musical instrument necessitates some regularity of time, and some regular beating of stress, however much that beat may be disguised. Hence the regular adhesion to type forms in verse. In prose there is no beating of time, but only a psychological impression of a time interval, something like Professor Alden's supposed psychological beat in poetry. It seems reasonable to suppose therefore that the mind's ear, being subject to illusion, and not being checked up by any musical instrument, in prose allows greater variation in the lengths of feet and consequently in the number of unstressed syllables, both in the modern meters and in the Anglo-Saxon. This freedom of verse form is also involved in the act of using sentence stresses instead of word stresses, since the varying clause and phrase lengths necessitate a varying interval between sentence stresses.

Finally there arises the question whether these supposed Anglo-Saxon rhythms in prose cannot be explained otherwise. In the first place we may ask, why should Anglo-Saxon rhythms not reappear? Their total disappearance from English is itself a mysterious phenomenon, by no means wholly explained by the analytic character of modern English, and the abundance in it of symbolic words, or relation words, or by mere changes in fashions in meter. Setting this consideration aside for the moment, however, is it not possible to say that the only peculiar thing about these prose passages in question is the occasional stressing of adjacent syllables, and that this may be explained by the supposed existence of a pause replacing musically the missing unstressed syllable? The answer is simple. Read the passages over, and see how often the stresses come on adjacent syllables when there is no pause between, or only a slight and inadequate pause.

Furthermore, to get the effect of the Anglo-Saxon meter, the selections must be read with strict reference to sense, the

cadences of sense as they might be called being separated from one another. For example, take the line,

x x x — — x —
Because the guilt-burdened man

Plainly *guilt-burdened* alone constitutes the adjective idea, and is a sense cadence. To read

— ^ — x —
Guilt (pause) burdened man

in order to get iambic movement, destroys the effect.

Finally we have the question. Are Anglo-Saxon meters then natural rhythms of the English language in its prose form, slightly regularized for singing, just as the meters of modern verse are the ordinary rhythm of English prose regularized for music? It seems a reasonable explanation.

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XXXI. THE HYMNS OF ST. GODRIC

Of the origin and composition of the *Cantus Beati Godrici* and of the life of the author we have fortunately a detailed contemporary account written by one Reginald of Coldingham.¹ As Caedmon's hymn stands at the beginning of Anglo-Saxon poetry, so Godric's "hymns" are usually regarded as standing at the beginning of Middle English poetry. In each case the tradition of poetic gift is the same: the authors were supernaturally inspired in visions. With regard to Godric's song to the Virgin, Reginald tells us "*Qualiter beata dei genetrix Maria cum beata Maria Magdalene ei visibiliter apparuit et eum canticum cum cantici ipsius melo edocuit Est autem canticum illud idio-*

¹ Cf. Zupitza, "*Cantus Beati Godrici*," *Eng. St.*, XI, 401-432, for a thorough study of the life and hymns of Godric, based upon Reginald's and subsequent MSS. Godric was born in Norfolk, his parents being poor and simple people. When he grew up, he became a sort of pedler and prospered enough to acquire a half interest in a little vessel to be used for his business trips. After sixteen years of business life he decided to give himself to the service of God. He made two pilgrimages to Rome and two to Jerusalem. Then he became a hermit, lived for more than a year in a hut near Whitby and then in a hole in the ground near Durham. Here he built a little hut of wood, which he called St. Mary's Chapel; here he lived an incredibly ascetic life; here he beheld many visions, now of the devil appearing in divers forms to tempt him, now of the Virgin, of Mary Magdalene, of John the Baptist, of St. Nicholas, of St. Peter, and even of Christ; and here he died on May 20, 1170.

matris Anglici rithmiceque compositum. . . . Precepit quidem, ut, quociens dolori vel tedio vel temptationi succumbere formidaret, hoc se cantico solaretur, et ait: '*Quando sic me invocabis, meum sencies instanter auxilium*.'"² This means a rimed vernacular song, a sort of formula, by singing or chanting which Godric would receive immediate help in times of pain, weariness, or temptation. It is short and simple—two four-line stanzas. Zupitza's text³ reads as follows:

Sainte Marie uirgine,
moder Iesu Cristes Nazarene,
onfo, scild, help þin Godric,
onfang, bring hehlic wiþ þe in godes ric.

Sainte Marie, Cristes bur,
maidenes clenhad, moderes flur,
dilie mine sinne, rixe in min mod,
bring me to winne wiþ self god.⁴

The second so-called hymn is still briefer. Reginald tells how when Godric on one occasion was anxiously concerned about the fate of his deceased sister's soul, Burgwen the sister, accompanied by two angels, appeared to him in a vision and consoled him thus:

Crist and sainte Marie swa on scamel me illedde,
þat ic on þis erþe ne silde wiþ mine bare fote itredie.⁵

The third, the "Cantus de Sancto Nicholao," also had its origin in a vision. Godric one Easter night, beholding angels singing at the grave of Christ, sang these verses to St. Nicholas, who was with the angels:

² For the readings of the various MSS. cf. Zupitza, *loc. cit.*, p. 414.

³ P. 423.

⁴ Five of the thirteen MSS. (but not the earliest) have *clane* (*clene*) before uirgine in the first line; and four (including the earliest) omit the second stanza, which may be a later addition. In none of the MSS. is there a division into verses or stanzas.

⁵ Zupitza, p. 470.

Sainte Nicholas, godes druþ,
 tymbre us faire scone hus,
 at þi burth, at þi bare;
 Sainte Nicholas, bring us wel þare.⁶

As Zupitza says, "Alle drei gedichte sind so einfach und kunstlos, dass wir sie einem manne von Godric's geringer bildung sehr wohl zutrauen können." Poor rimes (mod:god, uirgine:Nazarene, druþ:hus, iledde:itredie⁷), and lame verse are evidence of naif and rudimentary art. One is tempted to emend; for example, to omit *onsfang* from the fourth line of the first song, where it looks like a repetition of *onso* in the third line. With this omission the line would scan, *bring hehlic wiþ þe in godes ric*, which seems to be a great improvement; but all the MSS. have *onsfang* and give its equivalent in the Latin translation of the verses. It should be noted also that the presence of French words (*sainte, uirgine, flur, druþ*) in these verses is no evidence that Godric could read or speak French. Indeed we know that he could not except when "inspired": "Es sei hier daran erinnert, dass Godric gelegentlich französisch gesprochen hat, wie Reginald . . . berichtet: freilich waren Godric und sein biograph der ansicht, dass der erstere die gabe, französisch zu sprechen, ohne es je gelernt zu haben, gerade dem heil. geiste verdankte."⁸ "Durch ein Wunder redete er . . . mit dem einfachen Reginald *Francigena seu Romana lingua*."⁹

As to the scansion of these simple verses there is no unanimity of opinion. "Wilhelm Grimm Zur geschichte des reims . . . urtheilt über die ihm aus Ritson bekannt geworden strophen, das sie alle "vierzeilig" sein; aber das zweite gedicht ist doch nach ausweis der reime nur zweizeilig: es besteht aus einem siebenmal und aus einem achtmal gehobene verse; beide haben eine weibliche cäsus nach der dritten hebung. Den vierten vers des 1.

⁶ Ibid., p. 430.

⁷ One Ms. has *hi trede*.

⁸ Zupitza, p. 431f.

⁹ Brandl, *Pauls Gr.*, p. 1097.

gedichtetes könnte man lust haben, in zwei verse zu zerlegen, aber es scheint mir da die zweite strophe ohne allen zweifel viersilbig ist, sicherer, dies auch bei der ersten anzunehmen: freilich muss man zugeben, dass die verse verschieden lang sind: v. 1.5.6. sind wohl viermal gehoben, vielleicht auch 3 (*onfó, scild, hēlp þin Góðric*) und 8 *bring mé to winne wiþ self góð*; v.2 hat, wenn man nicht *moder* als auftakt nehmen will, 5 hebungen; v. 7 offenbar 6 hebungen, v. 4 vielleicht auch 6 (*onsfång, bring hēhlic wiþ þē in gódes rtc*). Die verse auf den heiligen Nicholas scheinen alle mit 4 hebungen beabsichtigt zu sein."¹⁰ But Brandl: "Die Cantus Beati Godrici . . . verzichten meist auf Alliteration und wenden sich auch rhythmisch vom Bau des Stabverses zu dem des Septenars."¹¹ Müller's opinion is still different: "Der Form nach besteht das Gedicht [first song] aus zwei Strophen in fremden 4-Taktern, die aber sehr unsicher gehandelt werden, mit der Reimstellung a a b b Formell besteht dies Stück [second] aus zwei gereimten Langzeilen, deren eigentlicher Charakter schwer zu bestimmen ist. . . . Formell [in the third song] haben wir eine Strophe aus vier fremden 4-Taktern mit der Reimstellung a a b b."¹² Strangely enough, Schipper does not mention the Godric verses, though (however negligible as literature) they would seem to be of considerable significance in any history of English versification.

To the writer the natural scansion calls for a four-beat falling rhythm in all the verses. In the first and third pieces the rime scheme is a a b b; and in the second, a b a(c?) b. The result in each case is a very simple stanza, familiar in nursery rimes. The first would then scan as follows:

a Sáihte Máriè uirgíne,
a moder Iésu Crístes Názaréne,

¹⁰ Zupitza, p. 431.

¹¹ Pauls Gr., 1096.

¹² Alexander Müller, *Mittelenglische Geistliche u. Weltliche Lyrik*, Studien zur Eng. Philol., XLIV. 44.

b onfó, scild, hélp þin Gódríc,
 b onfáng, bring héhlic wiþ þé in godes ríc.¹³

a Saínte Márie, Crístes búr,
 a maídenes clénhad, móderes flúr,
 b dslie mine sínne, ríxe in min mód,
 b bring me to winne wiþ self gód

The second:

a Críst and saínte Máriè
 b swá on scámel mé ilédde,
 c þát ic ón þis érpe ne sílde
 b wiþ míne báre fóte itrédie

And the third:

a Saínte Nícholaes, gódes drúp,
 a týmbre us fáire scóne hús;
 b át þi búrth, át þi báre,
 b saínte Nícholaes, bring us wel þáre.

The obvious fact that all these verses differ markedly in structure (in rime, rhythm, and strophe) from the five-type alliterative verses which characterize virtually all of the Anglo-Saxon poetry known to us, immediately raises the question of origins. Are these nursery-like rimes imitations of any foreign verse forms—French, Provençal, Welsh, or Latin; or are they more probably a simple native product, the earliest preserved specimens of the *cantica rustica et inepta* and *vulgares cantilenae*, which, though often alluded to, had never been considered by the *docti* as literature?¹⁴ The question of translation hardly arises since Godric was an uneducated man, to say nothing of the fact that he gives us a detailed account of how each of these songs was communicated to him in a dream or vision, and the additional fact that they all deal with personal matters.

¹³ Cf. with regard to rime the Charm for the Toothache:

Saynt Margrete, the haly quene,

Saynt Katerin, the haly virgyne. (*Rel. Ant.*, I, 126)

¹⁴ Cf. the writer's article on Rhythm and Rime before the Norman Conquest, *P. M. L. A.*, XXXVI, 401ff.

Was he then imitating French verse? There is no evidence that this unlettered hermit could read, speak, or understand French: all the evidence points the other way. Furthermore, there is nothing in the form of the *chanson de geste*, romance, lai, pastorelle, or motet, or any other French written before or during the 12th century, to suggest the form of Godric's naïf songs.

Was it Provençal poetry? Godric was hardly a troubadour: he was an untutored ascetic who lived in a hole in the ground near Durham, remote sympathetically and geographically from the court of Henry and Eleanor. And if he had known any Provençal poetry, what was there in the aristocratic songs of chivalric love in the least similar to Godric's stanzas?

Was it Welsh verse? Certainly not of the literary bardic sort which Giraldus Cambrensis was describing at the time: "In cantilenis rhythmicis, et dictamine, tam subtiles inventionuntur, ut mirae et exquisitae inventionis lingua propria tam verborum quam sententiarum proferant exornationes. Unde et poetas, quos Bardos vocant, ad hoc deputatos in hac natione invenies. . . . Prae cunctis tamen rhetoricis exornationibus, annominatione magis utuntur; eaque praecipue specie, quae primas dictionum litteras vel syllabas convenientia jungit. Adeo igitur hoc verborum ornatu duae nationes, Angli scilicet et Kambri, in omni sermone exquisito utuntur, ut nihil ab his eleganter dictum, nullum egregium, nullum nisi rude et agreste censeatur eloquium, si non schematis hujus lima plena fuerit expolitum. . . . In nullis tamen linguis, quas novimus, haec exornatio adeo ut in prioribus duobus est usitata."¹⁵ And Gerald the Welshman ought to have known what he was talking about. Doubtless there were *cantica rustica* in Wales; probably many of them were rimed and rhythmical; possibly Godric may have been impressed by one that he had heard somewhere or other.

¹⁵ *Description of Wales*, Ch. 12. Though there was rime (*cantilenis rhythmicis*) as in Godric's songs, alliteration (*annominatione*) was the chief ornament of artistic verse.

But Durham was a long way from Wales, and there is nothing in the circumstantial account of Godric's biographer to afford the slightest evidence that Godric ever knew anything whatever about Welsh poetry whether bardic or popular.

The argument for Latin influence is the only one supported by any evidence. "Hier (near Durham) erhielt er eine anstellung als kirchendiener und glöckner bei der kirche des heiligen Aegidius. Er vertauschte später diese kirche mit der der heiligen Maria, weil er hier an dem elementarunterricht theilnehmen konnte, durch den er bald für seine zwecke genug lernte."¹⁶ And of the psalms, hymns, and prayers that this pious and unkempt hermit, no longer young, painfully fixed in his memory, it very probably may be said, "Noght wiste he what this Latin was to seye."

The natural inference from this account has been that Godric's own so-called hymns in the vernacular imitate those he had learned. Is this inference well founded? Though there were many four-stress hymns that he might have heard and learned (e.g., the "O Rex aeternae, Domine" or the "Apparebit repentina," to mention two praised by Bede), the number of rimed accentual four-stress hymns of four-line stanzas with the rime a a b b that could have

¹⁶ Zupitza, p. 407. This passage is based upon Reginald: "Postea ad ecclesiam sanctae Mariae . . . transmigravit; quia ibi pueris *litterarum prima elementa* discentibus interesse delegit. Ubi ea, quae prius didicit, arctius memoriae infixit et quaedam, quae antea non cognoverat, ibi audiendo, legendo atque psallendo apprehendit . . . In brevi igitur tantisper profecerat quod in *psalmis, hymnis et orationibus nonnullis, quantum sibi sufficere credebatur, firmus et certus exstiterat.*" (Cf. note 4, p. 407) Reginald's interesting account of this elementary instruction suggests the little clergeon of the Prioress:

This litel child, his litel book lerninge,
As he sat in the scole at his prymer,
He *Alma Redemptoris* herde singe,
As children lerned hir antiphoner;
And, as he dorste, he drough him ner and ner,
And herkned ay the wordes and the note,
Til he the first vers coude al by rote.

been known in the middle of the 12th century is small, and no one has been able to find in the collections one that bears a notable resemblance to Godric's productions. It is safe to assert that Godric's verses, if imitations at all, have only a very vague resemblance to any Latin hymn whatever. The Latin hymns, whether accentual or quantitative, rimed or unrimed, required a regular number of syllables for each line, and could not, musically speaking, permit any approach to the licenses of Godric's "inspired" verses, which no one can scan satisfactorily to this day.¹⁷ Evidently Godric did not sing his songs to any tune that any one was familiar with. A glance at his verses shows difficulties; and we are not surprised to learn that the *music* was inspired as well as the words.¹⁸ It may then be fairly assumed that the tune (*melos*) differed from that of any of the familiar hymns; and it is certain that the verse structure differed widely.

Yet Brandl thinks Godric learned his "art" from the psalms, hymns, and prayers that he memorized: ". . . daher hat er offenbar seine Kunst; er ist ein Zeuge für die damalige Beschaffenheit des Kirchengesanges in die Volkssprache." Brandl sees in Godric's *diction* French influence also and cites Godric's verses as the first example showing how the Middle English lyric was molded in form and content by foreign models: "wenn er [Godric] dessen Sprache [French] vor einem Abte nicht gebrauchte, so geschah es vielleicht nur, weil er darin nicht *edoctus* war, wie sein Biograph Reginald . . . berichtet; durch ein Wunder redete er ein ander Mal mit dem einfachen Reginald *Fran-*

¹⁷ There may be unconscious humor in Reginald's account of the inspiration: "Textus vero verborum quibus canticum illud (hymn to the Virgin) componitur, verbis Anglice lingue contextitur. Quae omnia rithmico tenore contextunter et *melo cantici quosdam sonos musicos audientibus imitari videntur*" (Zupitza, p. 415). There is certainly no indication here that either words or tune suggested to any one who heard them any similarity whatever to Latin hymns.

¹⁸ Zupitza, p. 414: "et eum canticum cum cantici ipsius melo edocuit."

cigena seu Romana. Hier knüpft nach Form, Inhalt und fremdländischer Tradition die me. Lyrik an."¹⁹

These conclusions seem to be based on slight evidence—the fact that Godric had heard and learned certain hymns, and the presence in his verses of a few Romance words: *sainte*, *uirgine*, *flur*, and *druþ*, though the first three of these words might by this time have colloquially current, and *druþ*, as Zupitza has pointed out,²⁰ had been used in the Anglo-Saxon poem *Be Domes Dæge*, v. 290. To be sure, if we read the Godric songs as four-beat verse (which seems to be the most reasonable scansion), there is in this respect a slight resemblance to certain Latin hymns, with which Godric may have been familiar; but no one has been able to find a hymn to which the resemblance is clear. And certainly in the circumstantial account of the inspiration there is no evidence of imitation: "*Quod genus cantici*," says Reginald after hearing Godric sing, "*cum verbis ipsius retinui, quia illud beata dei genetrice Maria edocente se didicisse mihi secretius sibi colloquenti asseruit.*"²¹ And Reginald *never* speaks of Godric's verse as a hymn (*hymnus*) but always as a *canticum*—a "*canticum idiomatis Anglici ritmiceque compositum.*"

Before proceeding further it would be well to examine more closely the nature of these so-called hymns. Are they really hymns at all? With regard to the first, we are told that the Virgin "Precepit quidem, ut, quociens dolori vel tedio vel temptationi succumbere formidaret, hoc se cantico solaretur, et ait: 'Quando sic me invocabis, meum sencies instanter auxilium.'"²² This song then is really a sort of lorica, in the nature of a charm or incantation. This point has been overlooked in previous discussions of the verses. The St. Nicholas verses are of the same type (incantation):

¹⁹ *Pauls Gr.*, p. 1097.

²⁰ P. 431.

²¹ Zupitza, p. 417. *Quod genus cantici* does not suggest Latin hymns.

²² Zupitza, p. 416.

Sainte Nicholaes, godes druf,
 tymbre us faire scone hus;
 at þi burth, at þi bare,
 Sainte Nicholaes, bring us wel þare.²³

The other song Zupitza would read as two long lines:

Crist and sainte Marie swa on scamel me iledde,
 þat ic on þis erþe ne silde wiþ mine bare fote itredie.

In view of the form of the other two songs, is there not another possible and more probable division of the words, giving a four-beat line:

Crist and sainte Marie
 swa on scamel me iledde
 þat ic on þis erþe ne silde
 wiþ mine bare fote itredie.

In either case, though there is a confused reminiscence here of Biblical phrasing,²⁴ there is certainly nothing in the *form* to suggest a Latin hymn. We are told that the words were sung to Godric by the departed spirit of his sister and were intended to reassure him. Without stressing the point, we may say that this short utterance is suggestive

²³ For this song Zupitza (p. 430) discusses and finally rejects the incantation form. He would put a comma after *hus* and a semicolon after *bare*, and says: "Ferner der gedanke, dass jene worte (*at þi burth, at þi bare*) elliptisch stehen konnten = 'bei deiner geburt, bei deiner bahre beschwören wir dich' muss aufgegeben werden, da *at* bei schwören wohl im Altn., aber nicht in Englischen vorkommt. Ausserdem schiene mir die wahl dieser zwei substantive für eine beschwörung unpassend. Soviel ich sehe, bleibt nichts übrig, als in jenen worten eine nachträgliche bestimmung zu *godes druf* zu sehen." The meaning is confessedly obscure; but, if any meaning is to be had from it, one can hardly take *at* in the locative sense and connect the third line with *godes druf*. The sense demands that the third line be taken with the fourth. It is not incredible that Scandinavian influence in the north of England in the 12th century should account for the colloquial use of *at* in the sense of *by*. However that may be, and whether we accept Zupitza's interpretation or not, in form the verses are more like an incantation than anything else.

²⁴ E.g., of *scamellum pedum* (Ps. 98:5 and 109:1) and of *in manibus portabunt te, ne umquam offendas ad lapidem pedum tuum* (Ps. 90:12). Cf. Zupitza, p. 429.

of the narrative part of many incantations (whether heathen or Christianized), the purpose being to recite a precedent for the thing prayed for in the formula. This "epic" element is common in charms everywhere. The idea is, "As it was in that case, so may it be in this." However, in view of the fact that one of the three MSS. containing this short passage differs from the other two,²⁵ one cannot be certain of the original form. All one can say is that in none of the three MSS. of this song is there any recognizable similarity to the versification of the Latin hymns.

Since no one would maintain that any of Godric's childish songs are translations, and since there is no evidence to support the theory that in *form* they are recognizable imitations of any French, Provençal, Welsh, or Latin models, one may suggest the hypothesis (which even at first glance would seem plausible enough) that for these simple, awkward verses Godric was not indebted *in the matter of form* to any literary source whatever.²⁶ According to this hypothesis, his songs are native popular verse: his *cantica idiomatis Anglici ritmiceque composita* are *cantica rustica, vulgares cantilenae*. One reason why they deserve study is that they are rare—virtually unique—specimens of popular, unliterary verse, to which there are

²⁵ Harl. 153 reads: "seinte Marie swa me iledde that ic on pis erthe ne sulde noth mine bare fote hi trede." Cf. Zupitza, p. 426.

²⁶ They are rather to be equated with such utterances as this of his: "Alia die dum solus resedisset, contigit ut subito altius elata voce quodam modulamine musico cujusdam cantici melodiam concineret. Post vocum dulciora modulamina, subnexit et verba, quae auditori simplici satis fuere perceptibilia, nam sermone Anglico usus est, at tamen cantilenae dulcedine cum ipsis sermonibus diutissime perfunctus est. Dixit enim haec verba Anglica, quae saepe ab ipso sunt iterando replicata, 'Welcume, Simund; welcume, Simund'; quod Latino sermone sic exprimitur; 'Bene venias, Symon; bene venias, Symon.' Verba his plura in canendo non protulit; sed dulcis cantilenae diversitate vocum sonoras arterias immutando saepius alternavit; nam quoties eadem verba repetiit, semper novi ac disparis cantus melodias quibusque syllabis verborum apposuit." (Stevenson, *Libellus de Vita et Miraculis S. Godrici*, Surtees Soc., p. 306f.

many allusions,²⁷ and which differed radically from the stichic alliterative Anglo-Saxon literary verse in that it was characterized by more regular rhythm, by end rime, and by stanzaic structure.²⁸

In the writer's opinion, then, Godric's prayers to the Virgin and to St. Nicholas are closely allied in form and purpose to the charm or incantation type of verse²⁹ of which we have examples in Anglo-Saxon, and all of his so-called hymns represent native popular verse uninfluenced by any foreign models. It will be remembered that the Virgin, after teaching him the words, said, "Quando sic me invocabis, meum sencies instanter auxilium," and that the singing of the formula would secure him aid and comfort in times of sorrow, weariness, or temptation. The St. Nicholas song also is in the nature of a charm or incantation. To be sure, many hymns, heathen or Christian, past and present, are essentially prayers and supplications; but none of the Latin hymns is of the short, formula-like type characteristic of the Godric verses. On the other hand, a comparison with certain Anglo-Saxon charms

²⁷ Cf. *Pauls Gr.* II, 37-43; 69f.; 958ff. Cf. also Wilhelm Grimm: ". . . so ist wohl glaublich, dass jene *cantilenae vulgares* schon darin irthe form gefunden hatten, nemlich in jenen einfachen, meist aus vier, manchmal aus sechs oder drei zeilen bestehenden absätzen, die beim volkslied nachweislich bis zum 13 jahrhundert fortgedauert haben." (*Zur Geschichte des Reims*, Königl. Akad. der Wissenschaften, p. 179f.)

²⁸ Cf. *P. M. L. A.*, XXXVI, 401ff.

²⁹ I can't resist the temptation to quote in this connection the Latin account of Godric's adjuration to his cow: "Praecipio tibi in nomine Domini, quatinus absque omni ductore quotidiedum orto sole tempus fuerit, sola ad tua pascua abeas; et omni meridie et vespere, dum opportunum tempus advenerit, sine omni ductoris ministerio domi redeas; et quando ubera tua prae lactis copia mulgenda fuerint, ad me ubi fuero, venias; et emulso ubere, iterum exonerata ad pascua, si tempus sit, redeas." Mirandum plane et obstupendum! Ex die illa et deinceps, semper vacca illa termino competenti exiit et rediit, et quoties lactis pinguedine per diem ubera illius essent gravida, venit ad illum; et si forte fuisset in Ecclesia, illa stabat ad ostium foris, rugitum vel balatum proferens, et quasi eum advocans. (Stevenson, *Op. cit.*, p. 121).

reveals striking similarities in form. Compare, for example, the Bee Charm:

Sitte ge sigewif, sigað to eorþan!
 Naefre ge wilde to wudu fleogan!
 Beo ge swa gemundige mines godes
 Swa biþ manna gehwilec metes and eþeles.

If, in view of the fact that many of the charms (but not the Bee Charm) in Anglo-Saxon and Old High German show Christian influence,³⁰ the question be raised whether *their* form was influenced by the Latin hymns, the answer is that there is just as much evidence to prove that these charms were so influenced as there is to prove that the Godric songs were—that is, no evidence at all. And no one has advanced such a theory. Much more probably it was just the other way: the short incantation formula of paganism, antedating Christianity, was transformed and expanded into the Christian hymns.³¹

All the evidence tends to show (1) that the so-called Godric hymns are not hymns at all; (2) that they are not translations or imitations of any foreign model whether Latin, Provençal, French, or Welsh; but (3) that all three are native song verse, *cantica rustica et inepta* of the simplest kind; and (4) that in form two of them at least belong to the native type of incantation popular verse.³²

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³⁰ By introducing, for example, the Pater Noster and the names of Christ and the Virgin.

³¹ Some of the Christian hymns suggest the incantation: cf. the "Hymnus in Postulatione Pluviae" attributed to Ambrose.

³² Doubtless there were many *cantica rustica et inepta* in both Anglo-Saxon and Middle English times now lost to us. "St. Godric's hymn to the Virgin . . . escaped oblivion only by being imbedded in Latin texts of the life of that saint." (Carleton Brown, *Register of Middle English Religious and Didactic Verse*, Pt. II, p. xii).

XXXII. THE LATIN EPIGRAM OF THE MIDDLE ENGLISH PERIOD

Although much has been written of the relation of the Latin classics to English literature, comparatively little interest has been taken by scholars in the actual use of Latin as a practical instrument by English writers. During the Middle Ages it was the universal language for religious and learned works; even at a later date Bacon found it difficult to discard Latin for English, having the *Essays* translated into Latin on the ground that it was the more durable medium for the transmission of his thoughts to posterity.

The Latin written during the Middle English period, though by no means classical, was a good, working instrument, fashioned by English-speaking men and showing the influence of modern syntax and a readiness to adapt vocabulary to present needs. The present paper deals with a single type of the Latin literature produced in England—the epigram; and the examples presented are taken exclusively from works included in the *Rolls Series*.

With a few exceptions, the texts printed in these volumes are Latin. Scattered through these old histories are bits of verse, some long, but most of them short. The bulk of these have not a high literary value; some are biographical, some eulogistic, a few humorous or satirical, some epigrammatic in a strict sense; all come properly under the head of occasional verse. The older writers, however, were not scientifically accurate as to definitions, so that nearly all of these compositions may come under the head of epigram, that is, any brief non-lyrical poem not involving a narrative. To constitute an epigram, even in the mediaeval sense, brevity must be insisted on. Few poems in the *Greek Anthology*, or in *Martial*, can be found to run over twenty lines, and most of them probably average nearer ten. The epigrams of John Owen, the seventeenth-century *Martial*,

are mostly short pieces of two and four lines. In the following collection, therefore, I have omitted poems of more than twenty lines.

A large part of the short verses in the Rolls Series are either genuine epitaphs,¹ presumably copied from tombstones, or poems written in the manner of epitaphs. In either case the epigrammatic nature of the composition is evident. The monastic historians frequently preface these epigrams with such phrases as "quidam versificus ait," or "quidam metricus sic ait." It is impossible to distinguish the author's identity; he may really be anonymous, or "quidam" may be a mask assumed by the historian for modesty's sake. As Stubbs says,² "Everyone who could write prose thought he could write verse," and the character of some of the verse is such as to make advisable a discreet veiling of the authorship. The epigrams which are here considered all fall within the bounds of the Middle English period, roughly from the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries. The larger number of examples, and those of the best workmanship, belong to the twelfth century. For the sake of convenience I have arranged the historians in chronological order taking the death year in every case as the basis.

William of Malmesbury (ob. 1142)

The following verses, which are typical of Mediaeval Latin style and the epigrammatic impulse, were composed, by an enemy, on a brazen ring found under the skin of Godefrey, Abbot of Malmesbury from 1081 to 1105.³

Mortificare decet vitiis carnalia membra;
Non decet ut ferro mortificentur ea.
Hunc naturali decuisset morte resolvi;
Quam quia praevenit, est homicida sui.

William then pens his own reply, introducing it with the words: "Cui totidem versibus responderi potest."

¹ I have not had access to the collections of epitaphs by T. J. Pettigrew, 1857, or E. R. Suffling, 1909. Probably many will be found in those books.

² Stubbs, W., *Lectures on Mediaeval and Modern History*. p. 153.

³ *Gesta Pontif. Angl.*, p. 433.

Immo decet quocunque modo cohibere cadaver;
 Hoc exempla docent, hoc tenet alma fides.
 Nec voluit ferro properam consciscere mortem,
 Ferrea sed vitii ponere frena suis.

In contrast to the foregoing verses, which have some epigrammatic point, the following⁴ may be given as representative of that large class of epigrams which, though called forth by a definite occasion, do not treat it with distinction or point.

Hic terror mundi Guiscardus,⁵ hic expulit urbe
 Quem Ligures regem, Roma, Lemannus habent.
 Parthus, Arabs, Macedumque phalanx non texit Alexin,
 At fuga; sed Venetum nec fuga nec pelagus.

The following verses, quoted from "quidam versificus," are on a venal bishop, Herbert Losinga (1054-1119), who bought the see of Thetford.

Surgit in ecclesia monstrum, genitore Losinga,
 Simonidum secta, canonum virtute resecta.
 Petre, nimis tardas, nam Simon ad ardua temptat;
 Si praesens esses, non Simon ad alta volaret.
 Proh dolor! Ecclesiae nummis vendentur et aere.
 Et infra:⁶
 Filius est praesul, pater abbas, Simon uterque.
 Quid non speremus si nummos possideamus?
 Omnia nummus habet; quod vult facit, addit, et aufert.
 Res nimis injusta, nummis fit praesul et abba.

Occasionally, however, a well-known name is cited, as is the case with the following verses by Godfrey of Winchester. Godfrey, whose work is preserved in Wright's *Satirical and Epigrammatic Poets of the Twelfth Century*, was quite the best Latinist of the time. In many of his epigrams he imitates Martial, and is at times fairly successful, although he never fully attains Martial's mastery of con-

⁴ *Gesta Regum Angl.*, II, p. 322.

⁵ Robert Guiscard, or Wiscard, a Norman conqueror 1015-85.

⁶ These two poems, separated by William of Malmesbury, are given as a continuous composition in *Eulogium Historiarum*, III, 55, and in Roger of Wendover, *Flores Historiarum*, II, 27.

struction. He evidently enjoyed a considerable reputation among his contemporaries, as he is often referred to by them. The verses are occasioned by the death of Serlo, Abbot of Gloucester, 1077-1104.

Ecclesiae munus cecidit, Serlone cadente:
 Virtutis gladius, buccina justitiae,
 Vera loquens, et non vanis sermonibus utens,
 Et, quos corripuit, principibus placuit.
 Judicium praeceps, contrarius ordinis error,
 Et levitas morum, non placuere sibi.
 Tertius a Jano mensis, lux tertia mensis,
 Cum nece suppressum vita levavit eum.

Henry of Huntingdon (1084?-1155)

Probably the most prolific source of poetic inspiration to the mediaeval historian was the death of a famous personage, contemporary or historical. Such poems were sometimes written to satisfy local pride, or to furnish merely a theme for poetic practice. The following poem⁷ is the work of an historian who evidently prided himself on his capacity for this sort of thing, for his history contains much of his own verse, and he has left two books of epigrams, one of which, the eleventh book of his history, is printed by Wright in the collection cited above.⁸

O Elfreda⁹ potens, O terror virorum,
 Victrix naturae, nomine digna viri.
 Te, quo, splendidior fieres, natura puellam,
 Te probitas fecit nomen habere viri.
 Te mutare decet, sed solam, nomina sexus,
 Tu regina potens, rexque trophaea parans.
 Jam nec Caesarei tantum meruere triumphi,
 Caesare splendidior, virgo virago, vale.

There is a slight touch of satire and persiflage about this panegyric that raises it above the level of the usual composition of this type.

⁷ *Hist. Angl.*, p. 158.

⁸ The second book of epigrams, or the twelfth of the history, has never been printed. The writer has a rotograph copy of the manuscript (Lambeth 118), which he intends to publish.

⁹ Widow (*ob.* 918) of Ethered, a lord of Mercia.

Like other historians of the time, Henry was also prone to quote the work of anonymous writers. The following verses,¹⁰ evidently a copy of the original epitaph, were occasioned by the death of Robert Bloet, Bishop of Lincoln (*ob.* 1123).

Pontificum Robertus honor, quem fama superstes
Perpetuare dabit, non obiturus obit.
Hic humilis dives, (res mira) potens pius, ultor
Compatiens, mitis cum pateretur erat.
Noluit esse suis dominus, studuit pater esse,
Semper in adversis murus et arma suis.
In decima Jani mendacis somnia mundi
Liquit, et evigilans vera perenne videt.

The following verses¹¹ on the death of Henry I in 1135 show that Henry of Huntingdon could do this kind of thing himself, and are an illustration of the common combination of eulogy and pithy comment characteristic of the mediaeval epitaph.

Rex Henricus obit, decus olim, nunc dolor orbis;
Numina flent numen deperiisse suum.
Mercurius minor eloquio, vi mentis Apollo,
Jupiter imperio, Marsque vigore gemunt.
Janus cautela minor, Alcides probitate,
Conflictu Pallas, arte Minerva gemunt.
Anglia quae cunis, quae sceptro numinis hujus
Ardua splenduerat, jam tenebrosa ruit;
Haec cum rege suo, Normannia cum duce marcet;
Nutrit haec puerum, perdidit illa virum.

Henry has also a short epigram on the death of his father in 1110, which is submitted as an example of his workmanship on a smaller scale.¹²

Stella cadit cleri, splendor marcet Nicholai;
Stella cadens cleri, splendeat arce Dei.

In the *Historia Rerum Anglicarum* by William of Newburgh are to be found the usual epitaphs on dignitaries

¹⁰ *Op. cit.* p. 244.

¹¹ *Op. cit.* p. 254.

¹² *Op. cit.* p. 237.

of the church, together with one of Henry I.¹³ Most of these are not original compositions, but the following is given as an example of William's taste in selection. It is on the consecration of Pope Gregory X, and the heading suggests that it may have been an impromptu composition:

De quo Johannes episcopus Portuensis, Albus cardinalis, publico praedicando coram cardinalibus dixit.

Fertur per saltum noster Theobaldus in altum;
Invidia fratrum fit pater ille patrum.

Roger of Hoveden (ob. 1201)

The epigrams given below¹⁴ were called forth by the death of Richard I in 1199. They are given in each case with the writer's preface:

De morte autem illius quidam sic ait,

In huius morte perimit formica Leonem.
Proh dolor, in tanto funere mundus obit!

Et alius sic;

Virus, avaritia, scelus, enormisque libido,
Foeda fames, atrox elatio, caeca cupido
Annis regnarunt bis quinis: arcubalista
Arte, manu, telo, prostravit viribus ista.

Et alius sic;

Si genus et probitas metas transcendere mortis
Possent, intrassem non ego mortis iter.
Stare putas hominem, cui mors ab origine finem
Nunciat, et meus est, ingeminat, meus est?
Longa manus morti; mors fortior Hectore forti;
Expugnant homines oppida, mors homines.

Et alius sic;

Huius debellare nequivit virtutem magnorum turba laborum:
Cuius iter, gressus, obstacula nulla retardant,

¹³ Found also in *Annales de Waverleia*, p. 224. As the mediaeval historian did not scruple to life the work of other writers for historical purposes, so he quoted quotations also when it suited him. Many of such duplications appear throughout the Rolls Series.

¹⁴ *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, IV, 84.

Non strepitus, non ira maris, non vallis abyssus,
 Non juga, non celsi praeceps audacia montis,
 Asperitasque viae saxis callosa, nec ipsae
 Limitis ambages, desertaque nescia gressus,
 Non rabies venti, non imbribus ebria nubes,
 Non tonitrus horrenda lues, non nubilus aer.

Walter Map, or Mapes (*ob.* 1210), although his poems do not appear in the Rolls Series, is too important a figure to dismiss without some examples of his work. He is known to fame principally as the author of the so-called Goliardic poems, but the question of authorship does not concern us here. Undoubtedly he wrote some of them, and he was probably capable of writing all of them. They have more of the true satirical touch than any of the verse we have been considering, and are composed in the vivid, racy Latin of the time. The following selections are taken from Wright's edition of Map's Latin Poems, published by the Camden Society.

Goliás de equo pontificis.

Pontificalis equus est quodam lumine coecus,
 segnis et antiquus, morsor, percursor iniquus;
 nequam propter equam, nullamque viam tenet aequam,
 cespitet in plano, nec surgit poplite sano:
 si non percuteret de vertice saepe capistrum,
 et si portaret passu meliore magistrum,
 nil in eo possemus equo reperire sinistrum.

Epigramma de Mantello a Pontifice dato.

Pontificum spuma, faex cleri, sordida struma,
 qui dedit in bruma mihi mantellum sine pluma.
 Dic mihi, mantelle, tenuis, macer, et sine pelle,
 si potes, expelle pluviam rabiemque procellae.
 Inquit Mantellus, 'Mihi nec pilus est neque vellus;
 inplerem jussum, sed Jacob non Esau sum.'

Epigramma de Goliardo et Episcopo.

Goliardus

Non invitatus venio prandere paratus;
 sic sum fatatus, nunquam prandere vocatus.

Episcopus

Non ego curo vagos, qui rura, mapalia, pagos
 perlustrant, tales non vult mea mensa sodales.
 Te non invito; tibi consimiles ego vito:
 me tamen invito potieris pane petito.
 [Ablue, terge, sede, prande, bibe, terge, recede.]

Aliud epigramma de iisdem.

Goliardus

Si dederis vestes quae possunt pellere pestes,
 dii mihi sunt pestes, erimus Pylades et Orestes.

Episcopus

Si post hoc dictum nummos quaeras vel amictum,
 non est delictum si quis tibi praebeat ictum.
 Si tibi praebetur laeto vultu quod habetur,
 dicas esse satis quod confertur tibi gratis.
 Si tibi collatum nullatenus est tibi gratum,
 quod tecum latum, fuerit, fac esse paratum.
 Conde, tene quod habes; si monstres, tunc tua perdes.

Another picturesque figure of the times was Giraldus Cambrensis (1147-1223). A priest, but not a monk, he was well acquainted with the court, was much travelled, and his books are full both of an antiquarian and a contemporary interest. His epigrams are to be found in his *Symbolum Electorum*, a collection of his best things made at the request of friends. There are not many of them, but enough to show what skill he had in writing. Giraldus is careful about his Latin, as he shows in the following verses on someone who had made 'a' of 'utraque' long in the nominative:

Qui reus *utraque* posuit pro nomine nomen,
 Pro casu casum sic posuisse dolet.
 Amodo sit vitium pro casu ponere casum,
 Et proprium tenent amodo quisque locum.
 Antitosis pereat, penitusque recedat ab usu,
 Decidat, et vitium sit ratione carens.
 Utraque non meminit cum sic posuisset *utraque*
 Utraque cum videat plangit *utraque* videns.

Mens secura sui vitii fuit hujus origo,
 Si duo communes quae nocuere simul.
 Accentus primi casus et tempora sexti,
 Haec tria tres causae criminis hujus erant.

The following epigrams, taken from the *De Instructione Principis*, are apparently anonymous. The first is on the virtues of Theobald, count of Blois and Champagne in the early thirteenth century.

Ille comes comes ille pius Theobaldus erat, quem
 Gaudet habere polu, terra carere dolet.
 Non hominem possum, non audeo dicere numen;
 Mors probat hunc hominem, vita fuisse deum.
 Trans hominem citraque deum, plus hoc, minus illo,
 Nescio quis; neuter, inter utrumque fuit.

The second—an epitaph on Louis VII, about 1180—illustrates the epigrammatic habit of playing on words, intensifying the word-play in this case by a tmesis of ‘superes’ and ‘degeneres.’

Hunc superes tu, qui super es successor honoris;
 Degener es, si degeneres a laude prioris.

All of the following epigrams are taken from the *Symbolum Electorum*, with Giraldus’ Latin title given in each case.

De Ebaculo cui caput natura curvaverat, pedem ars armaverat, Mapa transmissus.

Versibus ornatum bis senis accipe munus,
 Et de tot gemmis elige, Mape, duos.
 Dat camurum natura caput, finemque fabrilis
 Ars facit armatum, fabrica fessa levat.
 Ars nodum, natura modum firmans in acumen
 Ferri descendit, fessaque membra regunt;
 Artis figmentum firmans natura recurvum
 Apponit recto, dat faber arma pedi.
 Artis opus geminat, juvit natura, senique
 Prodiit hinc podium fessa focosque juvans.
 Me duo componunt ars et natura, seniles
 Artus sustineo, fessa focosque rego.
 Pes ego decrepitis, offensis virga, levamen
 Fessis, obscuris orbita, furca focus.

Consolatio messa dolenti.

Tristibus adde modum tandem dedisce dolere,
Finis erit lacrimis dedoluisse semel."

Solatia renuentis responsio.

Tristibus adde modum dictu leve, sed leve non est.
Quod male praedidici dedidicisse malum.
Finis erit lacrimis dictu leve, sed leve non est,
Cum semel indolui dedoluisse semel.

Ad quemdam antiquorum non moribus sed sermonibus uti
nitentem.

Verba minus memores veterum magis exprime mores
Quorum si memores diligis et memor es.

Versus stallo suo suprascripti et ab ipso compositi.

Vive Deo, tibi mors requies, tibi vita labori;
Vive Deo; mors est vivere, vita mori.

Duelli descriptio.

Armat amor juvenes, pretium stat virgo, minantur
Crux et aves, merces unica, poena duplex.

The following selections are also from the *Symbolum
Electorum*, but the poems are entitled *Juvenilia* by Giraldus.

Versus epitaphii Magistri Giraldi.

Quis fuerit quem petra tegit quantumque futuris
Pervigilans studiis edita scripta docent.
Quod dedit hic aufert, hic tollit terra quod affert;
Omnis in hac vita gloria transit ita.
Quod fugit ut fumus, perit ut, praeterit ut flos,
Felix qui spernit, quodque perenne petit.
Ergo ubi nil varium, nil vanum, qui legit ista
Sint ibi fixa tibi spes, amor atque fides.
Hoc petit hic positus quisquis loca permeat ista
Fundens dona precum se probet esse pium.

Versus armariolo librorum Giraldi quo composuit suprascripti.

Carmina Giraldi si mens studiosa requirit
Quae legat et laudet hic reperire valet;
A sacro tamen ipso loco sine pignore nemo
Tollat ut excepti mens memor esse queat.

De cura carni quam spiritui propensius impensa.

Ha! quam sollicito quisque timore,
Occursat medico carnis amore;
De morbis animae nulla querela,
Egressam sequitur tarda medela.

Jocatur Giraldus in censuras Romani Pontificis.

Mirum quae Romae modicas sententia Papae
Non movet hic subito sceptrum movere facit.
Quae minimos minime censura coerces in urbe
Saevit in orbe fremens, celsaque colla premens.
Cui male sublatus Romae non cederet hortus
Nititur ad nutum flectere regna suum.

Carmen Epitaphicum

Claudatur hoc tumulo, cui tempore vix fuit illo
Vel sine mens studio vel manus absque stylo.
Continuis penetrare solent praecordia curia
Posteritatis amor desidiaque pudor.
Florebunt igitur mentisque manusque labores
Cum suus ex merito quemque sequatur honos.

Aliud ejusdem

Kambria Giraldum genuit, sic Cambria mentem
Erudiit, cineres cui lapis iste tegit.
Crux lapidem signat signo munitus eodem
Vir Christique fide noxia nulla timet.
Vas vacuum sed signatum, si indemne relictum
Tutus erit quisquis gaudet utroque frui.
Dum tandem illa simul opus et dilectio firment
Fultaque sic junctis cruxque fidesque bonis.

Roger of Wendover (ob. 1236)

The following epitaph from an anonymous pen is taken from the *Chronica*, better known as the *Flores Historiarum*. It is composed in the usual manner except for the probably intentional *double entendre* in the second line. The occasion is the death of King John in 1216.

Hoc in sarcophago sepelitur regis imago,
Qui moriens multum sedavit in orbe tumultum.
Hunc mala post mortem timor est ne fata sequantur.
Qui legis haec, metuens dum cernis te moriturum,
Discute quid rerum pariat tibi meta dierum.

Matthew Paris (1195-1259)

The name of Matthew Paris has come down to us as the greatest of mediaeval historiographers. He does not seem to have much of a taste for poetry, as he has preserved in his works very little outside of the conventional epitaphs. The following verses,¹⁵ a satirical composition on Lucius II, are interesting on account of the end rhyme. Contrary to the general supposition, rhyme is not generally prevalent in mediaeval Latin verse; as a matter of fact, very little of it occurs in the writers of the Rolls Series.

Lucius est piscis, rex atque tyrannus aquarum,
A quo discordat Lucius iste parum;
Devorat hic homines, hic piscibus insidiatur,
Esurit hic semper, hic aliquando satur.
Amborum sensus si lanx aequata probaret,
Plus rationis habet, qui ratione caret.

The following couplet¹⁶ is given as another example of tmesis, of a particularly outrageous kind. It was called forth, according to Matthew, by some scandalous verses against the Queen and the legate, which he attributes to an anonymous Goliardic poet.

Clere, tremisco metu, quia vis contempnere me tu;
Perfundor fletu, mea dampna fleo, tua fle tu.

The following verses are said to have been written in the bed-chamber of the Pope by an unknown poet. They are an epigrammatical prophecy against the Pope.

Fata docent, stellaeque monent aviumque volatus,
Totius mundi malleus unus erit.
Roma diu titubans, variis erroribus acta,
Totius mundi desinet esse caput.

Immediately after the above lines Matthew prints the following prophecy in answer against the emperor.

Fama refert, scriptura docet, peccata loquuntur,
Quod tua vita brevis, poena perennis erit.

¹⁵ *Hist. Angl.*, I, 275.

¹⁶ *Chronica Majora*, III, 169; for the epigrams which follow cf. III. 551.

The twelfth century marks the apex of achievement in the writing of Latin verse, at least as far as the mediaeval period is concerned. From that time on there is discernible a deterioration in both quantity and quality, which becomes marked and rapid in the fourteenth century. Latin, of course, continued to be used as a practical instrument for two centuries, but it is natural that the period that marked the rise of the native tongue should also see the decline of a language that was not the daily speech of the people. The selections that follow, therefore, are given to complete the survey of Latin verse employed for the purpose of epigrammatic writing, and not because they mark the climax of literary achievement.

John de Oxenedes (ob. 1293)

The following verses¹⁷ were occasioned by the death of Edgar in 978. It is not possible accurately to place the authorship of the lines, but the preface, "de cuius laude componuntur versus subsequentes," may point to the historian as himself the poet.

Auctor opum, vindex scelerum, largitor honorum,
 Sceptriger Edgarus regna superna petit.
 Hic alter Salomon, legum pater, orbita pacis,
 Quod caruit bellis, claruit inde magis.
 Templa Deo, templis monachos, monachis dedit agros,
 Nequitiae lapsum, justitiaeque locum.
 Novit enim regno verum perquirere falso,
 Immensum modico, perpetuumque brevi.

The following lines,¹⁸ called forth by the death at sea of the two sons of Henry I and other members of the royal household, are probably John's composition, as nothing is said to the contrary.

Cum Normannigenae Gallis clare superatis
 Anglica regna petunt, obstitit ipse Deus:
 Nam fragili torvum dum percurrit mare cymba,
 Intulit ex cito nubila densa mari.

¹⁷ *Chronica Johannis de Oxenedes*, p. 13.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 46.

Dumque vagi caeco rapiuntur tramite nautae,
 Ruperunt imas abdita saxa rates.
 Sic mare dum superans tabulata per ultima sepsit,
 Mersit rege satos, occidit orbis honos.

John either quotes or writes a considerable number of short poems on the conventional subjects of the epigram: deaths, births, dedications, and the like. I shall give only two. The following verses were occasioned by the birth of Prince Henry in 1154.

Explicit Anglorum series Britonumque priorum,
 Attigit Henrici quae tempora, pacis amici,
 Regnum in hac gente Stephano prius ante tenente:
 Edita quam breviter ut pateat leviter.

The second is a single line on the death of Hugh de Neville in 1222. It derives some interest from the fact that it is quoted by Thomas Fuller.¹⁹

Viribus Hugonis vires periere leonis.

Ranulph Higden (ob. 1364)

The following epigram,²⁰ according to Higden, was found on the chair of a judge, the skin of whose corrupt father furnished the seat, and whose evil example is used to give point to the epigram. No author is given.

Sede sedens ista iudex inflexibilis sta.
 A manibus revoces munus, ab aure preces.
 Sit tibi lucerna lex, lux, pellisque paterna
 Qua resides natus pro patre sponte datus.

Higden also gives the epitaph²¹ on Rosamund, the mistress of Henry II. The rhyme here proceeds not so much from design as from the wish to play upon words, the never-failing resource of the mediaeval versifier.

Hic jacet in tumba Rosa mundi non rosa munda,
 Non redolet sed olet quod redolere solet.

¹⁹ *Church History*, II, p. 120.

²⁰ *Polychronicon*, III, p. 174.

²¹ *Op. cit.* VIII, 54.

The following lines²² on the death of Richard I derive their point from the division of Richard's body into three parts and its burial in three different places.

Viscera Careolum, corpus fons servat Ebrardi,
Et cor Rothomagum, magne Ricarde, tuum.
In tria dividitur unus quia plus fuit uno
Nec superest uno gratia tanta viro.

The two selections which follow²³ are submitted as literary curiosities. The first was occasioned by the death of the Emperor Frederick in 1248.

Fre fremit in mundo, de deprimit alta profundo,
Ri mala rimatur, cus cuspide cuncta minatur.

The second refers to the succession to the papacy, in 1305, of Benedict III.

A re nomen habe, benedic, benefac, benedicte,
Aut rem perverte, maledic, malefac, maledicte.

In addition to the writers whose names we know and who are responsible for their own compositions and for those which they quote, there are, in the Rolls Series, several volumes of annals whose authors are unknown. These books are accurate, but humdrum accounts of events in various monasteries throughout England. The most interesting epigrams are to be found in the Annals of Worcester (*Annales Prioratus de Wigornia*), written about the end of the thirteenth century. They are probably attributable to the monk who wrote the annals.

On a fire in the church of St. Andrew at Wick, 1290.

Est flammae causa cur tangere sancta sit ausa
Rectoris vita, plebs putat omnis ita.

On a riot in consequence of a papal bull, 1291.

Bullae papales sunt fratribus exitiales;
Qui quondam mites, faciunt nunc praelia, lites.

²² *Op. cit.* VIII, 168.

²³ *Op. cit.* VIII, 238, 292.

On some new pictures in the church, 1292.

*Lux magis est clara, quo major ponitur ara,
Et stat in altari frons sine fronte pari.*

The following curious hotchpotch is given in this book without introduction or comment. The sole unifying principle is the prophetic nature of the contents. The date is 1293.

*Gallorum levitas Germanos justificabit.
Italiae gravitas Gallos confusa necabit.
Gallus succumbet aquilae victricia signa:
Mundus adorabit; erit urbs vix praesule digna.
Constantine, cades et equi de marmore facti
Et lapis erectus et multa palatia Romae.
Terraemotus erit. Quae non procul auguror esse.
Mille ducentenis et nonaginta sub annis
Et tribus adjunctis, consurget aquila grandis.
Papa cito moritur; Caesar regnabit ubique;
Sub quo cessabit tunc vana gloria cleri.*

This collection may be properly brought to a close with three epigrams from Wright's Collection of Political Poems from Edward III to Henry VIII.²⁴ The occasion is the Battle of Agincourt.

*Mortua cara cruce caro Christi victor ut unus
Crispini luce fecit Francis fore funus.
Henricus quintus rus agens curtum fuit intus,
Jure juvante Jesu rex est victor sine laesu,
Dant sua firma fides, bona vita, preces, et amores,
Per silvam virides quod perdit Francia flores.
Ante lepus fugit, quae nunc est Anglica villa,
Quum leo rugit per Francos redditur illa.*

Versus Francorum

*O gens Anglorum, morum flos, gesta tuorum,
Cur tu Francorum procuras damna bonorum?
Servorum Christi quos tractas crimine tristi,
Et servant isti fidem quam bis renuisti.
Sub specie casti, fraudem tu semper amasti.*

²⁴ Vol. II, p. 127.

Scindas annosam caudam quam fers venenosam,
Sed cantas prosam fidelibus Christi morosam.
Exaudi praesto tu, praesul, et memor esto,
Qui te caudavit Deus ipsum sanctificavit.

Responsio Anglorum

Anglorum gentem cur false percutis ore?
Et pro responso do tibi metra duo.
Praevalet in lingua qui non est fortior armis,
Nullus in hac pugna plus meretrice valet.

The epigrams assembled in these pages represent hardly more than one-tenth of the total number printed in the Rolls Series. In general, the quality of Latin which they exhibit is fairly good. Moreover, if one takes into account also the large number of other Latin poems contained in these volumes, one is impressed with the extent to which Latin verse was written in England during the Middle Ages. Without a proper appreciation of this fact it is impossible to form a true conception of either the thought or literature of mediaeval England.

L. B. HESSLER

XXXIII. THE GENESIS OF THE ENGLISH SONNET FORM

Professor F. M. Padelford, in his recent edition of the poems of Surrey, states that "As to verse forms, Surrey's claims to distinction rest upon his establishment of the Shaksperian sonnet and his introduction of blank verse. After a variety of experiments he settled upon the rhyme scheme *abab cdcd efef gg* for the sonnet and thus cast the mold for the most popular Elizabethan form. In the thought division of the sonnet he followed no fixed practice"¹

The accuracy of this statement is unimpeachable, and Surrey's final establishment of the English² sonnet form has long been undoubted; but the whole question of the actual genesis of that form remains practically untouched. The purpose of this paper is to examine briefly what has been already written on some partial aspects of the subject, and to add one or two significant links in the chain of evidence.

It seems to the present writer that Surrey unquestionably built on the foundations laid by Sir Thomas Wyatt, modifying the form most used by Wyatt to suit his own slightly different ideas and lesser fertility in rhyme. His extreme respect for Wyatt both as a poet and as a man, his close association with Wyatt's family (for Wyatt's son was his close friend and comrade in war, his boon companion in less honourable adventure), and the authority that the Italianate verse of Wyatt who had been in Italy was bound to have with one who had not, all mark out Wyatt for his imitation. And he himself speaks of Wyatt's as "A hand that taught what might be said in rhyme."³ But though

¹ F. M. Padelford, *The Poems of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey*, Seattle, 1920, p. 40.

² Following Professor Saintsbury I adopt this term in preference to the more common but less accurate term 'Shaksperian' used by Professor Padelford.

³ "Wyatt resteth here that quick could never rest . . .", l. 13.

the opinion that he followed in Wyatt's footsteps has been very generally accepted, it has not invariably been so. Our first task is consequently to answer the one serious attempt that has been made to upset this tradition.

I.

In an article that appeared some years since, Professor H. B. Lathrop, after an elaborate analysis of the sonnet forms of both Wyatt and Surrey, concluded that "The sonnets of Wyatt are in intention, and oftener than not in fact, Italian sonnets after an inferior model; Surrey's sonnets are a new form derived from the Strambotto."⁴ Now in the first place it seems inherently improbable that Surrey would derive a variant of an extremely common verse form from a verse form at the time decidedly less common. He was, we know, well acquainted with Wyatt's verses: in the absence of absolute proof to the contrary, we should naturally suppose that he was simply following along the lines laid down by his predecessor, only altering them where his personal taste and the exigencies of rhyme led him to do so. Cannot the evidence be made to bear out this, the most natural *a priori* hypothesis?

Mr. Lathrop observed that "the existence of sonnets with only two rhymes in the first twelve lines and no stanza divisions would appear to be inconsistent with the notion that the Surrey sonnet is "a laxer, more fully developed

⁴ "The Sonnet Forms of Wyatt and Surrey," (*Mod. Phil.* II, 463). Mr. Lathrop gives most of his space to the Surrey-Wyatt relationship. He limits his treatment of Wyatt's source to the suggestion that he was following Mellin de Saint Gelais, citing as the basis for this suggestion the "fact" that Wyatt had translated one of the French poet's sonnets. But as it has since been proved that Wyatt was translating this sonnet from Sannazzaro, not from Saint-Gelais, and that (if there was any relationship here between them) it was Saint Gelais that translated Wyatt rather than *vice versa*, his whole hypothesis falls through. Mr. Lathrop does add, indeed, that "The type, however, is not unknown in Italian poetry before Wyatt," but he adduces no evidence to support this statement.

Wyatt sonnet" (*op. cit.* p. 470). Now Surrey has but two sonnets of this kind (Nos. 1 and 7): only one more than Wyatt, who had himself written a sonnet (No. 30) in that form.⁵ Here, if anywhere, he could surely be following Wyatt.

For the rest, it is to be noted that Mr. Lathrop based practically all his argument upon sense division—pauses—in the several poems of the two writers. His analysis of this feature was extremely thorough; but the number of exceptions it brought out to the rules he was endeavouring to formulate left his conclusions on somewhat unstable ground.⁶ And, indeed, enjambment is so common to the time, and is so frequent both in Wyatt and Surrey, that elaborate analysis is hardly necessary to convince one of the impossibility of drawing any definite conclusion from the scheme of pauses. Besides, of the only two pause elements occurring with any approach to regularity, Wyatt has six sonnets⁷ without any rest after the octave, Surrey has four,⁸ and Wyatt has sixteen⁹ with a rest before the couplet ending, while Surrey has eleven.¹⁰ In other words, of the first Wyatt has 19%, Surrey 27%; of the second Wyatt 50%,

⁵ My references for Wyatt's sonnets are all to *The Poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt*, ed. A. K. Foxwell, London, 1913: those for Surrey's to Professor Padelford's edition. With one exception I have accepted as valid the attributions of these two editors. My single exception consists in not counting as Surrey's the "Brittle beutie . . ." poem more often ascribed on good authority (as Professor Padelford himself observes) to Vaux. Mr. Lathrop omitted from his analysis the three of Wyatt's sonnets least agreeable to his theory, on the ground that they only appeared in Tottel; but in the absence of any other attribution this omission hardly seems justifiable.

⁶ Cf. Professor Padelford's statement, cited above, that Surrey "in the thought division of the sonnet . . . followed no fixed practice."

⁷ Nos. 6, 10, 16, 20, 28, 32.

⁸ Nos. 1, 3, 9, 38.

⁹ Nos. 3, 7, 8, 9, 12, 14, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 28, 30, 31. Mr. Lathrop credits him with only fourteen; but all those here listed show a decided pause.

¹⁰ Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 29, 38, 44, 47.

Surrey 73%. These figures show clearly that, in the matter of sense division (even admitting that anything could be proved by this), Surrey made no very radical departure from the practice established by Wyatt.

Surrey's rhyme scheme, it is true, was distinctly laxer. In twelve of his fifteen sonnets he introduces a new set of rhymes into the second half of the octave. But this is no more than a normal and natural expedient for the man who would like to write a Petrarchan sonnet but finds difficulty with his rhymes: to this fact any man who has written sonnets or has tried to write them can readily bear witness.¹¹ And in two sonnets Wyatt himself had done it.

What might, perhaps, suggest the Strambotto in Surrey's most common type is his constant substitution of the *abab* form for the *abba* preferred, though by no means exclusively, by the contemporary Italians and by Wyatt. For the good old form of the eight line strambotto was *abababab*, and this is generally considered to have given the original form of the sonnet octave in the early thirteenth century.¹² But Wyatt also used the *abab* form (though rarely) in both octave and sestet; and this form was, besides, a far more natural one to the English poetic ear. Further, Surrey himself composed various poems in quatrains with alternate rhyme, and in stanzas made by adding couplets to such quatrains. It was his familiarity with these forms and with rhyme royal, surely, rather than any influence from the strambotto, that caused such changes or combinations as he made of Wyatt's models.

There seems, then, no reason for doubting that Surrey's procedure was, roughly speaking, this: he examined Wyatt's sonnets, saw their general scheme to be three quatrains and a couplet (the first two quatrains having the same rhymes), and followed that scheme. In doing so, he took as his norm the quatrain form rarer in Wyatt, who was so strongly under

¹¹ Cf. below, note 35.

¹² See E. H. Wilkins, "The Invention of the Sonnet," *Mod. Phil.* XIII. 79-110.

the Italian influence, but infinitely more common in English verse as a whole, and infinitely more familiar to him personally; he then proceeded to simplify still further by giving the second quatrain separate rhymes, an experiment adopted by Wyatt himself in two of his sonnets, and one which made the whole seem more symmetrical. Indeed, English being so much poorer in rhymes than Italian, this form was almost inevitable; its adoption, once sonnets were written in English, was merely a matter of time.

The theory that Surrey was definitely *not* following Wyatt cannot, therefore, be sustained. The *a priori* hypothesis still holds good; and in spite of Mr. Lathrop's ingenious and interesting analysis, we feel compelled to revert to the older notion: in its rhyme scheme at least, the Surrey sonnet is 'a laxer, more fully developed Wyatt sonnet.'

II.

Surrey, then, so far as rhyme arrangement is concerned, may well be considered to have simply followed in the wake of Wyatt. But where did Wyatt find his model?

Puttenham in 1589 wrote of both Wyatt and Surrey (ascribing, we note, one origin to both) that they kept "their meetre sweete and well proportioned, in all imitating very naturally and studiously their master Francis Petrarcha."¹³ But Wyatt imitated Petrarch in matter not in metre; he followed his substance in almost literal translations time and again, yet for Wyatt's sonnet forms we seek in vain through all the works of the Italian master.

Now Wyatt's octave in twenty-nine of his thirty-two sonnets was the normal Italian *abbaabba*. Of the other three, one is in the form *abababab*, itself by no means uncommon in the Italian, while the remaining two are of the easier type *abbacddc*. This use of new rhymes in the second half of the octave is unknown to Italian,¹⁴ a language rich

¹³ George Puttenham(?), *The Arte of English Poesie*, Lib. I, ch. xxxi.

¹⁴ Bandello, it is true, wrote what has been called a sonnet with the scheme *abbacdedceeffa*; but is this a sonnet? No Italian prosodist and no other poet of the Cinquecento or earlier recognised such a form. See *Nuova Antologia* CXXIX (1907), p. 730.

in rhymes; but it was, as we have seen, destined to be adopted by Surrey for twelve of his fifteen sonnets, and followed by a vast number of the English poets whose poverty in rhymes drove them to that expedient.

Since, however, 90% of Wyatt's octaves were in the normal Italian form, we have no need to trouble ourselves further as to the source of the first half of his sonnet type: it was obviously taken from the regular Petrarchan norm. It is his sestet form that gives us pause; and the rest of our task is concerned with sestet forms alone. In order to avoid confusion from the occasional use of *c* and *d* in the octave (which is no longer to be considered), the rhymes will be denoted by *x*, *y*, and *z*, instead of the customary *c*, *d*, and *e*, or *e*, *f*, and *g*.

Wyatt's sestet forms are as follows:

- (a) *x y y x z z* —27 times(all but those listed below),
- (b) *x y x y z z* —3 times(Nos. 28, 29, and 30),
- (c) *x y x y x x* —once(No. 27),
- (d) *x y x x y y* —once(No. 2).

In every case but one, the last, these break naturally into a quatrain and a couplet; the single exception we shall neglect in our general examination, returning to it subsequently.¹⁵ For the present we may consider all Wyatt's sestets as equivalent to a quatrain plus a couplet. Sixteen and a half of his sonnets are close translations from Petrarch,¹⁶ one from Sannazaro,¹⁷ but all have entirely different rhyme schemes in their sestets from those of the originals. If Wyatt's form varied, we might readily assume that the inconsistency was due to rhyme difficulties; but when we find him using a quatrain plus couplet form practically throughout, we are compelled to suppose that he is following

¹⁵ V. *infra*, p. 740.

¹⁶ Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 28, and 29, from Petrarch nos. 112, 140, 190, 82, 224, 19, 49, 134, 189, 173, 57, 124, 21, 258, 169, 222, and 267 respectively. (*Bibliotheca Romanica* edition, Strasburgo, n.d.)

¹⁷ No. 19, from Sannazaro's *Rime*, Parte III, Sonetto iii.

some deliberate norm. Had he evolved this norm himself, we should surely find more variation in his early sonnets leading up to his discovery. As he has essentially one form only, from the very beginning, he must doubtless have copied it from some model. Where he could have found this model remains for us to discover.

Before going further, however, into the source of Wyatt's sestet form, it will be well to emphasize two facts.

In the first place, as I have already pointed out in discussing Mr. Lathrop's theory, we cannot afford to lay any emphasis on sense division. The Italians most often divided the sonnet into two, three, or four sense parts, the main pauses occurring between octave and sestet, between the quatrains of the octave, and between the tercets of the sestet. But this is by no means invariable, and Petrarch himself several times ended a sonnet, as to sense division, with a couplet.¹⁸ Wyatt, besides, used enjambment so commonly in his various other verse forms that he could hardly be expected to refrain from it, for the special benefit of future commentators, in the sonnet; especially when his Italian models had not done so. And we have, indeed, already seen that his practice shows no definite consistency in sense pauses.

In the second place, it is of the utmost importance to note that, if Wyatt could find good authority for the *xyyzzz* or *xyzyzz* form, he would undoubtedly adopt it in preference to any other. Whether he was sufficiently acquainted with the Italian theorists to know that they did not regard this as a quatrain plus couplet is more or less immaterial. It

¹⁸ Turning over the first half-dozen pages of the *Bibliotheca Romanica* Petrarch, I find sonnet 9 has the sestet punctuated thus:- l.9, period; l.10, comma; l.11, comma; l.12, *period*; l.13, comma. And sonnet 10, thus:- l.9, semi-colon; l.10, no stop; l.11, comma; l.12, *colon*; l.13, no stop. And a sixteenth century *Petrarchino* has essentially the same punctuation. It is perhaps also worth noting that both these sonnets likewise show the second feature of sense division Mr. Lathrop considers as more or less peculiar to Surrey: both have *no pause* after the octave. These are the "Quando 'l pianeta . . ." and the "Gloriosa Colonna . . ." sonnets.

must inevitably have struck him as such, particularly on the analogy of the *abba* in the quatrains of the octave, absolutely adjoining the *xyxx* of the sestet. And no English poet would be likely to think of tercets when a quatrain plus couplet could suggest itself. Quatrains and couplets English poetry knows in legion, both by themselves and as parts of various stanzaic forms; but tercets, in comparison at least, are non-existent. We must not forget, of course, that Wyatt was introducing an Italian verse form; but he was introducing it into English poetry, and he would surely adopt it in the form least strange and awkward to that poetry.

We have, too, positive evidence that Wyatt, as far as poetry is concerned, found it very difficult to think in threes. Professor Saintsbury has called attention to his failure with *terza rima*—at least as *terza rima*; in fact Professor Saintsbury only calls it such as an afterthought. He first speaks of it as “Wyatt’s intertwined decasyllables,” and then says that “the best name for the remarkable poems which Wyatt addressed to John Poins and Sir Francis Brian is probably intertwined heroic couplets.”¹⁹ Be that as it may, Wyatt evidently found it hard to think in line-groups of three; a fact which further stresses the probability of his regarding at least his form of the sonnet sestet as a quatrain plus a couplet.

Seeing then that Wyatt would be likely to choose *if possible* a sestet form that could be divided in this way, we have finally to show that such a form existed, and to point out where Wyatt might have found it. The theories that have hitherto been put forward for his source almost all utterly neglect the possibility of his finding his scheme ready made.

The idea set forth at some length by Professor Saintsbury is, in brief, that Wyatt stumbled on the sonnet form through the accidental juxtaposition of two stanzas in rhyme royal.²⁰

¹⁹ George Saintsbury, *Hist. of Engl. Prosody*, London, 1906, I, 311-312.

²⁰ *Loc. cit.* p. 308.

Yet, except that Wyatt certainly was a great user of rhyme royal, there appears to be exceedingly little to be said in favour of this idea. The obvious objection is that as a matter of fact not one of Wyatt's sonnets follows rhyme royal in the rhyme sequence of its first half; while in the second half his arrangement never even approximates the stanza scheme. Nothing but the occasional occurrence of a pause after the seventh line lends any colour to this theory; and it would invariably (in all cases at least save one) force the second "stanza" to open with a lost line wandering rhymelessly in space. Rhyme royal with its concluding couplet doubtless influenced Wyatt's choice; he naturally selected, as his model, the form least foreign to the ways of English prosody as he knew it; but that rhyme royal formed the basis of his sonnet scheme is surely, on the face of it, impossible.

Miss Foxwell's suggestion is almost equally unsound. "Wyatt," she writes, "like the majority of English sonnet-eers found difficulty in adapting the Italian form of the sestet in English: according to Italian rules the sestet must consist of two triplets, and a concluding couplet consequently destroys the metrical scheme." She then goes on to point out that he might have found his *xyyxyz* form in the last two-thirds of Petrarch's madrigal "Or vedi Amor . . .," which he translated and which has the scheme *abb acc cdd*, concluding: "Madrigal *abb acc cdd* became sonnet form [*abba*] *abba cdd cee*" (i.e. *abbaabba xyyx zz*).²¹ But this is as dubious as Professor Saintsbury's theory,²² and equally unnecessary.

These writers evidently considered it impossible for Wyatt to have taken his form directly from Italy, and that has long been the traditional attitude. M. Joseph Vianey in his remarkably scholarly and detailed study of the Italian

²¹ A. K. Foxwell, *A Study of Sir Thomas Wyatt's Poems*. London, 1911. Page 83.

²² Especially as Wyatt's translation of the madrigal in question follows an entirely different scheme!

sonneteers' influence on the French declares that Wyatt's form was really a French creation: *cddcee* and *cdcdce* (i.e. *xyyxxx* and *xyxyzz*) were, he says, invented (*créés*) by Saint Gelais;²³ and Miss Ruth S. Phelps in reviewing his book²⁴ speaks of such forms as "forms impossible to the Italians." This view, once more, is the one that has almost invariably obtained hitherto.²⁵

To Dr. John S. Smart of the University of Glasgow belongs the credit of first pointing out publicly that Wyatt's form was not unheard of in Italian.²⁶ His citation of Torquato Tasso, however, does not seem wholly pertinent (and Dr. Smart is himself rather apologetic about it), for Tasso was not born till after Wyatt was in his grave. It is distinctly more significant that Fazio degli Uberti wrote sonnets in

²³ Joseph Vianey, *Le Pétrarquisme en France au Seizième Siècle*. Montpellier, 1909, p. 105.

One important point may perhaps be noted here, once for all. In a brilliant article on *Marot et le premier sonnet français* (*Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France*, XXVII Oct.-Dec., 1920, pp. 532-547), Pierre Villey clearly established the fact that the earliest known French sonnet dates from the year 1536. As several of Wyatt's sonnets unquestionably antedate this, any suggestion of possible French influence on the English sonnet form would henceforth seem futile.

²⁴ *Romantic Review*, I, 215-216.

²⁵ Charles Tomlinson in his elaborate work (*The Sonnet, its Origin, Structure, and Place in Poetry*, Lond. 1874), to which may be traced most of the erroneous ideas as to the Italian sonnet still current with English and American writers, expressly denies the possibility of Italian sonnets ending with a couplet. On the other hand it should be mentioned that Dr. E. W. Olmsted, in his dissertation on *The Sonnet in French Literature* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1897, pp. 28-29), had noted the mention of both our quatrain plus couplet forms by the Italian Francesco Saverio Quadrio in 1739. But Dr. Olmsted merely repeated Quadrio's table, without, apparently, taking into account the fact that it was compiled over two centuries after the period in question. Professor Saintsbury (*op. cit.* p. 307) makes the amazing statement (putting it, it is true, a trifle obscurely) that both Dante and Petrarch used the English form. This is, of course, entirely at variance with the facts; they did both use a form ending with two lines rhymed together: *xyyyzx*; but this form defies the possibility of the quatrain-couplet division so essential to establish.

²⁶ John S. Smart, *The sonnets of Milton*. Glasgow, 1921, pp. 17ff.

both forms *xyyzzz* and *xyxyz* two centuries earlier;²⁷ but it is a far cry from Fazio degli Uberti to Wyatt, and Dr. Smart does not attempt to establish any connection between them. He does go on to state that "in the sixteenth century also the form was not unknown": apart from Torquato Tasso, however, he only cites Minturno, most of whose writing was again done years after Wyatt's death. It still remains to show where, without either a prophet or a medium to help him, Wyatt could have found his pattern.

III.

We are now in a position very considerably to narrow down our task. If we can in any plausible way connect Italian sonnet sestet forms permitting a quatrain plus couplet division with a visit of Wyatt to Italy, we may consider our problem solved.

Now Wyatt went to Italy early in 1527,²⁸ and stayed there many months. Among the books known to have been published in that year is a collection of lyrics by early Italian poets, commonly known as the *Raccolta dei Giunti*.²⁹ Such an anthology would surely be of interest to Wyatt, eager to study Italian lyric forms. To us it is of an interest

²⁷ I myself had pointed this out to the members of a course at Harvard University some two years before, but in the absence of any established connection between this ancient poet and Wyatt I did not then consider the point worthy of publication. Antonio da Ferrara's use of it, also cited by Dr. Smart, is really of no significance: he is only known to have used it once, in reply to a sonnet of Fazio's in the same form, and it was a practically invariable rule of Italian sonnet correspondences that an answering sonnet must be written with the same rhymes as the sonnet to which it replied. Thus the use of Wyatt's forms is in reality established not for two Italian poets of the fourteenth century but only for one.

²⁸ Jno. M. Berdan (*Mod. Lang. Notes* XXIII, 33-36) speaks of Wyatt "in Rome in 1526," and mentions as his authority John Bruce (*Gentleman's Magazine*, September 1850, p. 258). But Bruce states that Wyatt left for Italy in January 1526-27, and we naturally follow the new style designation. Cf. Foxwell, "*The Poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt*" I, xiii-xiv.

²⁹ *Sonetti e Canzoni di diversi antichi Autori Toscani in dieci libri raccolte*. Firenze, Eredi Giunta, 1527.

almost equally great, for it actually contains seven sonnets whose sestets, though to the Italian obviously made up of two tercets (*xyy xyy*), can easily be divided by one thinking more naturally in English measures as a quatrain plus a couplet: *xyyx yy*. As I have already pointed out, such a division is all the easier, to one encountering it for the first time, on account of the *abba* quatrain immediately preceding the *xyyx*. It is an evident psychological fact that after going over two quatrains *abba abba* the unfamiliar eye or ear naturally carries on the next division similarly *xyyx*, and must then conclude with the couplet *yy*. Five of the sonnets in question were by Cino da Pistoia, whose authority was doubly great: first through his lasting fame in Italy both as jurist and as poet, secondly through the fact that one of the best known sonnets of the arch-authority Petrarch lamented his death and honoured him as the sweetest singer of his day. In this volume of lyrics, published as it were under Wyatt's very eyes, the suggestion for ending sonnets with a quatrain plus couplet was almost forced on his attention.

One of Wyatt's sonnets follows exactly the scheme here found; of the other thirty-one, twenty-seven show it slightly modified (the introduction of new rhymes in the final couplet giving *xyyx zz* instead of *xyyx yy*), and three of the remaining four give a variant of this modification, using the quatrain form *xyxy* in place of *xyyx*. It is further remarkable that his one form still unaccounted for finds its prototype in the same volume, in a sonnet by Guido Cavalcanti with the rhyme scheme *abba abba xyxxyy*.

In an Italian anthology, then, published while he was actually in Italy, Wyatt was able to observe the exact form for two of his sonnet sestets, and the form in which with a slight simplification he wrote all the others. But this is not all. Even that slight simplification, in both its forms, occurs in the sonnets of an exact contemporary of his in Italy, a man with whom he is almost certain to have come into direct contact in 1527.

Benedetto Varchi was born in 1503, and was consequently of exactly the same age as Wyatt; he was one of the important writers of the Cinquecento, and the author of a large number of sonnets. In 1527, though not yet at the height of his fame, he was already well known both in literary and political circles. It would be strange if Wyatt, in the course of his visits to the various Italian towns, failed to meet him in one or both connections. And the first volume of Varchi's sonnets³⁰ actually contains eight whose sestet scheme is exactly that of Wyatt's, the final couplet introducing a new rhyme.³¹ Of these, five have the form *xyyx zz*, three the form *xyxy zz*. Besides these eight, six others suggest the quatrain plus tercet division,³² of which four have *xyxy xx*, and one *xyyx yy*.

The most striking fact of all is that two of these sonnets (and only two), one in *xyxyzz* and one in *xyyxzz*, make definite mention of a date; and in both cases this date is 1527! Both could conceivably have been written later, referring back to that date; but one at least is much more naturally to be regarded as written in that year. One ("A i fieri colpi di Fortuna . . .") gives the date indirectly, by stating that the poet's heart had known 'three times eight years' (1503+24=1527); the other, which I will quote in full and translate, gives the date as 'twenty-seven years and five hundred . . . after the thousand.'

Sacro Mugnon, che giu per queste valli
 Mormorando tra sterpi e sassi vivi
 Co' tuoi si dolci e liquidi cristalli
 All' alte mura, e nel bell' Arno arrivi;
 Se 'l ciel le sponde tue giamai non privi
 Di suoni, e canti, ed'amorosi balli;
 Questo (ch' altri non ho marmi, ò metalli)
 Per le tue scorze, e ne' tuoi massi scrivi:

³⁰ I have not had an opportunity of examining the second and third books. They could not, in any event, weaken my case; they might possibly confirm my conclusions.

³¹ On pages 20, 37, 150, 226, 246, 247, 256, and 264 of the edition cited below.

³² On pages 44, 213, 215, 258, 272, and 297, *ibid.*

Ventisette anni, e cinquecento havea
 Dopo il mille girato il sole, ed era
 Nel quinto grado della bella Astrea;²⁵
 Quando piacque e virtute e beltà intera
 Mostrarmi al Ciel, nell' hora sesta, un Lauro
 Verde, d' ogni mio danno ampio restauro.²⁶

Sacred Mugnon, that through the valleys, down,
 Murmuring 'mid the reeds and quick rocks, here
 With thy sweet waters, crystalline and clear,
 Comest to Arno fair and high wall'd town;
 Since I've no table else of stone or bronze,
 (So heaven may nevermore deny, along
 Thy banks, music and amorous dance and song)
 Write this upon thy trees and in thy stones:
 Five hundred years and twenty more and seven
 Beyond the thousand mark the sun had been,
 And in fair Astrea's fifth he now was seen,
 When virtue I was shown (so it pleas'd heaven)
 And beauty's height; at the sixth hour, lo!
 A Laurel green, the cure of all my woe.²⁷

The lyrics of living poets in Italy, down through the first half of the sixteenth century, circulated in MS. far more than in printed copies; sonnets were constantly read aloud, recited, or even sung at social and literary gatherings of every sort;²⁸ and so the fact that these sonnets of Varchi were not, as far as we know, published until many years later does not make it a whit less likely that Wyatt should get hold of copies of them during his stay in Italy. It is not even improbable that he was present at some gathering

²⁵ i.e. it was at the end of August, or of September; for Astrea, as a constellation, is identified by some with Virgo, by others with Libra.

²⁶ *De' Sonetti di M. Benedetto Varchi. Parte Prima. Firenze, MDLV. Page 20.*

²⁷ It will be noticed that my translation introduces a new set of rhymes in the second quatrain of the octave. Poverty forced me, as it had forced a better poet, to this expedient. (Cf. above.) It should be noted that lines 5, 6, and 7 of the Italian become respectively lines 6, 7, and 5 of the English, which is an almost word for word rendering.

²⁸ Cf. Castiglione, *Il Cortegiano*, I, ix; II, xxxv; *et al.*; Benvenuto Cellini, *Vita*, I, xxx; II, xc, xci; Pietro Aretino, *I Ragionamenti*, *passim*: etc.

where one or other of them, as Varchi's latest production, was recited and discussed; and possibly its sestet rhyme scheme questioned, and defended! The existence of these sonnets by Varchi, using his exact form, now makes it evident that Wyatt had every opportunity, at least, of acquiring ready made the form he has so frequently been thought of as working out for himself.

In conclusion, the most natural hypothesis for the origin of the English sonnet form is the theory that Surrey gave it its final permanent shape by relaxing and simplifying the type which Wyatt had adopted as the one among the various Italian models least foreign to the nature and the existing forms of English poetry.

This theory, largely through a mistaken conception of the Italian prosody concerned, was long regarded as impossible. I have endeavoured in these pages to show that, in the light of all the available facts, it is not only possible, but probable almost to certainty.

NOTE. A final note should perhaps be added on the Italian prosodists of the period. Three significant books on poetic theory printed in Wyatt's life-time treat in detail of sonnet form.

Antonio da Tempo's work *de Rithmis Vulgaribus* (written two centuries earlier, but first printed in 1509), though much read and quoted by theorists, was little followed in practice. It gives for the normal sestet scheme what we should denote as *xyxyxy*, and mentions four variants. Of these the first is an *xyyyzz* form, which obviously suggests the couplet ending, and does not entirely preclude consideration of the preceding four lines as a quatrain.

Trissino's *Poetica*, published in 1529 and probably begun about 1525 or earlier, mentions six regular sestet schemes, one of which is the *xyxyxy* form. He then adds "other forms of the sestet scheme are very rarely used," which implies, of course, that various other forms were at least not unknown to him.

Mario Equicola in his *Istitutioni al comporre in ogni sorte di Rima*, published in 1536, and probably summing up the usage of the preceding ten or fifteen years, says that in the sestet various types of rhyme are used; usually the first and fifth, second and fourth, and third and sixth rhyme together, but *any order may be followed*. He also speaks of the general divisions of the sonnet as follows: "Every regular sonnet has fourteen lines and is divided into two parts, *Piedi* and *Volta*. The first eight lines are

called *Piedi*, the last six, *Volta*. The first four are one *Piede*, the first three of the six, one *Volta*. *The two first lines are named first couplet, the two next second couplet, and so following.* This is Antonio da Tempo's division." It is to be noted that his statement implies that the whole sonnet could be considered as made up of couplets; da Tempo had only spoken of the octave as being so divided, though his *xyyyss* sestet scheme clearly suggested a couplet division continuing throughout.

Besides these, Pietro Bembo, the arch-authority of the early *Cinquecento*, wrote in Book II of his *Prose della Volgar Lingua*: "In the sonnet the number of the lines is fixed, and to some extent the number of the rhymes; but in the order of these rhymes, and to some extent in their number, there is no definite rule in force except that of pleasing [the ear.]"

I do not attach much importance to these theorists, however, as I think it extremely improbable that Wyatt was acquainted with them or any of their works. Miss Foxwell thinks he studied Trissino's *Poetica* (*The Poems . . . cit.*, vol. II, Appendix E), but most of her arguments on this point seem quite unconvincing. In any case, the prosodists only make it additionally evident that tercet rhyme schemes ending with a couplet, and permitting of any division one pleases, were allowed, *de facto* and *de jure* in the Italian sonnet of the early sixteenth century.

WALTER L. BULLOCK

XXXIV. THE SOURCES USED BY DAVIES IN *NOSCE TEIPSUM*

Philosophical poetry is seldom original; and ever since the assertion by Alexander Dalrymple, in the eighteenth century, that "Sir John Davies' poem on the Immortality of the Soul is chiefly taken from Nemesius,"¹ there has been speculation as to the source of that once popular work. Grosart, in editing Davies' poems, rejected Dalrymple's statement as "absolutely untrue, an utter delusion," and claimed for his author the merit of "deep and original thought."² But other critics have generally ignored this claim and suggested various sources for the poet's inspiration. Courthope again named Nemesius as the most probable.³ In a volume devoted exclusively to the study of this poem, Professor E. H. Sneath maintained that Davies was influenced by four thinkers: Aristotle, Cicero, Nemesius and Calvin.⁴ A German scholar more recently denies any influence of Nemesius, but thinks Davies derived his ideas from a study of Aristotle's *De Anima* modified by a reading of religious commentators, notably Thomas Aquinas.⁵ The latest and best suggestion, although it has been presented only in a brief and casual manner, is, that *Nosce Teipsum* is a re-statement of the Neo-Platonic tradition which permeated Christian thought in the Middle Ages and Renaissance.⁶

¹ Nichols, John. *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century*, London (1822). IV, 549-550.

² *The Complete Poems of Sir John Davies*, London (1876). *Memorial-Introduction*, lix-ff.

³ *History of English Poetry*. III, 57-8.

⁴ *Philosophy in Poetry*, New York (1903).

⁵ Seemann, Margarete, *Sir John Davies, Sein Leben und Seine Werke. Wiener Beiträge*, Vol. XLI (1913). pp. 23-24.

⁶ *Cambridge History of English Literature*, VII, 313-14. Mary Paton Ramsay (*Les Doctrines Médévales chez Donne*, Oxford (1917). pp. 12 and 290) mistakenly groups Donne and Davies together. See my review of her

It is highly probable, of course, that a university-bred man of the Renaissance should have been acquainted with the classics of philosophy and theology. Certainly one feels convinced that Davies had read widely and well. But it should be remembered that he wrote *Nosce Teipsum* with the specific purpose of silencing the sceptics of his time and that he made use for this purpose of traditional arguments which had grown by accretion through the ages. The poem was not an academic exercise, but a weapon in the conflict of ideas in the Renaissance. The party or tradition to which Davies allied himself was so old and extensive that his relation to it can be indicated here only in a brief summary.

The idealistic purpose of Davies naturally allied him to Neo-Platonic thought. His interest is not in abstract metaphysics. He rejects the Aristotelian theory of the soul as *form* or *entelechia*,⁷ which afforded no hope for individual immortality, and follows instead the patristic conception of the soul as a "substance."⁸ Only once does he recognize the restatement by Thomas Aquinas of Aristotle's doctrine of the soul as *form*, and in this case it is stated rather as a metaphor than as a doctrine.⁹ Throughout his poem Davies seeks, by analyzing the faculties of man, to exhibit such transcendent powers as belong only to an immortal being. This had already been done by Plato and his successors, among whom Augustine is perhaps, for the student of Davies, the most important. For Augustine expressed with force and cogency the same argument against

book, *Journ. of Eng. and Germ. Philol.*, April, 1922. Dr. Mabel Dodge Holmes, in her thesis, *The Poet as Philosopher*, Philadelphia (1921), hastily concludes that "nowhere" in the poem "is there the least sign of any consultation of the Platonic philosophy" and speaks of the "adoption of Aristotle and indifference to Plato" in its fundamental thought. (pp. 38-39.) John Smith Harrison, in *Platonism in English Poetry*, New York (1903), does not discuss Davies.

⁷ *De Anima*, II, 6-9.

⁸ Davies, ed. cit. I, 29.

⁹ *Ibid.* I, 41.

materialism as we find in Davies and, in a modified form, even in Descartes. It was Augustine, "the first modern man," who gave this introspective method its general currency in Europe. "Noli foras ire; in te ipsum redi: in interiore homine habitat veritas."¹⁰

But, although Davies was writing in the spirit of the Neo-Platonic tradition,¹¹ he did not necessarily write with Plato or Namesius or Augustine open before him. Many later writers in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance were thoroughly imbued with Neo-Platonic thought, and repeated the traditional arguments for immortality with little originality or variation.¹² In the sixteenth century two French treatises directed against the "Epicureans" and "Liber-tines," both of them handbooks of popularized Christian theology, circulated widely in England as well as France. The first was Phillipe de Mornay's *De la verité de la religion Chrestienne, Contre les Athées, Epicuriens, Payens, Juifs, Mahumedanistes, et autres Infidèles*, published at Antwerp in 1581.¹³ An English translation by Sir Philip Sidney was published in 1587, and reprinted in 1592 and 1604. De Mornay, of course, tried to demonstrate the immortality of the soul, to which he devoted one chapter out of

¹⁰ See Windelband, *History of Philosophy*, trans. Tufts, N. Y. (1893), p. 276. Max Dessoir, *Geschichte der Neueren Deutschen Psychologie*, Berlin (1902). I, 11. Siebeck, H., *Die Anfänge der Neueren Psychologie in der Scholastik in Zeitschrift für Philosophie und phil. Kritik*, Vol. 39 (1888), 188-191.

¹¹ An illustration of the ultimate indebtedness of Davies to Augustine and Plato is afforded by his theory of the soul's "contraries": Davies, ed. cit., I, 97. Cf. Plato, *The Republic*, Book X, and Augustine, *De Immortalitate Animæ*, Chap. XI.

¹² For instance, Nicolas of Cusa could hardly be suggested as a source for Davies. But there are some striking resemblances in thought and illustration between them. See Scharpft, A., *Des Cardinals und Bischofs Nicolas von Cusa wichtigste Schriften in deutschen Uebersetzung*, Freiburg (1862). Cf. p. 223 with Davies, I, 63; p. 462-3 with Davies, I, 30, 31-2, 34; p. 464 with Davies, I, 100-2, 105.

¹³ It was reprinted in 1582, 1583 and 1590. A Latin translation appeared in 1583 and was frequently reprinted.

thirty-four. The other treatise, slightly later, was written by Peter de la Primaudaye and was translated into English in 1594 by "T. B." under the title, *The Second Part of the French Academie*. It is to the similarities between this treatise, which deals primarily with the nature and immortality of the soul, and Davies' *Nosce Teipsum* that I wish to draw attention.

I.

Primaudaye's volume is a rambling, ill-digested discussion, in six hundred pages, of the physiology and psychology of man. But its special purpose is to refute the atheists by demonstrating the immortality of the soul. "My companions," so begins the first page of the book,¹⁴ "I greatly bewaile the misery of our age, wherein so many Epicures and Atheists liue, as are dayly discouered amongst us in all estates and callings."¹⁵ The author proceeds to explain what kind of knowledge is most valuable both to refute atheists and to secure our own salvation:

. . . that sentence which saith, *Knowe thy selfe*, was not without good reason so much praised and renowned amongst al the ancient Greeke and Latin Philosophers, as that which is worthy to be taken for a heauenly oracle, & a sentence pronounced by the mouth of God. For whosoeuer shall know himselfe well, cannot faile to know God his creator, and to honour him as he ought, if he follow the chiefe end for which man was created, as well as the residue of the creatures . . . For although the knowledge of the rest of the creatures that are in this visible worlde, will greatly helpe to leade him to the knowledge of God the Creatour, neuertheless he shall neuer be able to know him well, if withall he know not himselfe. Yea these two knowledges are so ioyned together, that it is a very hard matter to seuer them. For as a man can not know himselfe if he know not God, so he cannot know God wel, if in like sort he know not himselfe. So that I take this for most certain that neither Astronomy, Geometry, Geography, or Cosmography, nor any other Mathematical science is so necessary for man, as that wherby he may learne to know himselfe wel, & to measure himselfe

¹⁴ My references are all to the English translation of 1594.

¹⁵ Cf. Davies, ed. cit. I, 82-3. Elsewhere Davies speaks of "these light vaine persons" (p. 93), "impious wits" (p. 95), "these Epicures" (p. 99), "this crue" (p. 108), "these vaine spirits" (p. 110).

wel by the measure of his owne nature, that he may thereby know how to contayne himselfe within the limits thereof.¹⁴

Cf. Davies, pp. 20-24:

All things without, which round about we see,
We seeke to knowe, and how therewith to doe;
But that whereby we reason, liue and be,
Within our selues, we strangers are thereto.

We seeke to know the mouing of each spheare,
And the strange cause of th'ebs and floods of Nile;
But of that clocke within our breasts we beare,
The subtile motions we forget the while . . .

I know my life's a paine and but a span,
I know my sense is mockt with euery thing:
And to conclude, I know my selfe a MAN,
Which is a proud, and yet a wretched thing.

In both purpose and method, therefore, the volume of Primaudaye is a predecessor of Davies' poem.

The following passages, selected from the hundreds of pages devoted to a complete psychology of man, indicate how closely Davies followed Primaudaye, not only in general plan and purpose, but even in details, such as figures of speech and peculiar moralizing turns.

SIGHT.

Let us knowe therefore, that the eies were giuen of God to men to cause them to see, and to be as it were their watchtowers & sentinels, the guides & leaders of the whole body: as also they are as it were the chiefe windowes of the body, or rather of the soule, which is lodged within it . . . Therefore by good right they beare rule among the senses, and all the other members of the body, as being their guides. For they are giuen to man chiefly to guide and leade him to the knowledge of God, by the contemplation of his goodly works, which appeare principally in the heauens and in al the order thereof, and whereof we can haue no true knowledge and instruction by any other sense but by the eies. For without them who could euer haue noted the diuers course and motions of the celestiall bodies? yea wee see by experience, that the Mathematicall sciences, among which Astronomy is one of the chiefe, cannot be well and rightly shewed and taught, as many others may, without the helpe of the eyes: because a man must make their demon-

¹⁴ Primaudaye, pp. 10-12.

strations by figures, which are their letters and images. I passe ouer many other Sciences, as that of the Anatomy of mans body and such like . . . Wherefore seeing the bodily senses are the chieftest masters of man, in whose house the spirite and understanding is lodged and enclosed, the greatest and first honour is by good right to be giuen to the eies and sight. Likewise it is the first mistresse that prouoked men forward to the studie and searching out of science and wisdom . . . His [God's] spirituall light hee hath infused into spirituall creatures, and bodily light into bodily creatures, to the ende that by this benefite the spirites might haue understanding, and the eyes sight. So that Angelles and the spirites of men, which are spirituall and inuisible creatures, are illuminated by the meanes of understanding, with that spirituall and heauenly light whereof God hath made them partakers: as the bodies of liuing creatures, and chiefly of man are illuminated with the corporall light of the Sunne by meanes of the eyes. (Primaudaye, pp. 68-69).

First, the two eyes that haue the seeing power,
Stand as one watchman, spy, or sentinell;
Being plac'd aloft, within the head's high tower;
And though both see, yet both but one thing tell.

These mirrors take into their little space
The formes of moone and sun, and euery starre;
Of euery body and of euery place,
Which with the World's wide armes embraced are:

Yet their best obiect, and their noblest vse,
Hereafter in another World will be;
When God in them shall heauenly light infuse,
That face to face they may their Maker see.

Here are they guides, which doe the body lead,
Which else would stumble in eternal night;
Here in this world they do much knowledge read,
And are the casements which admit most light (Davies, 65-6).

HEARING.

For this cause the eares are not pierced outright, but their holes are made winding in, like the shell of a snayle, whose forme they represent, so that one cannot thrust straight forth so much as a litle threede . . . ouer great soundes would marre the instrument of hearing, if they were not distributed and compassed according to the capacity thereof. For there must alwaies be an answerable and apt proportion between the sense, the thing subject to sense, and the meane by which the sense is made. Hereupon it falleth out often, that many become deafe by hearing ouer great soundes, whereof wee haue experience in Smithes, amongst whome many are thicke of

hearing, because their eares are continually dilled with the noyse and sound of their hammers and anuiles . . . Therefore as the eyes are iudge of light and colours, and by that means bring great pleasure and profite to men, so the eares iudge of sounds and of the voyce, of notes, harmony, and of melodies, whereby man receiueh commoditie and delight . . . how many instruments are there of most excellent and melodious musicke, what voices and pleasant songs, framed very cunningly, and with great grace and harmonie by the arte of musicke? . . . But aboue all, the chieftest profite that the eares bring to men, is by the meanes of speeche, whereby they communicate one with another all their conceiptes, imaginations, thoughtes and counsailes, so that without them the whole life of man would bee not onely deafe, but dumbe also and very unperfect, as if man had neyther tongue, mouth nor speech. And on the other side, seeing man hath alwayes neede of doctrine and instruction, albeit all the other senses helpe him therein, neuerthelesse, none is so fitte or more seruicable to this purpose, next to the eyes, then the eares . . . After the knowledge of things is found out, and artes begunne by meanes of the sight, . . . then the sense of hearing teacheth a great deale more, both greater matters and sooner . . . etc. (Primaudaye, pp. 81-83.)

These wickets of the Soule are plac't on hie
Because all sounds doe lightly mount aloft;
And that they may not pierce too violently,
They are delaied with turnes, and windings oft.

For should the voice directly strike the braine,
It would astonish and confuse it much;
Therefore these plaits and folds the sound restraine,
That it the organ may more gently touch . . .

And though this sense first gentle Musicke found,
Her proper obiect is the speech of men;
But that speech chiefly which God's heraulds sound,
When their tongs utter what His Spirit did pen . . .

Thus by the organs of the Eye and Eare,
The Soule with knowledge doth her selfe endue;
Thus she her prison, may with pleasure beare,
Hauing such prospects, all the world to view.

These conduit-pipes of knowledge feed the Mind,
But th' other three attend the Body still;
For by their seruices the Soule doth find,
What things are to the body, good or ill (Davies, pp. 67-68).

TASTE.

The tongue "must first iudge of tastes & discern between good & bad meat, and between good and bad drinckes, to the end, that whatsoeuer is good for the nourishment of the body, may be kept, and that which is bad, reiected . . . But wee are to know this thing further, that men iudge by their taste, not onely of such things as may serue to nourish them, but also of medicines . . . Nowe as hee cannot liue without eating and drinking, so it is requisite that he eate and drinke with that moderation, that he take in no more meate and drinke then he ought to doe. For . . . if hee take too much, in stead of being satisfied, he shalbe burdened, and in stead of preserving his life, hee will kill himselfe . . . But the danger that commeth by not keeping a mediocrity, is a great deale more to be feared on the one side then on the other. For there are but fewe that breake not square oftener in eating and drinking too much then to litle (Primaudaye, pp. 103, 109, 116).

The bodie's life with meats and ayre is fed,
Therefore the soule doth use the tasting power,
In veines, which through the tongue and palate spread,
Distinguish euery relish, sweet and sower.

This is the bodie's nurse; but since man's wit
Found th' art of cookery, to delight his sense;
More bodies are consumed and kild with it,
Then with the sword, famine, or pestilence. (Davies, pp. 68-69).

SMELL.

Neyther doe those things which serue for delectation, alwayes bring profite, but sometimes the contrarie, principally through their fault that knowe not howe to use them moderately. For they are so subiect to their pleasures, that they can neuer keepe measure in anything, as wee see by experience, especially in these two senses of taste and smell. For as the ordinary meates satisfie not the delicate appetites of men, but they must haue new dainties daily inuented to prouoke their appetite further, and to cause them to eate and drinke more then is needefull, to their great hurt: so men are not contented with naturall odours which nature bringeth forth of it selfe, but nowe they must haue muskes and perfumes, with infinite varietie of distilled waters and artificiall smelles, in regard of which, naturall sauours are nothing set by. And yet if they were used with sobriety, there were no cause of reprehension . . . Not to seeke far offe for examples, we haue the testimonies of the holy Euangelists, as our Lord Iesus Christ himselfe, who was neither nice nor voluptuous, but the perfect paterne of al sobriety and temperance, did not reiect nor condemne pretious ointments and sweete odours, but sometime permitted the use of them upon his owne person. Moreover, it is certaine, that the animal spirites in the braine are greatly relieved

and recreated by those good and naturall smels that are conueyed unto them by means of the nose, and of the sense of smelling placed therein: . . . For the spirits of the head are subtile, pure, and very neate, so that sweete smelles are good for them, and stinking sauors contrary unto them (Primaudaye, pp. 120-121).

This sense is also mistresse of an Art,
Which to soft people sweete perfumes doth sell;
Though this deare Art doth little good impart,
Sith they smell best, that doe of nothing smell.

And yet good sents doe purifie the braine,
Awake the fancie, and the wits refine;
Hence old Deuotion, incense did ordaine
To make mens' spirits apt for thoughts diuine (Davies, p. 69).

THE COMMON SENSE.

The Common sense is so called, because it is the first of all the internall senses of which we are to speake, as also the Prince & Lord of all the externall senses, who are his messengers and seruants to minister and make relation unto him of things in common. For it receiueth all the images and shapes that are offered and brought unto it by them, yea all the kindes and resemblances of materiall things, which they haue receiued only from without, as a glasse doth: and al this for no other cause, but that they should discern and seuer euery thing according to it owne nature & propertie, and afterward communicate them to the internall senses. For although all the knowledge that is in the minde of man proceedeth not from the outward senses, as we shewed in the beginning of our speech, neuertheles they are created of God, to the end they should send to the understanding the similitudes of things without, and be the messengers of the minde, and witnesses of experience: and also to the ende they should awaken and stirre up the minde to behold and marke the things that are without it, that by considering of them, it may iudge of, and correct the faultes. Wee must then obserue, that the externall senses haue no iudgement of that which they outwardly receiue but by meanes of the common sense, unto which they make relation, and then that iudgeth: so that they ende where that beginneth (Primaudaye, pp. 154-5).

These are the outward instruments of Sense,
These are the guards which euery thing must passe
Ere it appoach the mind's intelligence,
Or touch the Fantasie, Wit's looking-glasse.

And yet these porters, which all things admit,
Themselues perceiue not, nor discern the things:
One common power doth in the forehead sit,
Which all their proper formes together brings.

For all those nerues, which spirits of Sence doe beare,
 And to those outward organs spreading goe;
 United are, as in a center there,
 And there this power those sundry formes doth know.

Those outward organs present things receiue,
 This inward Sense doth absent things retaine;
 Yet straight transmits all formes shee doth perceiue,
 Unto a higher region of the braine (Davies, pp. 70-71).

THE FANTASY.

This faculty therfore and vertue of the soule is called Fantasie, because the visions, kindes, and images of such things as it receiue, are diuersly framed therein, according to the formes and shapes that are brought to the Common Sense . . . Moreover this facultie of the fantasie is sudden, & so farre from stayednes, that euen in the time of sleep it hardly taketh any rest, but is alwaies occupied in dreaming & doting, yea euen about those things which neuer haue bin, shalbe, or can be. For it staieth not in that which is shewed unto it by the senses that serue it, but taketh what pleaseth it, and addeth thereunto or diminisheth, changeth and rechangeth, mingleth and unminglith, so that it cutteth asunder and seweth up againe as it listeth. So that there is nothing but the fantasie will imagine and counterfaite, if it haue any matter and foundation to worke upon . . . (Primaudaye, p. 155).

. . . Fantasie, neere hand-maid to the mind,
 Sits and beholds, and doth discerne them all;
 Compounds in one, things diuers in their kind;
 Compares the black and white, the great and small . . .

This busie power is working day and night;
 For when the outward senses rest doe take,
 A thousand dreames, fantasticall and light,
 With fluttring wings doe keepe her still awake (Davies, pp. 71-2).

THE SENSITIVE MEMORY.

Forasmuch as the memory is as it were the Register and Chancery Court of all the other senses, the images of all things brought and committed unto it by them, are to be imprinted therein . . . Therefore it is not without the great wisdom & providence of God, that the seate & shop thereof is in the hindermost part of the head, because it must looke to the things that are past. So that we haue in that part as it were a spirituall eye, which is much more excellent and profitable, then if wee had bodily eyes there, as wee haue before, or else a face before and an other behind, as the Poets fained that Ianus had (Primaudaye, pp. 161-2).

Yet alwayes all may not afore her bee;
 Successiue, she this and that intends;
 Therefore such formes as she doth cease to see,
 To Memorie's large volume shee commends.

The lidger-booke lies in the braine behind,
 Like Ianus' eye, which in his poll was set;
 The lay-man's tables, store-house of the mind,
 Which doth remember much, and much forget (Davies, p. 72).

REASON AND UNDERSTANDING.

In the minde of man there shineth alwaies this naturall light that is giuen unto him aboue that which beasts haue, I mean Reason, which serueth to guide the soule and spirite amidst the darknesse of errour and ignorance, to the ende they may be able to discerne trueth from falsehood, and the true Good from the false, as wee see the light serueth the eyes to keep us, and to cause us to see in darknesse. Therefore we sayde before, that there was a double discourse of reason in man; whereof the one is Theoricall and Speculatiue, which hath Trueth for his ende, and hauing found it goeth no farther. The other is Practical, hauing Good for his end, which being found it stayeth not there, but passeth forward to the Will, which God hath ioyned unto it, to the end it should loue, desire and follow after the Good, and contrariwise hate, eschew and turne away from euill. Therefore when the question ariseth of contemplation, reason hath Trueth for her utmost bounds, and when she is to come into action, she draweth towards Good, and hauing conferred together that which is true and good, she pronounceth iudgement. So that reason considereth of things with great deliberation, and beeing sometime in doubt which way to take, shee stayeth and returneth as it were to her selfe, and maketh many discourses before she iudge and conclude . . . Imagination and fantasie, being neerer to the corporall senses, draw the soule to those things that are bodily: but the reason and the spirite pricke it forward, and cause it to lift up it selfe to more excellent things. For the spirite (which the Philosophers expresse by Understanding) mounteth up unto those things that cannot be knownen nor comprehended of imagination and fantasie, nor of any other sense (Primaudaye, pp. 171-2).

The Wit, the pupill of the Soule's cleare eye,
 And in man's world, the onely shining starre;
 Lookes in the mirror of the Fantasie,
 Where all the gatherings of the Senses are . . .

But after, by discoursing to and fro,
 Anticipating, and comparing things;
 She doth all universall natures know,
 And all effects into their causes brings.

When she rates things and moues from ground to ground,
 The name of Reason she obtaines by this;
 But when by Reason she the truth hath found,
 And standeth fixt, she UNDERSTANDING is (Davies, pp. 75-6).

WIT AND WILL.

"Nowe although we saide before, that reason helde the soueraignty amongst the powers, vertues and offices of the soule, yet wee must know, that reason raigneth not ouer Will as Lady and Princesse, but onely as Mistresse to teach and shew it, what it ought to followe, and what to flie from. For the will hath no light of it selfe, but is lightened by the minde, that is to say, by reason and iudgement, which are ioyned with it, not to gouerne and turne it from one side to another by commandement and authoritie, either by force or violence, as a Prince or Magistrate, but as a counsailer or directer, to admonish and to conduct it. And so the will desireth or refuseth nothing, which reason hath not first shewed that it is to be desired or disdayned. Therefore the act of Will proceedeth indeede from Will, but it is iudged of and counselled by reason: . . . And as concerning the naturall disposition of the Will, it is to will that good which is truely good, or that which seemeth to bee so: and to shunne euill, eyther that which is euill indeede, or that which it thinketh to bee so. Nowe if shee choose and followe euill for good, it followeth not therefore, but that shee would alwayes followe the good, as that which properly appertayneth unto her, and reiect euill as her enemy. But the reason why shee maketh choyce of euill for good, is because shee is deceiued, taking one for another, which commeth to passe through the ignorance and corruption that is in the nature of man . . . Whereupon it followeth, that our Will is at libertie and free, and cannot bee constrainyed: yea God the Creatour and Lorde thereof woulde haue it so, otherwise it shoulde not bee a Will. It is verie true, that it followeth reason alwayes, because the Will hath no light of it selfe, but onely so farre forth as it receiue the same from reason, which guideth and directeth it. And therefore it neuer applieth it selfe to any thing whatsoever, but hath reason alwayes for a guide, whome it followeth. Neurethesse it is not so subject thereunto as that it may compell it to followe all the reasons that are propounded unto it by reason, or tye it to any of them, but that alwayes shee hath her libertie to make choyse of which reason shee please, out of all those that are set before her (Primaudaye, pp. 204-6).

And as this wit should goodnesse truely know,
 We haue a Will, which that true good should chuse;
 Though Wil do oft (when wit false formes doth show)
 Take ill for good, and good for ill refuse.

Will puts in practice what the Wit deuiseeth:
 Will euer acts, and Wit contemplates still;
 And as from Wit, the power of wisdom riseth,
 All other vertues daughters are of Will.

Will is the prince, and Wit the counsellor,
 Which doth for common good in Counsell sit;
 And when Wit is resolu'd, Will lends her power
 To execute what is aduis'd by Wit.

With is the mind's chief iudge, which doth controule
 Of Fancie's Court the iudgements, false and vaine;
 Will holds the royall septer in the soule
 And on the passions of the heart doth raigne.

Will is as free as any emperour,
 Naught can restraine her gentle libertie;
 No tyrant, nor no torment, hath the power,
 To make us will, when we unwilling bee (Davies, pp. 78-9).

II.

After laying this elaborate foundation of a Christian psychology, Primaudaye, like Davies, proceeded to the essential matter, the demonstration of the immortality of the soul. In spite of the prolixity and chaos of the French treatise, its similarities to *Nosce Teipsum* are easily discoverable. The first five of Davies' reasons for the belief in immortality can be definitely paralleled from *The French Academie*.

REASON I.

Drawn from the Desire of Knowledge.

There is in all men a naturall desire of knowledge and wisdom: yea a man may perceiue that most barbarous men desire naturally to knowe, unto what Art soeuer they apply their spirite, iudging the same to be commendable & honest, as contrariwise they accompt it unbeseeing a man and dishonest, to be ignorant, to erre, and to be deceived. From this desire the wisest and most famous among the Philosophers tooke a very good argument to prooue the immortalitie of the soule. For seeing this desire is naturall, and that in this worlde all the knowledge and wisdom that men can haue, is very small, and as it were nothing in respect of that which they want, they conclude necessarily, that there must needs be some other place and time then in this life, wherein that which is here begunne but slenderly, is to be accomplished and made perfect.

The reason from whence they deriue their argument, is that common saying, that God and Nature the minister of God doe nothing without cause. Wherefore seeing this desire of knowledge and wisdom is naturall

in man, it can not be in vaine, neither is it giuen unto him, but that it should attaine to some end and perfection. For to what purpose serued the corporal eies of liuing creatures, and for what cause should they be giuen them, if they could neuer see, or were to liue alwaies in darkness? So likewise, why should the eies of the soule & mind be giuen to men, thereby to behold celestiall and diuine things, which cannot be seene with bodily eies, if they could neuer view them, but in such darkness as they do here behold them? To what end also should man be naturally pricked forward with a desire to know the truth and to haue skill, if he could neuer soundly enioy his desire, but should remaine always in ignorance for the greatest part of those things, which he desireth to know, & which are of so great waight, that whatsoeuer he is able to understand and know in this world, is nothing or very little in regarde of that which yet remaineth behinde for him to knowe? (Primaudaye, pp. 556-7).

First in Man's mind we find an appetite
To learne and know the truth of euery thing;
Which is co-naturall, and borne with it,
And from the essence of the soule doth spring.

With this desire, shee hath a natieue might
To find out euery truth, if she had time;
Th' innumerable effects to sort aright,
And by degrees, from cause to cause to clime . . .

God neuer gaue a power to one whole kind,
But most part of that kind did use the same;
Most eies haue perfect sight, though some be blind;
Most legs can nimble run, though some be lame:

But in this life no soule the truth can know
So perfectly, as it hath power to doe;
If then perfection be not found below,
An higher place must make her mount thereto (Davies, pp. 83-5).

REASON II.

Primaudaye, p. 552, in margin: Another "argument taken from the motion and rest of the soule."

Againe how can shee but immortall bee?
When with the motions of both Will and Wit,
She still aspireth to eternitie,
And neuer rests, till she attaine to it? (Davies, p. 85).

And if there bee some, who like beasts passe ouer al these things without any sense and feeling, this befalleth them, either because they are of a heauy, sleepe and blockish spirite, or else because they are drunken with that

which is commonly called Fortunes fauour, namely, with the honours, riches, and pleasures of this worlde. So that wee must conclude upon this speech, that because beasts do here all that they haue to do, according to those powers and gifts that are naturally in them, therefore they liue and die heere: but because the Spirite giuen to man, cannot doe here according to his naturall disposition, it followeth necessarily, that as it is borne in an other place, so it must haue another place wherein to effect that which it hath to do (Primaudaye, p. 553).

For who did euer yet, in honour, wealth,
Or pleasure of the sense, contentment find?
Who euer ceas'd to wish, when he had health?
Or hauing wisdome was not vext in mind?

Sith then her heauenly kind shee doth bewray,
In that to God she doth directly moue;
And on no mortall thing can make her stay,
She cannot be from hence, but from aboue (Davies, pp. 87-8).

And so it may bee saide of our soule, which is spoken of a spring of water, namely, that it ascendeth as much upwarde as it descendeth downward, but can goe no higher. For when a man would carie the water of a spring any whither, and would haue it mount upwarde, it will be an easie matter to bring it as high as the spring-head from whence it floweth: but no higher, except it bee forced by some other meane then by its owne course and naturall vertue. Notwithstanding it will easily descend lower. And so it fareth with our spirite. For as it came from God, so it is able to mount againe to the knowledge of him, and no higher: but it descendeth a great deale lower (Primaudaye, p. 538).

Water in conduit pipes, can rise no higher
Then the wel-head, from whence it first doth spring:
Then sith to eternall God shee doth aspire,
Shee cannot be but an eternall thing (Davies, p. 85).

REASON III.

Marginal heading: "Death most lamentable to the best men, if the soule were not immortal."

Doe we thinke that these men among the Heathen who haue heere-tofore slain themselves to eschew the hands of their enemies, and that shame and infamie which they feared to receiue among men, and who haue accounted it an acte of greate vertue and constancie to kill themselves in that maner for the auoyding of shame, would haue done that which they did, if they had not thought that there had beene another life besides this? (Primaudaye, pp. 564-5).

For this the better Soules doe oft despise
 The bodie's death, and doe it oft desire;
 For when on ground, the burdened ballance lies
 The emptie part is lifted up the higher . . .

Nor could the World's best spirits so much erre,
 If death tooke all—that they should all agree,
 Before this life, their honour to preferre;
 For what is praise to things that nothing bee? (Davies, pp. 90-91).

REASON IV.

Chap. 97: Of the testimonies which euery one may take from his conscience: of that feare unto which all men are naturally subject to prooue the immortalitie of the soule, and a iudgement of God upon the iust and the uniust: howe that which the Atheists say, that feare causeth gods amongst men, serueth to ouerthrow their damnable opinion.

Therefore it fareth with them as it doth with drunkards & frantik persons, who know not whether they haue any soule or sense, any mind or conscience, so long as they are drunke & out of their wits, until such time as they haue slept their ful, & are restored againe to their right wits. So that howsoever this word *Conscience* is used, it is properly a iudgement that is in our mind, whereby we approoue that which is wel done, & reprocue the contrary (Primaudaye, pp. 575, 577).

When was there euer cursed atheist brought
 Unto the gibbet, but he did adore
 That blessed Power, which he had set at nought,
 Scorn'd and blasphemed all his life before?

These light vaine persons still are drunke and mad,
 With surfettings and pleasures of their youth;
 But at their deaths they are fresh, sober, sad;
 Then they discern, and then they speake the truth (Davies, p. 93).

REASON V.

Both writers emphasize that the longing for immortality expresses itself in a desire for posterity and for perpetuating our memories.

Nowe wee haue a very euident signe and testimony in us, of the continuall being of this desire of eternitis, in that longing which men haue to make their name eternall as much as may be, and that their memory might remaine in all ages that shall follow long time after them. And which is more, this

affection is so naturall, and imprinted so deepe into mens hearts, that euen they who deny the immortality of soules, and who thinke that euery man doeth wholly vanish away by corporall death, doe couet notwithstanding the immortality of their name, and to haue a good report amongst men still after their death . . . We may take the like argument from that which men usually appoynt at their death, touching their funerals, sepulchres and tombes. For why is it, that they will haue sumptuous funeralles, and stately and magnificent tombes? . . . And this is further confirmed by them, who albeit they cannot continue their name and memorie by anie good deedes and valiant actes, yet striue to make themselues immortall by wicked and execrable dooings (Primaudaye, pp. 542-3).

Hence springs that uniuersall strong desire,
Which all men haue of Immortalitie:
Not some few spirits unto this thought aspire,
But all mens' minds in this united be . . .

From this desire, that maine desire proceeds,
Which all men haue suruiuing Fame to gaine;
By tombes, by bookes, by memorable deedes:
For she that this desires, doth still remaine.

REASON VI.

Davies here ingeniously argues that even the very doubts regarding immortality are a proof of it. For

when the Soule mounts with so high a wing,
As of eternall things she doubts can moue;
Shee proofes of her eternitie doth bring,
Euen when she striues the contrary to proue.

For euen the thought of immortalitie,
Being an act done without the bodie's ayde;
Shewes, that her selfe alone could moue and bee,
Although the body in the graue were layde (Davies, p. 96).

Although this argument is as old as Augustine,¹⁷ I have been unable to find it in Primaudaye. But the essential thought often appears in such passages as the following:

And thus the Spirite beholdeth and understandeth corporall things corporally, that is by meanes of those instruments which it hath in the body, and spirituall things it beholdeth spiritually without those instruments. Whereupon it followeth, that although it useth the senses and such

¹⁷ See *De Immortalitate Animae*, Chap. XI

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kinde of instruments, neuerthelesse it is not so tied unto them that it can not be separated, or do nothing without them, or not knowe and understand that which they are not able to conceiue or know. So that it is no hard matter to beleuee, that the soule is of another nature and substance, as a man may iudge also by this that it is the fountaine and beginning of motion begunne by it selfe, and not by any other, but as we haue already declared. Likewise by this, that it is capable of the knowledge of infinite things, of which it retaineth the memorie, and that it inquireth into secret things separated from all corporall matter, which can not be perceiued by any sense: and that it doeth so many and so great things without the helpe of any bodily nature. Whereupon the Philosophers conclude, that it is of a simple nature, not compounded, and so consequently that it is immortall. For that nature, which is adorned and decked with such vertues, and with the facultie to understand, the like whereof is not in the body, and which can understand by it selfe without the use of the body, can not be compounded of an earthly and mortall nature, nor haue any part thereof mingled with it selfe, but it is stayed and sustained by it selfe, it subsisteth of it selfe and is immortall (Primaudaye, p. 560).

III.

The last section of *Nosce Teipsum*, the replies to the five objections, can not be completely paralleled from *The French Academie*. But Davies had apparently also read De Mornay's *De la verité de la religion Chrestienne*, which has a brief chapter on immortality, consisting chiefly of replies to objections. The passages below indicate also that Primaudaye had made some use of this treatise.

OBJECTION I.

What? are not Soules within themselues corrupted?
How can there idiots then by nature bee? . . .

These questions make a subtile argument,
To such as thinke both sense and reason one;
To whom nor agent, from the instrument,
Nor power of working, from the work is known.

But they that know that wit can shew no skill,
But when she things in Sense's glasse doth view;
Doe know, if accident this glasse doe spill,
It nothing sees, or sees the false for true . . .

Then, as a cunning prince that useth spies,
If they returne no newes doth nothing know;
But if they make advertisement of lies,
The Prince's Counsel all awry doe goe . . .

This makes the idiot, which hath yet a mind,
 Able to know the truth, and chuse the good;
 If she such figures in the braine did find,
 As might be found, if it in temper stood . . .

So, though the clouds eclipse the sunne's faire light,
 Yet from his face they doe not take one beame;
 So haue our eyes their perfect power of sight,
 Euen when they looke into a troubled streame . . . (Davies,
 pp. 100-102).

Mais, dient-ils encor, nous voyons des hommes qui perdent la raison comme les fols ou melancholiques; & puisqu'elle se perd, elle se peut corrompre; & si corrompre, mourir aussi. Car qu'est ce mort, sinon une parfaite corruption? Ains, di plustost, l'en voy beaucoup qui sembloient l'auoir perduë, qui l'ont recourüe par diete, & par bruuaiges de medecine: & si elle eust esté perduë, la medecine ne l'eust pas renduë: & si elle fust perie, ils n'eussent pas eu la vie ny les sens entiers. Il faut donq que l'ame fust entiere comme deuant. Mais nostre ame qui regarde par ce corps, & par ses instruments, comme par des lunettes, & nostre entendement qui voit par ses imaginations comme par une nuee, a esté comme troublé, par ce que les lunettes estoyent troubles, & les imaginations enfumees. Ainsi le Soleil semble s'esblottir & eclipser; mais c'est ou la lune, ou les vapeurs qui sont entredeux: en sa clarté n'y a aucune diminution. Et nos yeux voyent les choses selon les lunettes, ou selon la couleur à trauers laquelle ils voyent. Ostez ces empeschemens, & nos yeux verront clair: purgez les humeurs, les imaginations seront nettes, & l'entendement, comme un Soleil apres la nuee, sera aussi clair, comme il estoit. Et n'en sera point comme de nos corps, qui d'une longue maladie retiennent une dureté de rate, ou une courte haleine, ou une distillation sur le poulmon; ou d'une grande playe, une cicatrice qui ne se peut effacer, par ce qu'il y a eu solution de continuité. Car ny en leur esprit, ny en leur volonté, ils n'en sentiront aucune diminution, sinon autant qu'es instrumens il en sera demeuré de reste: à scauoir, comme nous dirons cy apres, entant qu'il a pleu à Dieu par une iuste punition, assubiettir nostre ame à ce corps, duquel elle estoit créeë maistresse; par ce qu'elle negligea la volonté du createur, pour suivre les appetits & imaginations de ce corps. Cela se voit és lunatiques & autres qui ont le sens troublé par saisons & par interualles: car ils ne s'en sentent qu'au remuement des humeurs, & hors delà sont capables & rassis. Es Epileptiques aussi, car l'entendement semble estre eclipsé, & comme frappé de la foudre: & hors l'acces le patient est aussi sage que s'il n'en auoit rien. Bref, le corps est subiect à mille maladies, desquelles l'intelligence ne se voit point alterée, par ce qu'elles ne touchent point les instruments des sens & imaginations qui la meuuent: mais de quelques unes seulement elle est troublée, par ce que la phantasie l'est, qui luy rapporte infidelement les

choses sur lesquelles elle discours. Au contraire, ne se voit aucun trouble du sens ou de la raison, auquel les Medecins manifestement ne recognoissent ou defaut es instrument, comme une teste mal faicte & mal tournée, ou une cholere aduste, qui a premier trouble & gasté leur corps que leur esprit. Et comme les plus Sages prennent de fols conseils sur les faux espions, fondez toutesfois en bonne raison; & que s'ils n'estoyent sages, ils ne pourroyent prendre: ainsi la raison fait de faux discours & prend de mauuaises conclusions sur le faux rapport des imaginations, & ne les pourroit faire tels, si elle estoit ou diminuée ou offensée; suiuant le dire de cet ancien, Qu'il y a certaines folies, qu'il n'y a que les Sages qui puissent faire, par ce qu'il y faut de la raison & de la prudence, mesmes pour estre trompé; & des erreurs, qu'il n'y a que les doctes qui puissent suyure; comme d'estre trompé par un double espion, ou par une lettre surprise: car un mal auisé n'y veilleroit pas, d'estre amené à une fausse conclusion, par chose vraysemblables: car son esprit n'y monteroit pas (De Mornay, Chap. XIV. Ed. Leyden (1651), pp. 319-321).

OBJECTION II.

Doubtlesse the bodie's death when once it dies,
The instruments of sense and life doth kill;
So that she cannot use those faculties,
Although their root rest in her substance still.

But (as the body liuing) Wit and Will
Can iudge and chuse, without the bodie's ayde;
Though on such obiects they are working still,
As through the bodie's organs are conuayde:

So, when the body serues her turne no more,
And all her Senses are extinct and gone,
She can discourse of what she learned before,
In heauenly contemplations, all alone.

So, if one man well on a lute doth play,
And haue good horsemanship, and Learning's skill;
Though both his lute and horse we take away,
Doth he not keep his former learning still? (Davies, p. 105).

Vous dictes, nous dient ils [the sceptics], Que l'ame humaine est une, encor qu'elle ait diuerses facultez. Et nous voyons la sensitue & la vegetatiue se corrompre & perir: Il semble donq qu'aussi fait l'intellectiue. C'est en un mot, comme qui diroit, Vous dites que cestuy-cy est bon homme, bon escrimeur, & bon ioueur de luth tout ensemble, l'espee luy a faillly à la main, ou la main mesmes luy est deuenue percluse: Il ne peut donq plus estre bon homme comme vous dites. Car quand il aura perdu ces instrumens

la, il ne laissera pas d'estre bon homme, ny mesmes d'estre escrimeur & ioueur de luth en habitude . . . Pour esclarir ce point; des facultez de nostre ame, les unes s'exercent par les instruments du corps, les autres sans que le corps s'en mesle aucunement. Celles qui s'exercent par le corps, sont la vegetative & la sensitive, qui peuuent estre comparées comme le ioueur au luth. Cassez le luth au ioueur, l'art luy demeure, & l'exercice luy fault. Mais rendez lui en un autre, il sera tout prest de recommencer . . . Celle qui opere d'elle-mesmes & sans le corps, c'est l'intellectuelle (appelons la, si nous voulons, entendement) . . . Or ceste faculté intellectuelle peut estre comparée à l'homme, qui ores qu'il ait perdu & ses mains, & son luth, ne laisse pourtant d'estre homme, & de faire les vrayes actions de l'homme, discourir, mediter, user de sa raison, &c. voire d'estre ioueur & homme comme il estoit; encor que par faute d'instrumens l'exercice ne luy en demeure pas. (De Mornay, Ed. cit., pp. 317-318).

OBJECTION III.

See how man's Soule against it selfe doth strue:
 Why should we not haue other meanes to know?
 As children while within the wombe they liue,
 Feed by the nauill: here they feed not so.

These children, if they had some use of sense,
 And should by chance their mothers' talking heare;
 That in short time they shall come forth from thence,
 Would feare their birth more then our death we feare.

They would cry out, 'If we this place shall leaue,
 Then shall we breake our tender nauill strings;
 How shall we then our nourishment receiue,
 Sith our sweet food no other conduit brings?' (Davies, pp. 107-108).

Moreouer, as a childe commeth out when hee is borne, so doth a man when he dieth. And in coming forth both of them enter into a new and unacquainted light, & into a place where they finde all things much altered and farre differing from those which they used to haue in their other kind of liuing. For which cause both the one & the other being troubled and scared with this nouelty, are unwilling to come forth of their clapper & to forsake their closet, were it not that they are urged and constrained thereunto by the arte, lawes & rights of nature, wherby God hath better provided for our affaires then wee ourselues could conceiue or comprehend, both in our natiuity & life, & also in our death. The ignorance whereof causeth our spirit to abhorre the departure out of this life, in regard of this great change that is therein, because it knoweth not what good is brought to it thereby no more then the litle child knoweth wherefore he is borne into the world

or what he shall finde there. And therefore albeit nature presseth to come fourth neuerthesse according to that sense which it can haue, it weepeth by and by after it is borne, as if it were fallen into some great inconuenience, and that some great euil were fallen unto it: as we doe also at our death, for the cause before alleged, not considering that it is our second and better birth (Primaudaye, pp. 403-404).

Mais outre cela nous y remarquons un entendement, qui regarde par les yeux le Monde comme par des fenestres; mais qui en tout le Monde ne trouuant object digne de soy, s'esleue iusques à celuy qui l'a fait, qui en cest uniuers, & non en ce corps seulement loge comme empressé, qui par les sens & quelquefois sans le sens monte au dessus des sens, & fait des efforts pour voler hors de soy, comme l'enfant pour sortir de la matrice . . . Bref, comme l'homme a esté prepare en la matrice pour estre mis en ce monde, qu'aussi est il comme préparé en ce corps & en ce Monde pour viure en l'autre. Nous apprehendons quand naturellement il faut sortir de ce Monde. Et qui est l'enfant, si nature par son artifice ne l'en chassit, qui voulust sortir de son cachot, qui n'en sorte comme pasmé & perdu; qui, s'il auoit la cognoissance lors & la parole, n'appellast mort ce que nous appellons naissance; sortir de sa vie, ce que nous disons y entrer? (De Mornay, p. 309).¹⁸

OBJECTION IV.

An answer to the objection that no witness has ever returned from beyond the grave to prove the immortality of the soul.

Fond men! If we beleue that men doe liue
Under the Zenith of both frozen Poles,
Though none come thence aduertisement to giue;
Why beare we not the like faith of our soules? (Davies, p. 109).

Nowe before wee make answere to so friuolous and false an argument, I would gladly demaund of them, whether there were nothing at all of those new-found Ilands, (which were lately found in our time) before they were discovered by them who not only were neuer there, but did not so much as once heare of them before. For no body went thither from hence, neither did any come hither from thence: so that there was no more intelligence betweene them and us, then betweene the liuing and the dead, or between them that are altogether of another world: therefore also their countrey is called the New world. Nowe then shall it be thought, that this people

¹⁸ See also Donne's *First Anniversary*, ll. 451-ff.

were not at all, because they were not knowne of us, nor their manners and kinde of life? (Primaudaye, p. 532).

Un autre dit, Si les ames vivent, que ne le nous viennent elles dire? & pense bien auoir rencontr , ie ne s ay quoy de bien subtil. Mais quelle consequence, Nul n'est venu depuis tant d'ann es des Indes   nous, il n'y a donq point d'Indes? Ains par meme argument ne serions nous point, nous qui n'y allions point (De Mornay, p. 316).¹⁹

OBJECTION V.

Well, well, say these vaine spirits, though vaine it is
To thinke our Soules to Heauen or Hell to goe,
Politicke men haue thought it not amisse,
To spread this lye, to make men vertuous so.

Answer.

Doe you then thinke this morall vertue good?
I thinke you doe, euen for your priuate gaine;
For Common-wealths by vertue euer stood,
And common good the priuate doth containe.

If then this vertue you doe loue so well,
Haue you no meanes, her practise to maintaine;
But you this lye must to the people tell,
That good Soules liue in joy, and ill in paine?

Must vertue be preserued by a lye?
Vertue and Truth do euer best agree;
By this it seemes to be a veritie,
Sith the effects so good and vertuous bee.

For, as the deuill father is of lies,
So vice and mischief doe his lyes ensue;
Then this good doctrine did not he deuise,
But made this lye, which saith it is not true (Davies, pp. 110-111).

But for this time let us leaue the opinions of Philosophers, and **speak** somewhat of them, who although they doe not beleeeue the immortalitie of soules, nor yet all that is spoken of GOD or of religion, say notwithstanding that it is good for the life of man. that men should be of that opinion, without which humane societie could not be kept inuiolable, neither would men do anything as they ought, if they were not as with a bridle kept backe

¹⁹ Spenser uses a similar argument in defense of the Land of Faery, in the introduction to Book II, *Faerie Queene*.

by this feare, that there is another life after this, and that there are gods to take vengeance of such as haue done euill. And therefore they say, that feare was the first that made gods. Heereof they conclude that religion is nothing, but only in opinion, yea, that it is nothing else but superstition, which proceedeth from this foolish opinion. But seeing this error serueth for the benefit of mans life, it is good, say they, to uphold it, and to confirme men therein. And they that use this speech, are none of them that are taken to bee fooles and ignorant persons, but of the greater and skilfuller sort of people, yea of the wisest men of this worlde according to the iudgement of men . . . Nowe then, when they woulde haue men to bee perswaded to vertue, and to doe their ducie by lying and error, namely, by intertayning in them an opinion of religion, and of a second life, although there bee no such thing, is not this, a very proper meanes to call all trueth into question, and to trample all vertue under foote? . . . And if this take place in men, we may wel thinke what licence they will take to themselves to commit the greatest sinnes and abominations in the worlde, especially if they be in darknes, and thinke that no man seeth them, and that there is no other iudge that perceiueth them, to whome they must one day giue an account (Primaudaye, pp. 566-568).

IV.

In justice to the poet a word should be added regarding the interpretation of these parallels. The passages selected from Primaudaye emphasize the indebtedness of Davies rather than his independence. But it must not be supposed that Davies followed *The French Academie* slavishly. Whereas Primaudaye, for instance, discusses both sides of the controversy about the origin of the soul, without himself deciding for either, Davies proves by "clear demonstrations" that souls are successively created by God. Davies' distinction between the sensitive and intellectual memory is not in Primaudaye. And the keener and more pointed argument of Davies in his Sixth Reason, evident in the parallels cited above, is an illustration of the constant superiority of his thinking and writing. Evidently Davies has read *The French Academie* critically and in the light of other works on the subject.

Since the poem was so thoroughly derivative, the great contemporary reputation which it enjoyed was certainly not due to its originality. Indeed, in discussing such ques-

tions James I, at least, preferred orthodoxy. But *Nosce Teipsum* is distinguished from the forgotten treatise of Primaudaye by its vigor and consistency of thought, its thorough rationalism, and its remarkable combination of clearness and condensation. Only a keen intellect could at that time have sifted these kernels from the chaff of Primaudaye. The originality of *Nosce Teipsum* lay in its strength of conception, in the steady march of its argument, in its direct and triumphant manner of meeting the enemies of idealism, without asking any concessions, on their own ground of experience and reason.

LOUIS I. BREDVOLD

XXXV. HAMLET UNDER THE RESTORATION

On the evening of September 20, 1709,¹ at about the hour when we are accustomed in our own theatres to see the curtain rising on the first act, an old man dressed in black clothes sat in a chair of state on the stage of the London Haymarket, and whispered for the last time, "The rest is silence." Within the sound of his beautiful voice the wit and fashion of the capital were congregated, their customary laughter and chatter awed into stillness by the "divinity [that] hung round that man."² He had played the Prince for forty-eight years, and though he was now more than seventy, and occasionally younger men³ essayed the rôle, the "town" still preferred their old favorite.⁴

Thomas Betterton had begun his career as leading man for the bookseller, Rhodes, who had established a company of novices at the Cockpit in Drury Lane soon after General Monk occupied London, in the late winter of 1659-1660.⁵ Rhodes managed to keep his troupe together till early in the autumn, when it was absorbed by the "Old Actors," who had been designated as the King's company and fortified by the royal patent issued August 21 to Killigrew and D'Avenant.⁷ Rhodes's company seems to have acted, of the Shakespearean plays, only *Pericles*.⁸

Hamlet did not appear on the Restoration stage till the summer of 1661, a delay that might be puzzling if we did

¹ Genest, *Some Account of the English Stage*, II, 443.

² The phrase of Barton Booth, who succeeded him in many of his tragic roles. See Davies, *Dramatic Miscellanies*, III, 32.

³ In particular, Wilks and Powell.

⁴ Cf. Tony Aston's *Brief Supplement*. Reprinted in Lowe's ed. of Cibber's *Apology*, II, 301.

⁵ Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus* (Knight's reprint), p. 17.

⁶ See Robert W. Lowe, *Thomas Betterton*, p. 68.

⁷ Reprinted by J. Q. Adams, *The Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert*, pp. 87-8.

⁸ Cf. Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus* (Knight's reprint), p. 18.

not know D'Avenant's purposes. On November 5, 1660 Sir William had signed articles with a number of the players formerly attached to Rhodes but by that time members of the united company at the Cockpit in Drury Lane. Among them was Betterton, who had been very much in the shade since the absorption of Rhodes's company by the older and more experienced actors.⁹ Ten days later, D'Avenant's, or the Duke's, company, as it soon became known, opened the old Salisbury Court theatre. From the terms of their agreement with their director it is clear that their occupancy of that house was intended to be merely temporary;¹⁰ for twenty years D'Avenant had clung tenaciously to his dream of producing plays at a public theatre with scenery. Armed with a patent that reserved to him and to Killigrew the exclusive right of giving theatrical performances in London and Westminster, he now proposed to realize his long cherished ambition.

To do this a new theatre was essential. A tennis-court located in Portugal Row, on the south side of Lincoln's Inn Fields, was selected for the home of the new venture; and during the winter and spring of 1660-1661 D'Avenant occupied himself with remodelling it and with preparing the scenes and "machines." He probably paid little attention to his company at Salisbury Court, aside from collecting his daily share of the receipts. On December 12, 1660 an order was issued by the lord chamberlain setting aside certain of the "old" plays as the exclusive theatrical property of D'Avenant.¹¹ Among these was *Hamlet*. It was, in fact, one of the principal items on D'Avenant's list of projected productions; and when the new theatre in Lincoln's

⁹ The latter were headed by Burt, Clun, Hart, and Mohun, all of whom had acted before the Wars.

¹⁰ See reprint of the Articles of Agreement by J. Q. Adams, *The Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert*, pp. 96-100.

¹¹ Lowe, *Thomas Betterton*, pp. 75 f. For later lists of plays belonging to the respective companies see Allardyce Nicoll, *Dryden as an Adapter of Shakespeare*, p. 35.

Inn Fields was opened, late in June, 1661,¹² *Hamlet* was the third offering.¹³ It was an immediate success, and as we have seen, remained in Betterton's repertory throughout his long career.

It is a curious fact that this production of *Hamlet* has not hitherto been recognized as belonging to that motley assortment of mangled stage versions which we conveniently lump as Shakespearean alterations, though this mildly reproachful term has regularly been used to include such harmless affairs as the Bettertonian *Henry the Fourth*. In this paper I shall try to show three things: (1) that the source of the Restoration *Hamlet* is Quarto 6, printed in 1637, the last pre-Wars quarto; (2) that the Restoration text belongs with the Shakespearean alterations; and (3) that the revision was probably the work of Sir William D'Avenant.

(1) THE SOURCE.

The first Restoration edition of *Hamlet* was printed in quarto in 1676; it is the source of the subsequent quartos of 1683, 1695, and 1703.¹⁴ The last pre-Wars edition is dated 1637. Dr. Furness states that he has not been able to procure a copy of this text (Quarto 6).¹⁵ "The lack of this Quarto," he continues, "is the less to be regretted, since to judge by the Textual notes of the Cambridge edition only slight differences are to be perceived between it and my copy of the Quarto of 1676, which was evidently printed from it." Though Dr. Furness's conclusion is correct, as I shall presently show, his reason is not; since (probably

¹² Not the spring of 1662, as Downes asserts.

¹³ Downes, *Roscarius Anglicanus* (Knight's reprint), pp. 20-1.

¹⁴ There were two issues of Q 1703; the catchword is the last word in the text on page 1: in one copy *Bornardo*, in the other *Barnardo*. There may have been two issues of Q 1676. The copy I have used, that of the Boston Public Library, differs in many cases from Furness's notes. He suspected the existence of two issues because he found the readings of the Cambridge editors frequently at variance with his own copy.

¹⁵ Furness, *New Variorum Edition*, IV, 35.

because his copy of Quarto 1676 either was wrongly dated or represents another issue) he did not realize that the Restoration *Hamlet* is actually an alteration of Quarto 6.

It is not yet generally understood that the so-called "players' quartos," published after the reopening of the theatres, are thus characterized with entire accuracy, and that they derive, in most cases, from the pre-Wars quartos, without reference to the folios. In another paper I hope to show that when the Restoration publisher undertook to reissue one of Shakespeare's plays separately, he seems to have employed, usually, the last quarto in the library of the players. *This was considered the authentic text, and practically no effort was made to collate it with any other. I do not, however, wish to labor this point now; my present purpose is to show that the *Hamlet* quarto of 1676, with all its alterations, is based on the text of Quarto 6, printed in 1637, the last pre-Wars quarto of that play. I have space for only a few of the passages which establish this fact, and shall therefore omit samples of the readings which merely narrow the field of possibility as between the folios and the quartos in general, and as between the two groups into which the latter (excluding of course Quarto 1) divide themselves: (1) Q 2,3; (2) Q 4,5,6. Only a handful of passages agree with the folios to the exclusion of the quartos, and many of these are patently of no significance; while an overwhelming number of contrary readings show that the former are accidental. It is also clear from a great number of passages that the text of Q 1676 is not derived from Q 2,3, but from the group formed by the three later quartos. Finally, still other passages, a few of which I shall now cite, show agreement with Quarto 6 to the exclusion of all other readings.¹⁶

I.ii.33. "Out of his *subjects*". For: "subject".

I.iii.79. "as the night *to* day". For: "the."

¹⁶ Furness's textual notes do not show the identity of these readings, since he did not collate Q 6. I base my citations on my own collation of Qs 6 and 1676 with Furness's notes on the other texts.

- I.v.44. "O wicked *Wils*". For: "wit".
- I.v.107. "meet it is I set [it] down". Om. Qs 6 and 1676.
- I.v.162. "can'st *thou* work i' th Earth so fast?" Inserted by Qs 6 and 1676, the latter misprinting: "thon". Corrected to "thou" by Qs 1683, 1695, 1703, 1703.
- I.v.174. "Head thus shak't". For: "this head-shake".
- II.i.42. "your party in converse, *he* you would sound". For: "him".
- II.i.60. "I saw him enter *such and such* a house of sale". For: "such".
- III.i.10. "his true *estate*". For: "state".
- III.i.90. "Be all my Sins remembred?" For: "."
- III.i.163. "*For* what he spake". For: "Nor".
- III.ii.84. "And scape *detection*". For (Fs): "detecting". Q 6 agrees with Q 1676: "detection"; but other Qs: "detected".
- III.ii.281. "For if the King *likes* not the Comedy". For: "like".
- III.iii.26. "We will *make haste*." For: "haste us".
- III.iii.75. "And so am I reveng'd?" For: "." Fs: ":", Qs 2-5: ":",
- III.iv.182. "to Bed again". For: "again to bed".
- V.i.115. "I think *it's* thine indeed". For: "it be".
- V.i.212. "That is Laertes, a very noble youth [; mark]." Om. Q 1676. Om. Q 6, because Qs. 4,5: "make".
- V.ii.275. "*wipe* thy brows". For: "rub".
- In justification of the statement that there was no attempt at collation with the folios on the part of the editor of 1676, I can here only call attention to such passages as the following.
- I.iii.76. "For *Love* oft loseth". For: "loan".
- II.ii.534-5. "Had he the motive, and *that* for passion". For: "the cue".

There are many similar cases, obviously incorrect readings by the quartos, which a glance at a folio would have shown to be such. It appears that for generation after generation the actors went on mouthing over these and similar absurd-

ities. In this connection the reader may also consult under Section (2) the group of alterations made in Q 1676 on account of unintelligible readings in Q 6. It is evident that the editor never thought of turning to another text for a more satisfactory reading. If his source was impossible he emended, more or less wildly.

(2) THE STATE OF THE TEXT.

That the Restoration text of *Hamlet* has not hitherto been recognized as altered seems strange; some critics have even gone so far as to praise the restraint of the adapters in leaving at least this masterpiece undefiled. The following writers (either by direct statement or by omission from bibliographies) have pronounced it unaltered:

FURNESS states that Q 1676 was printed from Q 1637. The latter is not collated by him; this is unfortunate, since many of his statements that certain readings are common to the quartos are invalidated by the fact that Q 6 makes many changes from the text of Qs 4,5. Furness states that he is less concerned by this omission because he has been able to collate Q 1676. That this text is an alteration of the text of Q 6 he is evidently unaware.¹⁷

HALL does not mention the version of 1676.¹⁸

HUDSON asserts that *Hamlet* "had been left untouched by former hands [i.e. before Garrick's]."¹⁹

KILBOURNE says nothing of Q 1676.²⁰

LEE mentions *Hamlet* as one of the plays "frequently produced in the authentic text."²¹

¹⁷ H. H. Furness, *New Variorum Edition*, IV, 35.

¹⁸ H. T. Hall, *Shakespeare's Plays: The Separate Editions of, with the Alterations Done by Various Hands* (1880), p. 72.

¹⁹ *Poet-love*, IV, 370.

²⁰ F. W. Kilbourne, *Alterations and Adaptations of Shakespeare* (1906), p. 153.

²¹ Sir Sidney Lee, *A Life of William Shakespeare*, Revised ed., 1917; p. 592.

LOUNSBURY omits it from his bibliography of Shakespearean alterations.²²

ODELL declares that "D'Avenant's sins were wholly of omission."²³ "Altogether," he continues, "this version is not a bad acting edition . . . ; the story is compressed to good dramatic effect. And *all the lines are Shakespeare's* [my italics]; of no other published version of D'Avenant's can we say as much."²⁴

SUMMERS lists *Hamlet* as played "in its original form."²⁵

THORNDIKE remarks: "Perhaps the most that can be said for the restorers is, first, that they rescued for the stage some of the less dramatic plays . . . ; and second, that they left *Hamlet* and *Othello* untouched."²⁶

VINCKE fails to mention any alteration of *Hamlet* earlier than Garrick's.²⁷

WHEATLEY lists *Hamlet* as having escaped early alteration. "Some changes were made in the edition of 1703, but the play remained substantially unaltered until Garrick mangled it in 1771."²⁸

I have, in fact, noticed but one accurate reference to the state of this text. Some time after I had reached my conclusions regarding it, I found that Thomas P. Barton in his MS. description of his Shakespeareana (now in the Boston Public Library) lists the Restoration quartos of *Hamlet* as altered texts, and styles the version "an alteration with a vengeance."

The *Hamlet* of 1676 *et seq.* was not structurally altered, except that it was cut ruthlessly, though not more ruthlessly

²² T. R. Lounsbury, *Shakespeare as a Dramatic Artist* (1901), p. 302.

²³ G. C. D. Odell, *Shakespeare from Bellerton to Irving* (1920), I, 25.

²⁴ Ibid, p. 26.

²⁵ Montague Summers, *Shakespeare Adaptations* (1922), p. lxxii.

²⁶ A. H. Thorndike, *Tragedy* (1908), p. 265.

²⁷ G. F. Vincke, "Bearbeitungen und Aufführungen Shakespeare'scher Stücke vom Tode des Dichters bis zum Tode Garrick's," *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, IX, 53.

²⁸ H. B. Wheatley, "Post Restoration Quartos of Shakespeare's Plays," *The Library*, 3rd series, vol. 4, page 252.

than we cut it now. All the Restoration quartos of this play carry the following polite address

To the Reader.

This Play being too long to be conveniently Acted, such Places as might be least prejudicial to the Plot or Sense, are left out upon the Stage: but that we may no way wrong the incomparable Author, are here inserted according to the Original copy with this Mark " ".*

Nearly all the Fortinbras material is so marked, but not the Fortinbras ending. Voltimand and Cornelius thus drop out entirely. Other passages left out are: Horatio's excursus on omens (I.i). The King's address from the throne on the state of the government. Polonius's advice to Laertes, and the scene with Reynaldo. Hamlet's advice to the players. The whole scene in which Hamlet meets the army of Fortinbras. The following passages are greatly reduced: Horatio's explanation of the preparations for war. The King's speech of reproof to Hamlet (I.ii). Hamlet's soliloquy "O that this too too solid flesh would melt." Laertes's advice to Ophelia, and Polonius's advice to Ophelia. Hamlet's dissertation on Danish boozing, and much of his first colloquy with the Ghost. Hamlet's conversation with the First Player, and the latter's recitation. Hamlet's soliloquy "O what a rogue and peasant slave am I." The first scene of the Mouse-trap. Hamlet's conversation with the Queen, after the Ghost's disappearance (III.iv). In general the cutting is done with a view to retaining what is dramatic, and lopping off the lyric and sententious passages which have now become elocutionary arias for Hamlet.

These are far from fatal changes. What makes this *Hamlet* an alteration, and reprehensible, is the mutilation of Shakespeare's diction. I shall be bold enough to guess at the reasons for some of the changes: many of them fall into easily recognizable categories. Others, however, baffle conjecture, at least my own.

* 816 lines and parts of lines were left out on the stage—a substantial reduction. Not all that were omitted are so marked, and some are evidently marked by mistake.

That the adapter felt no restraint we can be fairly certain, for many of his revisions appear to be purely arbitrary. Textual emendation, as the horde of later commentators found to their cost, is not the least fascinating of indoor sports. But if one finds it agreeable, or even thrilling, one may find also that to be too busy is some danger. The Restoration adapter was not trying to *restore* his author, the professed aim of the long line of later tamperers with texts, but to *improve* him. From changing a phrase in order to make its meaning clearer, to changing it because one thinks of a better phrase, is an easy step; and D'Avenant took it without a qualm. Into the secret places of his psychology we shall not attempt to penetrate; but since this *Hamlet*, as I hope to show, appears to be his work, we must take into account, at least in a general way, the attitude with which he approached his self appointed task.

William D'Avenant seems to have regarded William Shakespeare with genuine affection—perhaps love is not too strong a word; but that the general superiority of his own generation entitled him to match his knowledge of what dramatic poetry should be against Shakespeare's, I think he never even questioned. The cocksureness of the Restoration *intelligentsia* is almost incredible. The England of Elizabeth seemed barbarous to the England of Charles II, though less than sixty years had elapsed between the great Queen's death and the accession of that graceless king. In the presence of the masterpieces of the old drama the Restoration critics (all but one) experienced a certain awe; they recognized vaguely a grandeur that was not characteristic of their own art. "Our age," wrote Dryden,

was cultivated thus at length,
But what we gain'd in skill we lost in strength.
Our builders were with want of genius curst;
The second temple was not like the first.³⁰

³⁰ From the epistle *To Congreve*. This passage is sometimes cited in refutation of the charge that Shakespeare was not valued by the Restoration

The temples of the Restoration were constructed, supposedly, according to the French rules for classical architecture; squared by these the Elizabethan monuments were discovered abounding in errors. Thus the critic and adapter of Shakespeare in the later seventeenth century, though he might sincerely enough protest his admiration of the whole, found, when he actually came to review details, so many faults crying for correction, that while he eulogized in general he had little but condemnation in particular. He was willing to concede greatness of soul to Shakespeare, but neither refined taste nor expert craftsmanship.

We shall next examine a number of passages selected from the quarto of 1676 because they illustrate various types of alteration. It is significant that verbal changes were made, not only in the lines that were spouted on the stage, but also in the text marked by the editor as there omitted. This is another bit of evidence that the exigencies of the theatre do not, as some writers seem to think, fully account for the maltreatment of the Shakespearean line in these Restoration stage versions. The editor felt called upon, not merely to adapt the text for the stage, but to improve it in every conceivable way.

Many of the changes in Q 1676 consist in the excision or dilution of oaths and other expressions offensive to piety. Some of these are of little significance, since similar revisions were often made long before the Wars. Yet from their frequency as well as from the fact that the adapter's squeamishness led him to strike out expressions which seem to us distinctly innocuous, we can infer that this version was made long before 1676, when it was printed. The reason given by Charles for his grant of the theatrical monopoly to Kil-

at his true worth. Unfortunately the last line quoted does not end with a full stop, but with a colon, and is thus followed:

"Till you, the best Vitruvius, come at length;
Our beauties equal, but excel our strength."

Dryden then goes on to assert Congreve's superiority to Fletcher and Jonson, and his equality with Shakespeare.

ligrew and D'Avenant was that word had reached his ears concerning a number of unlicensed companies, which were acting plays containing profane and scurrilous matter.³¹ The Merry Monarch's pretext was as cynical as his action was arbitrary, but it served. And D'Avenant's patent solemnly adjures him to purge the plays he is to produce of all objectionable features. The text of 1676 abounds in such revisions as the following:³²

I.i.49. "[by heaven] I charge thee, speak." Om. Q 1676.

I.i.170. "perhaps." For: "for upon my life." This is a cautious qualification, but one ought not to predict with much assurance whether or not any given spirit will speak, even to a princely son. The metre requires that Horatio should read "p'r'aps", which sounds more like W. S. Gilbert than like Shakespeare.

I.ii.195. "*Pray* let me hear." For: "For Gods love."

I.v.106. "O villain, villain, smiling [damned] villain!" Om. Q 1676.

I.v.122. "As death, my Lord." For: "I by heaven."

II.i.76. "With what [i' th name of God]?" Om. Q 1676.

II.ii.171. "Excellent well." For: "Well, God a mercy."

II.ii.298. "in apprehension, [how like a God!] the beauty of the World" Om. Q 1676.

II.ii.407-8. "*I wish* your voice." For: "pray God."

III.i.143. "*Nature* hath given you one Face." For: "God."

III.i.144-5. "nick-name *Heavens* creatures." For: "Gods."

III.ii.163. "[Faith] I must leave thee, Love." Om. Q 1676.

IV.v.41. "[Lord,] we know what we are." Om. Q 1676.

³¹ The grant of August 21, 1660 is reprinted by J. Q. Adams, *The Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert*, pp. 87-8.

³² Unless the contrary is stated, the text first given is in each case that of Q 1676. Lines are numbered throughout this article to agree with the *New Var.* ed. of Furness. Words replaced or omitted are given according to Q 6.

IV.v.193-4. "*And peace be with his soul.*" For: "God a mercy on."

IV.vi.6-8. "*Sail. Save you, Sir.*"
For: "*Say. God blesse you sir.*"

Hora. Let him blesse thee too.

Say. A shall sir an't please him."

V.i.25-7. "the more pity that great Folk should have countenance in this World to drown or hang themselves more than *we.*" For: "their even Christen."

V.i.246. "Perdition catch thee." For: "the Divell take thy soule."

V.i.261. "[For love of God] Forbear him." Om. Q 1676.

V.i.262. "[Swounds] Shew me what thou't do." Om. Q 1676.

V.ii.105. "for my [so Qtos.] ease [in good faith]. Om. Q 1676.

V.ii.245. "No, *on my honour.*" For: "by this hand."
Many other examples might be cited.

Two principal aims seem to have governed the editor of this text: he sought to make it clearer and also more elegant. To the Restoration, Shakespeare was frequently both obscure and crude. Many of the changes designed to clarify the text are mere modernizations. For instance:

III.i.30-1. "meet / Ophelia here." For: "here / Af-front Ophelia."

III.iv.83. "If thou canst *mutiny* in a matrons bones".
For: "mutine."

III.iv.118. "And with th' *incorporeal* air do hold dis-course?" For: "incorporall."

IV.vii.78. "A very *Feather* in the Cap of Youth". For: "riband." *Hamlet* was "dressed," of course, in the costume of the Restoration.

IV.vii.161. "A Chalice for the *purpose.*" For: "nonce."

V.ii.140. "Single Rapier." For: "Rapier and dagger."
Of course the next line, Hamlet's comment, had then to be cut: "That's two of his weapons; but well."

Metrical exigencies play some part in the reviser's economy. Sometimes he clips and trims Shakespeare's irregular blank verse into more or less exact decasyllabics. Sometimes he makes a verbal change which compels entire rearrangement. Thus:

I.iv.4. "[indeed,] I heard it not: it then draws near the season". Om. Q 1676.

III.ii.213. "If once I Widow be, and then a Wife." For: "If once I be a widow, ever I be a wife."

Many changes are due to the weakening of the last syllable of the past participle. Examples:

III.ii.260. "The Hart ungalled *go* play." Inserted by Q 1676. Here the participle was pronounced *ungall'd*; it was usually written with the apostrophe.

V.ii.364-5. "give order that these Bodies

High on a Stage be *plac'd to publick* view."

For: "placed to the."

I do not, however, wish to stress this group of changes. When it suited him, this editor was as willing as anyone to let the metre go hang.

To return to his efforts to achieve greater clearness. One of his methods was to simplify by rearranging inverted word order. Examples:

I.ii.169. "my good Lord." For: "good my Lord."

I.ii.207. "They did impart in dreadful secrecie."

For: "In dreadful secrecie impart they did."

I.iv.84. "Still *I am* call'd." For: "am I."

II.ii.149. "Into the madness wherein *he now* raves."

For: "now he."

III.ii.352. "yet *you cannot* make it speak". For: "cannot you."

V.i.236-7. "Whose wicked deeds *deprived thee of Thy most ingenuous sense.*"

For: "thy most ingenuous sense deprived thee of."

V.ii.14. "*I grop'd* to find out them." For: "Grop't I."

Another not uncommon type is the change of tenses in the interests of strict accuracy. This editor had a distinct prejudice against the historical present. Example:

V.ii.56. "So Guildenstern and Rosencraus [*sic*] *went* to it." For: "go."

Another grammatical change is the elimination of verbal nouns. Examples:

I.v.186. "May do t' express his Love and *friendship* to you". For: "friending".

V.ii.44. "That on the view [and knowing] of these contents". Om. Q 1676.

V.ii.107-8. "of very soft society, and great *shew*". For: "shewing".

There are many other grammatical changes of various types. Examples:

I.iii.116. "how *prodigally* the Soul". For: "prodigall."

III.ii.291. "Your wisdom should shew it self [more] richer." Om. Q 1676.

IV.vii.4. "That he *who* hath your noble Father slain". For: "which".

There is a very large number of changes made apparently with the single aim of elucidating the meaning. Examples:

I.ii.172. "*To be a witness* of your own report." For: "to make it truster."

II.ii.105. "Consider." For: "Perpend."

II.ii.307. "We *met* them on the way." For: "coated."

Will the reader please observe that in the interests of perspicuity not even the great soliloquy was immune?

III.i.84. "And thus the *healthful* face of Resolution." For: "native hiew."

III.i.85. "Shews sick and pale with Thought." For: "Is sicklied ore with the pale cast of thought."

III.ii.150. "Unite, *infolding* them in sacred Bands." For: "commutual in most."

III.ii.164. "My *working* powers." For: "operant."

IV.v.196. "Laertes, I must *share in* your grief." For: "commune with".

IV.vii.18. "the great love the *people* bear him." For: "generall gender".

V.ii.111. "Sir, his *definement* suffers *no loss* in you." For: "perdition."

Sometimes these alterations are rendered more excusable by the existence of a real difficulty in Q 6, D'Avenant's source. Examples:

I.i.93. "as by the same compact". For: ("covenant;" Fs: "cou'nant"); Q 6: "co-mart".

IV.vii.14. "*She is so precious* to my life and soul." For: (Fs: "She's so conjunctive"); Q 6: "She is so conclive."

The changes made in the following passages appear to have been dictated by a desire for greater elegance of expression. Many other examples might be given.

II.i.79. "his Stockings *loose*." For: "foul'd."

III.i.77. "To *groan* and sweat under a weary life?" For: "grunt."

III.iv.142-5. "bring me to the Test,
And I the matter will re-word, which madness
Cannot do mother, for love of grace
Lay not"

For: "Would gambole from. Mother."

IV.v.30. "*Obscurely* to interr him." For: "In hugger mugger."

IV.v.86. "And wants not *whispers* to infect his ear." For: "buzzers."

IV.v.120. "That treason *dares not reach at* what it would." For: "can but peepe to."

IV.vii.184-5. "Pull'd the *gentle Maid* from her melodious lay". For: "(Fs: "poor wretch"); Q 6: "poore wench."

V.ii.15. "*Reach'd* their packet." For: "Finger'd."

V.ii.65. "*Stept* in between th' election and my hopes." For: "Popt."

Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, unlike many of the plays written just after it, does not abound in wildly figurative flights of fancy. In working with *Macbeth*, which is full of them, D'Avenant is constantly toning them down; any simile or metaphor not immediately transparent is, if not cast out, at least seized upon and literalized, with the frequent result that all that made the line splendid is thrown away. *Hamlet* afforded the laureate less scope for the exercise of this

disastrous idiosyncrasy. His version contains, nevertheless, a number of cases of the literalization of figures of speech and the toning down of especially vigorous language. Examples:

I.i.44. "it *startles* me with fear and wonder." For: "harrows"; Q 6: "horrowes."

I.ii.77. "*this Mourning* cloke". For: "my inkie."

I.iii.46. "*About* my Heart." For: "as watchman to"; Q 6: "as watchmen to."

I.iv.11. "The Kettle Drum and Trumpet thus *proclaim*." For: "bray out."

III.ii.76. "Do not it self *discover* in one speech." For: "unkennell."

V.ii.13. "My Sea-gown *wrapt* about me." For: "scarft."

V.ii.243-4. "Your skill shall like a Star i' th' darkest night *Appear*."

For: "Sticke fiery off indeed."

Many of the changes introduced by the adapter of Q 1676 appear to be simply capricious. Examples:

I.i.37. "enlighten". For: "illumine".

I.ii.33. "we *now* despatch". For: "here".

II.i.77. "as I was *reading* in my Closset". For: "sewing"; Q 6: "sowing".

III.ii.312. "O wonderful son that can *thus* astonish a mother!" For: "so".

IV.vii.30. "Break not your *steps* for that". For: "sleeps".

In all I have noted 283 altered passages in this text, without counting those inspired by piety. In view of that fact it can scarcely be maintained that either the theatrical or the general reading public of the Restoration knew Shakespeare's *Hamlet* unaltered.

(3) AUTHORSHIP.

Hamlet was produced with scenery during the summer of 1661 at the new theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields. There is no record of its being acted earlier, after the reopening of the theatres in 1660. I have already explained that it

was not played while D'Avenant's company was at Salisbury Court because he preferred to wait till he could stage it to his taste.³³ Accordingly he held it in reserve for the new theatre, and there, after putting on *The Siege of Rhodes*, an "opera", and *The Wits*, a comedy, both of his own composition, he launched the great tragedy, which now represented the mingled genius of himself and his revered predecessor, with whose "very spirit" he is reported to have believed he wrote. These facts are proof enough of D'Avenant's personal interest in this production.³⁴ Still more significant is Downes's statement that D'Avenant coached Betterton in the "business" of the title-role, having seen it acted before the Wars by Taylor, who was said to have received his instructions from Shakespeare himself.³⁵

Now if we did not know that D'Avenant subsequently produced *Macbeth* and *The Law against Lovers*,³⁶ mangled adaptations of which he was himself the author, we might hesitate to attach his name to this altered *Hamlet*. Fortunately we are certain of his responsibility for the two other plays. In view of his evident solicitude for what good old Downes would designate "the clean and well performance" of this, the most important of all his Shakespearean revivals, is it likely that he would have entrusted the preparation

³³ If it had been, Pepys, who went there repeatedly during the winter and spring of 1660-1, would almost certainly have seen it. The first performance he witnessed was at Lincoln's Inn Fields, August 24, 1661. This agrees with Downes, who would surely have mentioned an earlier production if there had been one. The operations of D'Avenant's company during its interim at Salisbury Court have been obscured by the misconceptions of several historians, including Joseph Knight, and by a slip on the part either of Pepys or of his decipherers in recording one of his visits to that playhouse. In another article, dealing with the latter, I shall try to substantiate my conviction that D'Avenant's company remained at Salisbury Court until the new theatre was ready for them.

³⁴ D'Avenant is often sneered at as a mere court favorite. As a matter of fact he was a practical man of the theatre, as well as poet and dramatist.

³⁵ Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus* (Knight's reprint), p. 21.

³⁶ An alteration of *Measure for Measure*, with trimmings appropriated from *Much Ado about Nothing*.

of the text for it to anyone else? That we may add this *Hamlet* to his works seems much more likely. From every point of view D'Avenant is the logical candidate.

Two possible objections suggest themselves, but both are easily answered. Why, it may be asked, if this *Hamlet* is D'Avenant's, was it not printed in the posthumous folio of 1673? For the same reason, we can be confident, that his *Macbeth* was not included. Although much more violently altered than the *Hamlet*, *Macbeth* was considered by D'Avenant's editors to be still Shakespeare's play. So with *Hamlet*. *The Law against Lovers*, on the other hand, was as much more altered than *Macbeth* as *Macbeth* was than *Hamlet*; it was D'Avenant's play, though it was based on two of Shakespeare's. These facts, indeed, square with our assignment of the version printed in 1676 to a much earlier date, at least in the early '60's.³⁷ This *Hamlet*, we may presume, reveals D'Avenant's prentice hand as an adapter of Shakespeare. Emboldened by the great success of the production, he was much less tender with his sources in his subsequent adaptations.

The second objection that I anticipate is that this *Hamlet* was not printed till 1676. Does it really represent the version acted in the early '60's? The answer to this is that delayed publication of these alterations is far from uncommon. Lacy's *Sawney the Scot*, for instance, an adaptation of *The Taming of the Shrew*, was acted at least as early as 1667; but it was not printed till 1698. D'Avenant's *Macbeth* was acted at Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1663 or 1664, but it was not published till 1674.³⁸ There can be no question of the authorship of either of these versions. Furthermore, there was little printing of Shakespeare in quarto in the '60's. It was during this decade that his reputation was at the lowest ebb it has ever known. As the century drew nearer

³⁷ It is, of course, possible that the alterations were not made by D'Avenant till after its first performance. On the other hand they may have been made long before.

³⁸ The quarto of 1673 does not represent the D'Avenant *Macbeth*.

its close his popularity began to recover ground. The frequent reprinting of his chief theatrical successes is in keeping with his growth in favor both with audiences and with the reading public. By the end of the century the tide had much more than turned; and in 1709 Rowe gives us the first critical edition.

But we need not rest our case here. There is nothing external as far as I know, to connect the name of D'Avenant with this version of *Hamlet*, except the facts I have given, though these concur in pointing in his direction. But there is internal evidence in great plenty. After a careful study of D'Avenant's other Shakespearean alterations and of their relation to this play, I am confident that this *Hamlet* was revised by him. In fact the evidence of his hand is so extensive that I can here present only samples of it. I shall merely quote, therefore, from *Macbeth* and from *The Law against Lovers*, a very few of the passages which illustrate the same methods of revision as those which we have noticed governing the changes in the Restoration *Hamlet*.³⁹

1. Excision of offences against piety.

Cf. *Macbeth* I.ii.58. "Long live the King!" For: "God saue".

2. Modernization.

Cf. *Macbeth* I.iii.87. "what seem'd Corporeal". For: "corporall".⁴⁰

Cf. *The Law against Lovers* p. 277 (*Measure for Measure* I.ii.134). "An evil Thirst". For: "A thirsty euill".

3. Metrical improvements.

Cf. *Macbeth* I.i.14. "To us fair weather's foul, and foul is fair!" For: "faire is foule and foule is faire".

³⁹ In each case the text first given is that of D'Avenant's revision, either from the *Macbeth* quarto of 1674 or *The Law against Lovers* in the 1673 folio of D'Avenant's works. Line references to *Measure for Measure* agree with Neilson's *Cambridge ed.*; to *Macbeth* with Furness. Text from the unaltered plays is quoted in the case of *Macbeth* from Furness's reprint of F 1, and of *Measure for Measure* from the *National Shakespeare* reprint of the same text.

⁴⁰ This identical change is also made in the *Hamlet* of 1676, III iv 118.

Cf. *Macbeth* I.ii.75. "Until at Colem's-Inch he had disburs'd". For: "Till he disbursed, at Saint Colmes ynch".

4. Grammatical corrections.

Cf. *Macbeth* I.ii.19. "*was* supply'd". For: "is".

Cf. *Macbeth* I.ii.59. "Whence *com'st* thou, worthy Thane?" For: "cam'st".

Cf. *Macbeth* I.iii.55. "who". For: "that".

5. Efforts to achieve greater clearness.

Cf. *Macbeth* I.ii.78. "Our *confidence*". For: "Bosome interest".

Cf. *Macbeth* I.iii.62. "With which he seems surpriz'd". For: "That he seemes wrapt withall".

Cf. *Macbeth* I.iii.101-2.

His wonder and his praises then contend
Which shall exceed.

For: "Which should be thine, or his."

Cf. *Macbeth* I. iii. 135-7.

If all be true,
You have a title to a Crown, as well
As to the Thane of Cawdor.

For:

That trusted home,
Might yet enkindle you vnto the Crowne,
Besides the Thane of Cawdor.

Cf. *Macbeth* I. iv. 53-4.

Now we'll hasten hence
To Enverness: we'll be your guest, Macbeth,
And there contract a greater debt than that
Which I already owe you.

For:

From hence to Envernes,
And binde vs further to you.

Cf. *Macbeth* I. v. 50. "no relapses into mercy." For:
"no compunctious visitings of Nature."

Cf. *The Law against Lovers* p. 298 (*Measure for Measure* III. i. 67-70).

Cloud. Perpetual durance?
Isab. 'Tis worse than close restraint, and painful too
 Beyond all tortures which afflict the body;
 For 'tis a Rack invented for the mind."

For:

Cla. Perpetuall durance?
Isa. I iust, perpetuall durance, a restraint
 Through all the world's vastiditie you had
 To a determin'd scope.

6. Attempts at greater elegance.

Cf. *Macbeth* I. vii. 51-2:

You dare not venture on the thing you wish:
 But still wou'd be in tame expectance of it.

For:

Letting I dare not, wait vpon I would,
 Like the poore Cat i' th' Addage.

Cf. *The Law against Lovers*, p. 279 (*Measure for Measure* I. iii. 29):

and froward liberty,
 Does Justice strike.

For: "And libertie, plucks Iustice by the nose".

7. Literalization and general¹ toning down.

Cf. *Macbeth* II. iii. 85-6.

Approach the Chamber, and behold a sight
 Enough to turn spectators into stone.

For:

Approch the Chamber, and destroy your sight
 With a new Gorgon.

Cf. *Macbeth* I. ii. 61. "where the Norweyan Banners
 Darkned the Air." For: "flowt the Skie."

Cf. *The Law against Lovers*, p. 279 (*Measure for Measure* I. iii. 2-3). "Lov's too tender to dwell in my cold bosom."

For: "Beleeue not that the dribling dart of Loue

Can pierce a compleat bosome."

Many other passages might be adduced to reenforce each of these groups. I have reserved till last the most striking case of similarity. In *Measure for Measure* III. i. 104-6 Isabella nobly declares:

O were it but my life,
I'de throw it downe for your deliuerance
As frankly as a pin.

which becomes in *The Law against Lovers* (p. 298):

O, were it but my life,
I would for your deliverance throw it down,
Most frankly, Claudio.

This amusing evidence of the unpleasantness of pins in the sceptered pall of Tragedy, and consequently of the writer's respect for the principle of decorum, is beautifully matched by an alternation of *Hamlet* I. iv. 65:

I do not set my life at a pin's fee,

a superb line for an actor, whatever it may not be for a critic. In the Restoration *Hamlet* this line appears most tamely:

I do not value my life,

a cadence that doubtless afforded Betterton, who had to read it, some food for reflection on the advisability of setting up barriers to the Shakespearean ebb and flow. That D'Avenant saw the first pin and indignantly picked it up and out, as incongruous with the elevation of tragedy, we happen to know. As for the second, if it was not he who refused to "let it lay," then who was it?

HAZELTON SPENCER.

XXXVI. THE READINGS OF THE FIRST QUARTO OF *HAMLET*

Editors of *Hamlet* have, in general, paid but little attention to the readings of *Q*₁; they have in a few cases adopted them, or made them the basis of emendation, but in their critical notes they have recorded comparatively few of them, and have overlooked many that are better than the generally accepted readings (from *Q*₂ *F*₁), even where these accepted readings are plainly wrong and the readings of *Q*₁ as plainly right.

This neglect of the readings of *Q*₁ is due, no doubt, to the bad repute in which that quarto has been held. It is not strange that a version which is held to be a piracy, a patchwork based on bad shorthand reports, recollection of treacherous actors, and the invention of hack writers, should be considered of little authority. It may be called in to give help in a *locus desperatus*, but beyond that its readings may be completely ignored as of no significance and of no authority. Almost every reading of *Q*₂ and *F*₁, however doubtful, has been adopted by some editor, while readings of *Q*₁, even when recognized by editors as right where other readings are wrong, have not been adopted. This attitude of editors toward the readings of *Q*₁ will be further discussed and illustrated later in this paper.

In recent years, however, the reputation of the first quarto has been looking up; the theory of shorthand reports has been generally abandoned, and the theory of piracy by this or other means is fast losing ground. It is the object of this article to investigate the readings of *Q*₁ in their relation to the readings of the other quartos and of the folios, to show what readings of *Q*₁ have been adopted or made the basis of emendation, to propose the adoption of its readings in other cases, or emendation of the accepted text on the basis of its readings, and to demonstrate the significance and authenticity of its readings in general.

VARIATIONS AMONG THE THREE TEXTS, Q₁, Q₂, F₁

It is a well known fact that Q₂ and F₁ show many variations between them, such as the omission and addition of passages of considerable length, omission of a line or two, of a phrase, of a word, variation in the order of words, form of verb, singular and plural of nouns, form of pronominal words; there is also considerable variation in synonyms.¹ A full exhibit of these variations between Q₁ and Q₂ and between Q₂ and F₁ has been given by Gustav Tanger.² As a natural result, Q₁ has readings peculiar to itself, Q₂ has readings peculiar to itself, and F₁ has readings peculiar to itself. Moreover, the readings of Q₁ agree now with those of Q₂, now with those of F₁. Inasmuch as these cases of agreement have not hitherto (except in a few cases) received attention, it will be well to give an exhibit (not complete) of them, and to attempt to interpret their significance.³

Q₁ agrees with Q₂ against F₁

Q ₁ Q ₂			F ₁
I	I	33 have two nights	two nights have
I	I	65 jump	just
I	I	89 of	on
I	I	98 lawless	landless
I	I	150 morn (morning Q ₁)	day
I	I	164 that	the
I	2	35 bearers	bearing
I	2	129 sallied	solid
I	2	155 in	of
I	2	195 Gods	Heavens
I	2	200 armed at (to Q ₁) point	armed at all points
I	II	253 loves	love
I	III	57 thee	you
I	III	62 those	the
I	III	65 courage	comrade
I	III	117 lends	gives

¹ See Hubbard, *The First Quarto Edition of Shakespeare's Hamlet*, Madison, 1920, p. 30.

² New Shakespeare Society, *Transactions*, 1880-1886 pp. 121-145.

³ References are to *The Cambridge Shakespeare*, Second Edition, 1892, Vol. 7. Variations of spelling are not noted; spelling has been modernized.

I	IV	49	interr'd	inurn'd
I	IV	61	waves	wafts
I	V	18	knotted	knotty
I	V	24	God	Heaven
I	V	29	haste	haste, haste,
I	V	33	roots	rots
I	V	62	hebona	hebenon
I	V	107	my tables	my tables, my tables
I	V	136	Horatio	my lord
I	V	162	earth	ground
I	V	167	your	our
I	V	176	well, well	well
I	V	177	they	there
II	I	114	by heavens	it seems
II	II	48	as it hath	as I have
II	II	178	ten	two
II	II	212	my lord	my honourable lord
II	II	212	take	most humbly take
II	II	311	then, when	when
II	II	379	swaddling	swathing
II	II	415	abridgment comes	abridgments come
II	II	418	valanced	valiant
II	II	438	as wholesome as sweet	omitted
II	II	459	so, proceed you (so, go on Q ₁)	omitted
II	II	520	live	lived
III	I	142	paintings	pratlings
III	II	8	hear	see
III	II	12	would	could
III	II	136	this fellow	these fellows
III	II	239	as good as a	a good
III	II	268	thus	so
III	II	366	yonder	that
IV	IV	22	help ho	help, help ho
IV	V	179	herb of (a'Q ₁) grace	herbe-grace
IV	V	195	God 'a mercy	gramercy
V	I	107	scarcely (scarce Q ₁)	hardly
V	I	135	this	these
V	I	137	the	our
V	I	207	imperious	imperial
V	I	211	awhile	aside
V	I	257	wisdom	wiseness
V	I	257	hold off	away
V	II	280	Here, Hamlet, take my napkin	Here's a napkin
V	II	390	royal	royally

An examination of these readings shows that some of the variations arise from typographical errors, generally in F_1 ; some show the variation of synonyms that is common among all three versions. In cases not involving obvious error, some editors adopt the reading of Q_1Q_2 , others adopt that of F_1 .

That the readings of Q_1 and Q_2 agree is not, in most cases, significant; it is what we should naturally expect, whatever our theory may be as to the relation of these two versions. In some cases, however, such as I II 129 (*sallied*, *solid*) and I III 65 (*courage*, *comrade*), Q_2 shows that Q_1 may be right; and the agreement between these two has led some scholars to favor their reading against that of F_1 .⁴

But whatever may be the significance of the agreements between Q_1 and Q_2 , the variations of F_1 from Q_1Q_2 give rise to the interesting and perplexing question, Whence did F_1 derive these readings? What original did it follow? It certainly looks as though it followed a source different from Q_2 . The same question confronts us when we consider those passages that are found in F_1 but not in Q_2 ; and in this case it is complicated by fact that in some instances (short passages) Q_1 , in addition to F_1 , has the words that are wanting from Q_2 .⁵

Q₁ agrees with F₁ against Q₂

			Q_1F_1	Q_2
I	I	16	soldier	soldiers
I	I	45	question	speak to
I	I	21	<i>Mar</i>	<i>Hora</i>
I	I	73	why	with
I	I	88	those	these
I	I	138	you	your
I	I	160	the	this
I	I	175	conveniently	convenient
I	II	175	to drink deep	for to drink

⁴ For example, in II II 379, most modern editors adopt the reading of Q_1Q_2 (*swaddling*), but the reading of F_1 is adopted by Rowe, Caldecott, Knight, Collier, Elze, Dyce, Staunton, White, Delius.

⁵ See pp. 797-8.

I	II	178	see	<i>omitted</i>
I	II	224	indeed, indeed	indeed
I	II	236	very like, very like	very like
I	V	20	fretful	fearful
I	V	55	lust	but
I	V	60	in	of
I	V	84	howsoever	howsomever
I	V	104	yes, yes	yes
I	V	129	desires	desire
I	V	132	look you	<i>omitted</i>
I	V	161	swear	swear by his sword
I	V	179	this not to do	this do
II	I	55	closes (closeth Q_1) with you (him Q_1) thus	closes thus
II	I	99	help	helps
II	II	73	three	threescore
II	II	85	very well	well
II	II	215	will	will not
II	II	307	no nor	nor
II	II	318	of me (Q_6)	on me
II	II	360	mows	mouths
II	II	384	so	then
II	II	417	my	<i>omitted</i>
II	II	418	thy	why, thy
II	II	424	French	friendly
II	II	435	was no sallets	were no sallets
II	II	440	tale	talk
II	II	441	where	when
II	II	496	who, o who	who a (ah Q_6) woe
II	II	518	abstracts	abstract
II	II	524	should	shall
II	II	535	dozen or sixteen lines	dozen lines or sixteen lines.
II	II	552	to Hecuba	to her
II	II	583	scullion (scalion Q_1)	stallion
II	II	584	brain	brains
II	II	595	be the	be a
III	I	83	of us all	<i>omitted</i>
III	I	107	your honesty	you
III	I	128	heaven and earth	earth and heaven
III	I	129	all	<i>omitted</i>
III	I	137	go	<i>omitted</i>
III	I	142	go	<i>omitted</i>
III	I	145	your ignorance	ignorance
III	I	147	no more marriages	no moe marriage (marriages Q_6)

III	II	3	your	our
III	II	97	I did	did I
III	II	132	muching malicho F ₁ myching mallico Q ₁	munching mallico Q ₂
III	II	132	that	it
III	II	137	counsel	<i>omitted</i>
III	II	176	Wormwood, wormwood F ₁ O wormwood, wormwood Q ₁	That's wormwood.
III	II	218	once a widow ever I be a wife	once I be a widow ever I be a wife
III	II	225	protests	doth protest
III	II	247	pox (a pox Q ₁)	<i>omitted</i>
III	II	250	confederate	considerate
III	II	362	can fret me	fret me not
III	II	386	daggers	dagger
III	IV	5	mother, mother, mother F ₁ mother, mother Q ₁	<i>omitted</i>
IV	III	52	and so	so
IV	V	26	sandal	sendall
IV	V	36	larded	learded all
IV	V	37	grave	ground
IV	V	134	world	worlds
IV	V	172-3	pray love	pray you love
IV	V	191	as	was as
IV	V	192	all flaxen	flaxen
IV	V	196	I pray God	<i>omitted</i>
IV	VII	178	tunes	lauds
V	I	97	quillits	quillites
V	I	112	that	which
V	I	179	let me see F ₁ let me see it Q ₁	<i>omitted</i>
V	I	188	chamber	table
V	I	202	as thus	<i>omitted</i>
V	I	256	something in me	in me something
V	II	212	now	<i>omitted</i>
V	II	278	a touch, a touch	<i>omitted</i>
V	II	307	hour of	hour's
V	II	308	thy hand	my hand
V	II	318	thy union	the onixe
V	II	393	body	bodies

It is to be noted that in some of these cases Q₂ has omitted words or groups of words that are found in both F₁ and Q₁. A few other such cases are worthy of more particular attention.

In II II 321-2, *F*₁ reads, *the clown shall make those laugh whose lungs are tickled a' the sere*. Here *Q*₁ reads, *the clown shall make them laugh that are tickled in the lungs*. *Q*₂ has nothing of this.

In II II 498, *F*₁ reads *That's good, 'mobled'⁶ queen is good*. *Q*₁ reads *mobled queen is good ' faith, very good*. Of all this *Q*₂ has nothing.

In III II 110, *F*₁ reads, *I mean upon your lap*. *Q*₁ has simply *upon your lap*. But *Q*₂ has nothing here, omitting not only this speech of Hamlet but also the succeeding reply of Ophelia *Ay, my lord*.⁷

In III II 260 *F*₁ reads *What, frightened with false fire!* *Q*₁ has the same, except that it reads *fires*. This whole speech of Hamlet is omitted from *Q*₂.

In IV V 93, *F*₁ reads, *Alack, what noise is this?* Here *Q*₁ has *How now, what noise is this?* But *Q*₂ has nothing to correspond with this speech.⁸

In IV VII 163, *F*₁ reads *How now, sweet queen!* Here *Q*₁ reads *How now, Gertred!* *Q*₂ has nothing corresponding with these words.

These omissions from *Q*₂, none of which is absolutely necessary to the context (although in some cases disturbing the metre), may be easily explained as errors of the copyist or compositor; but the presence of the words in *Q*₁ (in agreement with *F*₁) raises the question *Where do they come from? Where did Q*₁ *get them?* Certainly not from *Q*₂; they are not there.

These cases, together with those given above (p. 795), in which *Q*₁ agrees with *F*₁ against *Q*₂, surely present a serious obstacle to the acceptance of the theory that *Q*₁ is derived from *Q*₂ (or its original). The simplest explanation of them would be that the copy from which *F*₁ was made was defective in these places, and that accordingly the editors of *F*₁

⁶ *inobled* *F*₁.

⁷ This is omitted from *Q*₁, which in this case agrees with *F*₁ in the addition, and with *Q*₂ in the omission.

⁸ In *F*₁ this speech is given to the Queen, in *Q*₁ to the King.

emended their copy by the use of Q_1 . But there are several considerations strongly against this theory of the emendation of F_1 by Q_1 .

In the first place, there are passages in F_1 evidently wrong, in which both Q_1 and Q_2 have the right reading; the editors of F_1 in these cases did not use Q_1 to emend their text.⁹

In the second place, although this theory might account for the words and phrases omitted from Q_2 , it will not account for the numerous cases of variation between F_1 and Q_2 in which Q_1 agrees with F_1 , where the readings are equally, or almost equally, good. An examination of the list given above (p. 795) will show this plainly. To these cases may be added the cases of variation between Q_2 and F_1 where the readings are equally good; in such cases no one considers the readings of F_1 as *emendations* of the readings of Q_2 .

In the third place, some of the correspondences between Q_1 and F_1 (in which Q_2 differs) are of such a nature as to put *emendation*, in their case, out of the question. I refer to such cases as the following:

		F_1Q_1	Q_2
I	I 68	my	mine
I	V 29	know it	know't
I	V 119	you'll	you will
I	V 132	I'll	I will
II	I 56	t'other	the' other
II	I 56	you	ye
II	II 439	in it	in't
II	II 448	the	th'
III	II 128, 129	he	'a
III	II 139	you'll	you will
III	II 255	he	'a
IV	V 125	where's	where is
IV	V 186, 7	he	'a
V	I 84	he	'a
V	I 160, 162	he	'a
V	II 235	mine	my

In the fourth place, F_1 has several passages, some of them long, that are found in neither Q_1 nor Q_2 ,—III II 238-268,

⁹ For example, I, IV, 42; II II 418; V II 236.

II II 333-358, V II 68-80. These passages are too long to have their omission accounted for by error of copyist or compositor; their presence in F_1 can be accounted for only on the assumption that F_1 used a source independent of Q_2 and Q_1 . Now, if F_1 in these cases used a source independent of Q_2 , it is a fair inference that it used the same source in those cases in which its readings differ from Q_2 .

As the case stands, it is impossible to prove that the editors of F_1 used Q_1 for mending their text; for it is always possible to assume that these variations from Q_2 were taken from the same source as these long passages that are not found in Q_2 or Q_1 .

We come now to the important and interesting question of the source of these readings of Q_1 that agree with F_1 against Q_2 . I have shown above that it is not at all probable that the agreement in these cases between Q_1 and F_1 arises from emendation of F_1 by Q_1 , and have shown that in other cases F_1 must have a source other than Q_2 , which may be the source also of the readings that agree with Q_1 but differ from Q_2 . It is not possible that these readings of Q_1 have their source in Q_2 , for they are not there, and, moreover, that edition was not in existence at the time of the publication of Q_1 . The natural inference, then, is that these readings of Q_1 come from the same source as those that agree with them in F_1 or from a source in some way related to the source of F_1 and different from that of Q_2 . In other words, *the source of Q_1 is independent of Q_2 and is in some way related to the source of F_1* . This gives, then, to Q_1 an independence hitherto unrecognized, and strengthens in a high degree the authenticity of Q_1 , adding very materially to the arguments for its authenticity that I have advanced in the introduction to my edition of the First Quarto.¹⁰

But the value of Q_1 , its authenticity, is further strengthened by the various readings from it that have been adopted by editors, and by the emendations that have been made or proposed on the basis of its readings. I purpose now to

¹⁰ *The First Quarto Edition of Shakespeare's Hamlet*, pp. 19-36.

exhibit these in some detail. I begin with those that occur in editions prior to 1825, the date of the publication of the first facsimile of Q₁.¹¹ It is not at all probable that any of these readings originated from Q₁; they are in some cases, no doubt, printer's errors; in some cases they are the editors' emendations, generally introduced without comment.

READINGS FROM THE FIRST QUARTO IN EDITIONS BEFORE 1825.

I	II	242	warn't Qq. warrant you Ff. warrant Q ₁ , Johnson and Steevens
I	III	67	bear't Qq. Ff. bear it Q ₁ , Johnson and Steevens, Variorum 1821.
I	V	19	an end Qq. Ff. on end Q ₁ , Pope, Hanmer, Warburton, Johnson
I	V	116	and Qq. bird Ff. boy Q ₁ , Pope
I	V	140	O'er master't Qq. Ff. o'er-master it Q ₁ , Theobald, Warburton, Johnson, Johnson and Steevens, Variorum 1821
I	V	143	we will Qq Ff <i>Omitted</i> Q ₁ , Pope, Hanmer, Warburton, Johnson
II	II	194	that you read Qq. that you mean Ff. you read Q ₁ , Rowe.
II	II	202	shall grow old Qq. should be old Ff. shall be old Q ₁ . shall be as old Rowe, Pope, Johnson. shall be but as old, Hanmer.
II	II	513	where Qq. Ff. if Q ₁ , Pope, Hanmer.
II	III	565	am I a coward Qq. Ff. I am a coward Q ₁

¹¹ *First Quarto of Hamlet*, p. 6.

The Cambridge editors cite from the Warburton Ms. the reading *I am a coward*.

- | | | | |
|-----|-----|-----|--|
| II | II | 594 | The Qq. Ff.
This Q ₁ , Johnson |
| III | I | 151 | courtier's, soldier's scholar's Qq. Ff.
courtier, scholar, soldier Q ₁
courtier's, scholar's soldier's Hanmer, Blair (1795) |
| III | II | 122 | within's Qq. Ff.
within these Q ₁ , Pope, Hanmer, Johnson |
| III | II | 246 | mistake your husbands Qq.
mistake husbands Ff.
must take your husband Q ₁
must take your husbands Pope.
Johnson has the Qq. reading in his text, but says in a note. "Read, <i>So you must take your husbands; that is, for better for worse.</i> " |
| III | II | 265 | strooken Q ₂ Q ₃ , stroken Q ₄ Q ₅
strucken Ff. Q ₆
stricken Q ₁ , Hanmer |
| III | II | 246 | you make Qq Ff.
would you make Q ₁
you would make Johnson |
| III | IV | 105 | Alas! he's mad Qq. Ff.
<i>Omitted</i> Q ₁
Seymour, <i>Remarks upon the Plays of Shakespeare</i> , London, 1805, says, "This is interpolated or an ejaculation of the actor." |
| IV | III | 25 | but Qq. Ff.
<i>Omitted</i> Q ₁ Pope, Hanmer. |
| IV | VII | 156 | and tell Qq. Ff.
to tell Q ₁ , Hanmer. |

These readings, some of which are the editor's emendations, are not of much importance, but they contribute some support to the authenticity of Q₁. When an editor of a text makes an emendation that is afterwards found to be supported by a version of that text unknown to him, it is generally held that his emendation has received ample justification; and the text that supports his emendation certainly receives, in such a case, some support to its value and authenticity.

READINGS FROM THE FIRST QUARTO IN EDITIONS
LATER THAN 1825.

I pass now to consider the readings of Q_1 that have been adopted or proposed by editors since 1825. In some cases the exact readings of Q_1 have not been adopted, but the readings adopted or the emendations made (or proposed) have been based upon readings of Q_1 .

- I I 66 hath he gone by our watch Qq. Ff.
he passed through our watch Q_1

Staunton has adopted the reading of Q_1 with the following remark: "The reading of the earliest quarto, and presenting a finer imagination than that of the subsequent editions, which have *-hath he gone by our watch.*"

- I I 96 unimproved Qq. Ff.
inaproved Q_1

Singer in his second edition (1856) has the reading of Q_1 . His note reads as follows: "Thus the first quarto. The folio has, of *unimproved* mettle hot and full. The reading of the quarto seems preferable, as the idea excited by *Young Fortinbras* is of one animated by courage at full heat, but at present untried,—the ardour of inexperience." Keightly (1879) also accepts this reading, with no comment.

- I I 161 dare stir Qq.
can walk Ff.
dare walk Q_1

Keightly adopts the reading of Q_1 , which might easily be derived from a combination of the readings of Qq. and Ff. Rowe has, *dares walk*.

- I I 161 planets strike Qq. Ff.
planet strikes (misprinted *frikes*) Q_1

Elze adopts the Q_1 reading with a reference to his *Notes on Elizabethan Dramatists* (Halle 1880), p. 82, where he says: "I have no doubt that the text of Q A [Q_1] 'no planet frikes' shows us the right way and that we should read —no planet strikes."

- I II 38 delated Qq.
 dilated Ff.
 related Q₁.

Singer in his first edition (1826) adopts the Q₁ reading.
 "I have not scrupled to read related, upon the authority
 of the first quarto, as more intelligible [than Ff]."
 In later editions Singer reads *dilated*, but quotes Q₁.

- I II 105-6 To reason most absurd, whose common theme
 Is death of fathers, and who still hath cried
 From the first corse till he that died to-day,
 'This must be so.' Qq. Ff.
 And in reason's common course most certain
 None lives on earth but he is born to die. Q₁.
 VanDam and Stoffel¹² would insert the second line
 of the Q₁ reading between the second and third lines
 of Qq. Ff., reading,

To reason most absurd, whose common theme
 Is death of fathers, and who still hath cried,
 'None lives on earth but he is born to die.'
 From the first corse till he that died to day
 This must be so.

This may be considered a rather violent procedure, but
 it avoids the bathos of the accepted text, which, after
 the strong expressions of the two lines,

To reason most absurd, whose common theme
 Is death of fathers, and who still hath cried,

comes down to the flat

This must be so.

- I I 183 Or ever I had Qq.
 Ere I had ever Ff.
 Ere ever I had Q₁

The reading of Q₁ is adopted by Collier, Singer (2d ed)
 Elze, Staunton, Keightly. It is easily derived from a
 combination of Qq. and Ff.

¹² William Shakespeare, *Prosody and Text*, Leyden, 1900, p. 420.

- I II 184 My father Qq. Ff.

O my father, my father Q₁

Elze reads: *My father, my father*. "Apart from the interjection O, QA exhibits no doubt the authentic reading."

- I II 216 it head Q₂ Q₃ Q₄ F₁ F₂

its head Q₅ Q₆ F₃ F₄

his head Q₁.

Staunton reads as Q₁, with the remark, "From the quarto of 1603"

- II 230 What look'd he Qq.

What, look'd he Ff.

How look'd he, Q₁

Staunton adopts Q₁, "Thus the earliest quarto."

- I II 242 warn't Qq.

warrant you Ff.

warrant Q₁.

Modern editors adopt the reading of Q₁, generally without comment (Cambridge and Furness quote Q₁); some suggest that the word is to be pronounced as indicated by the spelling of the quartos.¹² The reading of Q₁ was adopted by Steevens; see above, p. 801.

- I II 252 duty Qq. Ff.

duties Q₁

The reading of Q₁ is adopted by White, and Hudson. White considers the other reading (dutie Q₂F₁) a typographical error. "I think it of little or no importance that the 4th of 1603 has, 'Our duties.' "

- I III 67 bear't Qq. Ff.

bear it Q₁

The reading of Q₁ is found in Caldecott (1832) as well as in the editions noted above, p. 801.

- I IV 74 draw Qq. Ff.

drive Q₁

W. S. Walker, in *A Critical Examination of the Text of Shakespeare* (1860), Vol. III, p. 262, has the following

¹² Furness, Clarendon Press.

note: "*Draw* is wrong. *Drive?*" He does not mention the reading of Q_1

- I V I whether Q_2 Q_3 Q_4 Q_5
 where Ff.
 whither Q_1 Q_6

The reading of Q_1 is adopted by Cambridge, and Furness; the former gives the reading of Q_1 ; the latter cites only Q_6 .

- I V 19 an end Qq. Ff.
 on end Q_1

In addition to the 18th century editors mentioned above,¹⁴ the following adopt the reading of Q_1 ; Caldecott, Dyce II, Hudson.

- I V 27 Murder most foul, as in the best it is Qq. Ff.
 Yea, murder in the highest degree, as in the least 'tis bad Q_1

The Q_1 reading is adopted by Tschischwitz.

- I V 140 O'ermaster't Qq.Ff.
 O're master it Q_1 .

Knight adopts the reading of Q_1 , in addition to the editors before 1825, noted above.¹⁴

- II II 513 Look Qq. Ff.
 Look, my lord Q_1

Elze keeps the former reading, with the following note: "The address *my Lord* is so suitable in the mouth of Polonius, that I almost think it should be inserted in the text; it is one of those cases where QA offers a remarkably superior reading."

- II II 514 in's Qq. Ff.
 in his Q_1

The Q_1 reading is adopted by Knight, and Keightly.

- III I 133 in's Qq. Ff.
 in his Q_1 , Keightly.

- III I 151 courtier's soldier's scholar's Qq. Ff.
 courtier, scholar, soldier Q_1

¹⁴ See above, p. 801.

We have noted above¹⁵ that Hanmer emended the text to follow the order of Q₁; this order is adopted by Singer II, Collier II, Staunton, White, Keightly, Hudson, Furness. Furness's note illustrates admirably the attitude of editors toward Q₁ "All edd. who notice this line justify the reading of Q₁, even while following the Qq Ff. in their text."¹⁶ Good examples of this uncritical conservatism are Clarendon Press, Cambridge, Gollancz.

- III II 31 gait of Christian, pagan, nor man Qq.
 gait of Christian, pagan or Norman Ff.
 gait of Christian, pagan, nor Turk Q₁

The reading of Q₁ is manifestly the best of the three, yet it has been adopted by only three editors, White, Elze, and Hudson (1879). White follows Q₁ except that he reads *or*. His note on the passage should be compared with that of Furness on III I 151. "The folio 'Christian Pagan or *Norman*,' which is absurd, and which is plainly the result of an attempt to correct the more absurd reading found in the 4^{to} of 1604. 'Christian pagan nor Man',— as if Christians and pagans were not men! Yet this reading has been hitherto retained. The 4^{to} of 1603 gives the very appropriate word in the text. The distinction, Christian, Turk, and pagan was not uncommon. See, for instance, the quotation from Howell in Richardson's Dictionary *in v.* 'pagan.' "

Elze in his note on the passage says, "In my conviction there cannot be the least doubt that QA presents the true and authentic reading."

- III II 112 country Qq. Ff.
 contrary Q₁
 Peabody (1836) adopts the inferior reading Q₁, noting its source and giving the reading of Q₂ and F₁.
 III II 179 husband dead Qq. Ff.
 lord that's dead Q₁

¹⁵ See above, p. 802.

¹⁶ Cf. Hunter, *Illustrations of Shakespeare* II, 244.

Staunton adopts the reading of Q₁ with the following note: "So the quarto of 1603: the other editions have, —"my husband dead."

- III II 246 so you mistake your husbands Qq.
so you mistake husbands Ff.
so you must take your husband Q₁

Most modern editors adopt Pope's emendation,¹⁷ which is supported by the reading of Q₁. White adopts the reading of Q₁. In his note he says: "The correction was made by Theobald, whose conjecture was confirmed by the discovery of the 4th of 1603. The s of the folio is the mere superfluity, so often indicated in these notes." White is mistaken in giving Theobald credit for the conjecture. Theobald in *Shakespeare Restored* (1726),¹⁸ approves Pope's emendation, but in his first edition (1733) he reads *so you mistake your husbands*. Furness, who does not cite Q₁, follows Pope; he says, "The majority of notes on this passage are in favor of the reading of the Qq. Ff. Those edd. who have followed the reading of Q₁ have been apparently so firmly fixed in their belief in the excellence of that text in this passage, that they have not thought it worth while to vindicate it." The fact seems to be that these editors, like Furness, follow Pope's emendation, not the reading of Q₁, which is certainly better than Pope's.

- III II 265 strooken Q₂ Q₃ strooken Q₄ Q₅
strucken Ff. Q₆
stricken Q₁

The reading of Q₁ is adopted by (Hanmer)¹⁹ Collier, Elze, White, Globe, Clarendon, Cambridge, Gollancz, and others.

- III II 362 you cannot Qq. Ff.
yet you cannot Q₁

¹⁷ See above, p. 802.

¹⁸ *Shakespeare Restored*, p. 90. Cf. the note in his first edition.

¹⁹ See above, p. 802.

The Q₁ reading is adopted by Globe, Clarendon, Cambridge, Herford, Gollancz, often without comment or citation of Q₁.

III III 90 th' Qq. Ff.

the Q₁, Cambridge, Furness, Gollancz, Dowden, all without comment.

IV II 17 like an apple Qq.

like an ape Ff.

as an ape doth nuts Q₁.

The reading of Q₁ is adopted without change by Hudson, and Neilson; the following adopt it with the change of *as* to *like* (QqFf.); Collier II, Singer II, Staunton, Cowden-Clarke, Keightly, Furness (who does not notice that Q₁ reads *as*).

IV III 28 and eat Qq. (Q₄ Q₆ Q₈ omit *and*)

and a beggar eat Q₁

Ff omit about three lines here.

Elze (1882) adopts the reading of Q₁, with the following note: "I cannot help thinking that QA here exhibits the authentic text, inasmuch as it seems obvious that the fish that fed of the worm which ate of a king should distinctly be stated to have been eaten by a beggar; otherwise Hamlet could hardly proceed to say that his words were meant to show '*how a king may goe a progress through the guts of a beggar.*' The words 'a beggar' were left out afterwards by a mistake of either the copyist or compositor." Elze had proposed this emendation in *The Athenaeum*, June 1881, p. 783. He seems to be the only editor that has adopted it.²⁰ The Cambridge editors note Elze's reading, but do not mention Q₁. The reluctance of editors to adopt this reading is another sign of their attitude towards the readings of Q₁.

IV V 179 you may Qq.

o, you must Ff.

You must Q₁, Caldecott.

²⁰ For a discussion of the passage, see my *First Quarto Edition*, pp. 34-5. When that was written I was not acquainted with Elze's discussion.

- IV VII 57 That I shall live and tell him to his teeth
 'Thus didest thou' Qq. Ff. (Qq *didst* Qq. omit
shall.)

That I shall live to tell him thus he dies Q₁
 The reading of Q₁ *thus he dies* suggests that the reading of Qq. Ff. should be emended to read *thus diest thou*. This was noted by Staunton (1860), who, while retaining the reading of Ff. in his text, remarks in a note: "The reading of the 1903 quarto is 'That I shall live to tell him thus *he dies*', which by some may be thought superior. Marshall, *A Study of Hamlet*, 1875, p. 83, foot-note, says "The Quarto 1603 reads—"That I shall live to tell him, thus he dies," which suggests that we might read here 'Thus diest thou'; but all the other quartos and folios concur in reading 'didst' and 'diddest' ". What can be clearer than the fact that the readings of Qq. Ff. are misprints of *diest*?

- V I 169 twenty three years Qq.
 three and twenty years Ff.
 this dozen years Q₁

Halliwell (Folio Ed., 1865) reads *a dozen years*. In a note he says, "I have ventured to alter the text here by the aid of ed. 1603, in order to avoid a chronological difficulty."

It has seemed worth while thus to bring together the readings of editors taken from or based upon the First Quarto, in order to show the whole extent to which that quarto has contributed to the modern editing of *Hamlet*. From a study of any single edition of the play one is bound to get but a faint impression of the total amount of this contribution. An instance here and there of improvement by means of Q₁ may seem to have but little bearing upon the question of the authenticity of that quarto, but the cumulative effect of such a collection as that here presented must surely be to contribute strong testimony to its value and its authenticity.

Some of the notes quoted above show very plainly that the low esteem in which *Q*₁ is held has resulted in a strangely uncritical procedure in the treatment of its readings, and a blind conservatism in holding to readings manifestly wrong or inferior.

OTHER READINGS AND EMENDATIONS WHOSE
ADOPTION IS PROPOSED.

In view of the important aid that the First Quarto has already contributed to the editing of Hamlet, is it not probable that it may have still further aid to offer by furnishing readings superior to those commonly accepted, and by throwing still further light upon obscure and corrupt passages? I am confident that it can; and proceed now to consider some cases in which I think its readings should be adopted, and some others in which its readings furnish a basis for emendations that it may be well to adopt.

I I 83 *emulate* Qq. Ff.

emulous *Q*₁

Shakespeare does not use *emulate* elsewhere as an adjective; he uses *emulous* several times. The Oxford Dictionary records no other use of *emulate* as an adjective. It seems probable, then, that *emulate* of the Qq. and Ff. is a misprint, which should be corrected by the reading of *Q*₁ *emulous*.

I II 63 *King* Take thy fair hour Laertes; time be thine,
And thy best graces spend it at thy will.

But now, my cousin Hamlet, and my son Qq. Ff.

*Q*₁ reads:

King With all our heart: Leartes, fare thee well.

Lear. I in all love and duty take my leave [*Exit*].

King And now, princely son Hamlet

The *Q*₁ version gives to Laertes an exit speech and a stage direction for his exit. Perhaps it would be too violent a change to insert this exit speech of Laertes, as suggested by VanDam and Stoffel²¹ (with other

²¹ William Shakespeare, *Prosody and Text*, pp. 419-20.

changes), but surely there is no reason why we should not adopt the anonymous conjecture cited by Cambridge and Furness, and insert the stage direction, *Exit Laertes*, which is supported by Q₁. Single lines have in other places dropped out of Q₂ and F₁, and it is highly probable that one has been lost here; it is easily restored from Q₁.

I III 116-7 *Pol.*

I do know

When the blood burns, how prodigal the soul.

Lends the tongue vows Qq.

The Ff have *gives* for *lends*

Q₁ reads, *how prodigal the tongue lends the heart vows*. This reading, not noticed by editors, is certainly better than that of Qq.Ff. Polonius is warning Ophelia not to put faith in Hamlet's vows; they are false vows, the vows of a seducer; they come from the tongue, not from the heart. Now surely the order of words in Q₁ expresses this thought better than that in Qq.Ff. *The tongue lends the heart vows* (Q₁) i.e., they are tongue vows, not heart vows. The other reading, *the soul lends the tongue vows* (Qq.) says that they are heart vows, to which the tongue gives (lends) expression. Surely that is not what Polonius intended to say.²² Such transposition of words as that found in the readings of Qq. Ff. occurs now and then in all the plays.

I IV 86 I say, away! Go on, I'll follow thee,

This is the reading of Qp. Ff.

Q₁ changes the order of the first three words, reading, *Away, I say*. This is certainly more natural, more dramatic; it is probably the original reading, the words of which have been transposed in Qq. Ff. by typographical error. Cf I III, 116-7 above.

I V 11. confined to fast in fires Qq.Ff.

confined in flaming fire Q₁

²² Cf. Q₁, III, IV, 89-90. Alas' it is the weakness of the brain,
Which makes thy tongue to blazon thy heart's
grief.

For an account of the various conjectures and emendations proposed (in which no mention is made of the reading of Q₁) see Cambridge and Furness. The conjecture of Heath and Johnson (also Collier's Ms.) to *lasting* suggests how the corruption of the original reading (that of Q₁) may have taken place.

- I V 23 If thou didst ever thy dear father love Qq.Ff.

If ever thou didst thy dear father love Q₁

Compare with the passage I, II, 183 *ever I had seen* Qq.Q₁, *I had ever seen* Ff. and III II 218 *ever I be* Qq.Q₁ Ff. From these passages it will be seen that the reading of Q₁ under discussion gains full support. Editors should be free in this case, as in the case of I III, 183, to choose either word order. Cf. Furness, Cambridge.

- I V 55-57 So lust,²³ though to a radiant angel link'd,
Will sate²⁴ itself in a celestial bed,
And prey on garbage Qq.Ff.

Q₁ agrees with Ff in the first and third lines; for the second line it has *Would fate itself from a celestial bed*, where *fate* is obviously a misprint for *sate* (Cf. Ff.). In this line it will be noted that Q₁ reads *from a celestial bed*. This variation, *from* for *in*, has not been noticed by any editor. Tschischwitz, who adopts the reading of Qq (*sort* for *sate*) has the following note, "Offenbar giebt die Lesart der Q₁f. (*sort*) einen guten Sinn, auch ohne das für "in" "from" gelesen wird;" but he does not notice that *from* is the reading of Q₁. Concerning *sate* he says, "*Sate itself* lässt sich mit *prey on garbage* auch physiologisch gar nicht rechtfertigen."²⁵ This last remark means that lust cannot *sate* itself in a celestial bed and then *prey on garbage*. This certainly states very well the objection to the generally accepted reading, *in a celestial bed*, if it does not point out the impossibility of accepting that reading. But the reading of Q₁ "*from a celestial bed*,"

²³ but Qq.

²⁴ sort Qq.

²⁵ Cf. Furness's note.

removes all difficulty and gives an intelligible meaning to the passage; lust though to a radiant angel linkt will sate itself *from* (away from, apart from, out of) a celestial bed, and prey on garbage. Can there be any doubt that we should adopt here the reading of Q_1 and read *will sate itself from a celestial bed*?

- I V 98 from the table of my memory Qq Ff.
from the tables of my memory Q_1

The reading *tables* is to be preferred to *table*; compare I V 107 *My tables—meet it is I set it down*. Schmidt's *Shakespeare Lexicon* shows that Shakespeare almost always uses the plural.

- I V 99 all trivial fond records Qq. Ff.
all trivial fond conceits Q_1

The reading of Q_1 , *conceits*, certainly accords better with the context, *trivial fond*.

- I V 118 *Ham.* O wonderful Qq. Ff.²⁶

Ham. O wonderful, wonderful Q_1

The repetition of Q_1 seems more natural, and is more dramatic.

- I V 141 And now, good friends,

As you are friends, scholars, and soldiers,²⁷

Give me one poor request. Qq. Ff.

For the second line, Q_1 has *As you are friends, scholars and gentlemen*. The reading of Q_1 , *gentlemen*, is more consonant with *friends, scholars*, although, of course, it may be contended that *scholars* is for Horatio and *soldiers* for Marcellus; the term *gentlemen* is applied to both in I V 183. The line of Q_1 scans better than the other, in which we must make *soldiers* a word of three syllables, a practice generally avoided by Shakespeare in the period of the writing of *Hamlet*. These considerations, however, are probably not weighty enough to warrant a change to the reading of Q_1 .

²⁶ *Hora* Q_1 Q_2 , wonderfull F_1 .

²⁷ Punctuation as in Q_1 :

II II 151 [Polonius has explained the cause of Hamlet's
madness]

King Do you think this?

Queen It may be, very like^{27a}

Pol. Hath there been such a time, I'd²⁸ fain
know that,

That I have positively said 'tis so,'

When it proved otherwise?

The first line in Ff. Q₆ reads

King. Do you think 'tis this?

In the corresponding speech in Q₁ we have

King Think you 'tis so?

It seems very probable that *'tis so* was the original reading; for its use here gives all the more force to Polonius' words, *That I have positively said "tis so."* If *'tis so* was the original reading, the change to *'tis thus* would be a natural one, and this reading could easily be corrupted to *'tis this*. This is one of several cases in which the readings of Qq. and Ff. are less effective, less dramatic than the readings of Q₁.

II II 318-19 the lover shall not sigh²⁹ gratis Qq. Ff.
the lover shall sigh gratis Q₁

The reading of Qq.Ff. naturally means that the lover shall not sigh without applause or some other mark of approval, or, perhaps, it means that the sighs of the lover will bring him the favor of the beloved, help him to win her. In this interpretation of *shall not sigh gratis*, *gratis* is taken in its ordinary meaning; but the word, in Elizabethan English, has another meaning, namely, "without cause," "without occasion."³⁰ If we take this meaning, then the reading of Q₁ *shall sigh gratis* becomes intelligible, meaning, "the lover shall sigh without cause,

^{27a} *likely*, Ff, Q₁.

²⁸ *I would* Qq.

²⁹ *sing* Qq.

³⁰ For examples, see N. E. D. Cf. *First Quarto Edition*, p. 118, note to II II 284. For other examples, see Fitzedward Hall, *Recent Exemplification of False Philology*, p. 80.

without occasion, shall have freedom to sigh all he likes," Now this is certainly in accord with the context, which throughout emphasizes the thought that the actors shall have perfect freedom to play their parts; the knight shall use foil and target (the lover shall sigh without occasion); the humorous man shall end his part in peace; the clown shall make laugh those that will laugh at anything, and the lady shall be free to say anything in her part, however indecent. If we read with Qq.Ff. "shall *not* sigh gratis," we introduce something not in accord with the other expressions. Surely the reading of Q₁ gives a meaning not only more in accord with the context, but also in itself more significant and more to the point.

- II II 445 It is not so;²¹ it begins with 'Pyrrhus' Qq.Ff.
No, 'tis not so; it begins with 'Pyrrhus,' O, I
have it. Q₁

The reading of Q₁, is more natural and much more dramatic than that of Qq. Ff., and is worthy of adoption.

- II II 514 Prethee, no more Qq.
Pray you, no more Ff.

No more, good heart, no more Q₁

The reading of Q₁ has in it a fine touch of feeling, wanting in the others, and in accord with the earlier part of the speech, "Look whether he has not turned his colour and has tears in's eyes."

- III I 132 Let the doors be shut upon him Qq.Ff.

For God's sake, let the doors be shut on him Q₁

The additional words in Q₁ give a touch of feeling and passion in accord with the tone of the passage, and particularly so if we assume (as many do) that the speech is intended for the ears of Polonius.

- III II 32 die two months ago, and not forgotten yet?
Qq. Ff.

two months dead, and not forgotten yet? Q₁

²¹ 'tis not so Q₂Q₃, 'tis not Q₄Q₅Q₆.

The reading of Q_1 has a directness and terseness wanting in the other; it is more dramatic.

- IV III 20 Not where he eats, but where he is eaten Qq. Ff.

Not where he is eating, but where he is eaten Q_1 .

The closer parallelism of the Q_1 reading, *is eating—~~is eaten~~*, heightens the antithesis; it is no doubt the original reading.

- IV III 21 are e'vn at him Qq. Ff.
are even now at him Q_1

Perhaps the omission of *e'en* in Pope and Hanmer is simply a typographical error, but it looks as if it were intended to avoid the rather unidiomatic, *are e'en at him*. Q_1 points the right way to improvement of the passage; its reading should be adopted.

- IV V 193 He is gone, he isⁿ gone Qq. Ff.
He is dead, he is gone Q_1

The reading of Q_1 seems better.

- V II 390 to have proved Qq. Ff.
to 'a prov'd Q_1

The context differs, but it requires in each case the reading of Q_1 .

The changes from the commonly accepted text proposed above, on the basis of the readings of the First Quarto, will not appeal with equal force to all Hamlet scholars. The most important of them involve the change of but a single word; others involve the addition of several words or of a whole line. In cases of the latter sort, it will very naturally be felt that too little is gained to warrant so great a departure from the readings of Qq. and Ff. Yet even in these cases it will, I believe, be generally admitted that the reading of Q_1 is the better reading. The important point, however, is that these readings, taken together with those already adopted by editors, show conclusively that the text of Q_1 is an authentic text, and that it is entitled to far more consideration than most editors have hitherto accorded to it.

I wish now, if possible, to deepen this impression by adducing from *Q*₁ a series of readings as good as the corresponding readings of the *Qq.* and *Ff.* Perhaps a few of them will appear to some readers to be better.

		<i>Q</i> ₁	<i>Qq. Ff.</i>
I	I 6	watch	hour
I	I 13	partners	rivals
I	I 30	sit down, I pray	sit down awhile
I	I 36	yonder	yond (yon <i>F</i> ₃ <i>F</i> ₄) same
I	I 39	tolling	beating
I	I 40	see	look
I	I 43	horors ²²	harrows
I	I 80	our late king	our last king
I	I 126	But, lo, behold! see where	But soft, behold! lo where
I	I 148	faded	started
I	I 151	shrill crowing	shrill sounding
I	I 38	do show	allow
I	I 81	distracted haviour	dejected haviour
I	II 90	dead, lost his	lost, lost his ²³
I	II 161	or I much forget	or I do forget
I	II 185	why in my mind's eye	in my mind's eye
I	II 195	wonder (<i>Q</i> 1676)	marvel
I	II 244	if	though
I	IV 50	burst	op't
I	IV 89	sort	come
I	V 39	heart (<i>Q</i> 1676 <i>Q</i> 1703)	life
I	V 63	through the porches	in the porches
I	V 65	posteth	courses
I	V 75	deprived	dispatch'd
I	V 96	yes	ay
I	V 101	noted	copied
I	V 126	to tell you this	to tell us this
I	V 129	lead	point
I	V 129,130	desires	desire ²⁴
I	V 158	upon this sword	upon my sword
I	V 187	want	lack
II	I 60	house of lightness	house of sale
II	I 66	out	forth

²² See *First Quarto Edition*, p. 117, note to I I 35.

²³ Cf. Johnson's note, "I do not admire the repetition, but it has so much of our author's manner, that I find no temptation to recede from the old copies."

²⁴ *Ff.* have singular in l. 130, but plural in l. 129.

III	I	73	My lord, I will	Well, my lord
II	I	73	bid	let
II	II	78	that	that Qq, his Ff.
II	I	109	deny	denied
II	II	44	life	soul
II	II	47	so well	so sure
II	II	48	but	that
II	II	48	had wont	hath used
II	II	49	depth	cause
II	II	85	right welcome	most welcome
II	II	315	boarded	coted
II	II	383	a' Monday last	o' Monday morning
II	II	383	you say true	you say right
II	II	414	godly ballet ²⁵	pious chanson Qq. Pons Chanson F ₁ Pans Chanson F ₂ F ₃ Q ₃
II	II	417	What, my old friend'	O, my old ²⁶ friend
II	II	449	his (Q ₄)	this
II	II	494	or else	or
II	II	506	For if the gods	But if the gods
II	II	506	had seen	did see
II	II	513	changed	turned
II	II	523	far better	much ²⁷ better
II	II	522,524	deserts	desert
II	II	524	then who should	and who shall Qq. and who should Ff.
II	II	531	can you not play	can you play
II	II	598	such men	such spirits
III	I	80	passenger	traveller
III	I	115	scope	proof
III	I	123	crimes	things
III	I	135	to thy dowry	for thy dowry
III	I	161	to 'a seen	t' have seen
III	II	1	this speech	the speech
III	II	4-5	saw the air thus with your hands	saw the air too much with ²⁸ your hand
III	II	28	there be fellows	there be players
III	II	32	you would 'a thought	I have thought
III	II	34	abominable	abominably

²⁵ Note that this reading confirms that of Qq.

²⁶ Qq. omit *my*.

²⁷ Ff. omit *much*.

²⁸ Ff. omit *with*.

III	II 37-39	let not your clown speak more than is set down	let those that play your clowns speak no more than is set down for them
III	II 99	enact there	enact
III	II 103	these players	the players
III	II 125	Jesus	O heavens
III	II 128	by my faith	by 'r lady
III	II 130	With ho, with ho	For O, for O
III	II 136	these players	the players
III	II 140	be not afeared to show, he'll not be afeard	be not you ashamed to show, he'll not shame
III	II 147	a posy for a ring	the posy of a ring
III	II 219	If she should break now	if she should break it now
III	II 222	tedious time	tedious day
III	II 252	bane ³⁹ (Q ₅ F ₄)	ban
III	II 236-7	not us (Q 1676, Q 1703)	us not
III	II 264	lights ho	lights, lights, lights
III	II 265	then let	why let
III	II 287	and if	for if
III	II 360	zounds	's blood
III	II 383	heart	soul
III	III 96	weary days	sickly days
III	IV 24	Ay, a rat	How now, a rat
III	IV 30	How! Kill a king?	As kill a king?
III	IV 135	in the habit	in his habit
IV	II 12	by a sponge	of a sponge
IV	II 21	company	convocation
IV	III 24	are but variable services	is but variable service
IV	III 27	hath eaten	hath eat (<i>omitted</i> Ff.)
IV	III 30	tell	show
IV	V 24	another man	another one
IV	V 26	and his staff	and staff
IV	V 34	mountain snow	the mountain snow
IV	V 38	true lovers showers	true-love ⁴⁰ showers
IV	V 48	and a maid	and I a maid
IV	V 50	The young man rose	Then up he rose
IV	V 57	Away	Alack
IV	V 58	when they come	if they come
IV	V 64	if	and
IV	V 120	doth wall a King	doth hedge a King
IV	V 172-3	I pray, love	pray you, love Qq. pray love Ff.

³⁹ Rowe, Pope, Hanmer.⁴⁰ *true love* Qq.

IV	V	181	all withered	withered all
IV	VII	183	dragg'd	pull'd
V	I	84	beg him (Q1676 Q1703)	beg it
V	I	92	winding sheet	shrouding sheet
V	I	96	of some lawyer	of a lawyer
V	I	135	seven years	three years
V	I	137	that he galls	he galls
V	I	158-9	in the ground before he	i' the earth ere he rot
			rots	
V	I	162	eight years	eight year or nine year
V	I	166	it	'a Qq, he Ff.
V	I	166	hold	keep
V	I	167	parlous devourer	sore decayer
V	I	175	a whole flagon	a flagon
V	I	181	twenty times	a thousand times
V	I	181	carried	borne Ff. bore Qq.
V	I	188	go	get you
V	I	205	clay	loam
V	I	211	stand by a while	couch we awhile Qq. couch we aside Ff.
V	I	239	fair maid	sweet maid
V	I	243	Forbear	Hold off
V	I	254	hand from off	fingers from
V	I	271	comst thou	dost thou come Ff. Qq. dost come Qq.
V	I	283	wrong me thus	use me thus
V	I	286	a cat	the cat
V	I	286	a day	his day
V	II	211	predestinate providence	special providence
V	II	238	in terms	in my terms
V	II	239	I'll stand	I stand
V	II	273	most palpable	very palpable
V	II	275	wine	cup
V	II	280	wipe thy face	rub thy brows
V	II	155	cousin german	germane Ff German Q ₁ Q ₂ Q ₃ Ierman Q ₂ Q ₃
V	II	308	fatal instrument	treacherous instrument
V	II	334	poison	liquor
V	II	336	O fie, Horatio	O God, Horatio Ff. O good Horatio Qq.
V	II	356	imperious death	proud death
V	II	381	to this kingdom	in this kingdom
V	II	394	doth much amiss	shows much amiss

Now I believe that a careful and unbiased examination of these readings will show plainly that it is impossible to consider the readings of *Q*₁ as corruptions of those of *Qq.* and *Ff.* The variations are of the same nature as the variations between *Qq.* and *Ff.*; they are just the kind of variations that are to be expected between two *versions* of the same text, and point plainly to the fact that *Qq.* and *Ff.* represent a *revision* of the version represented by *Q*₁, and not a corruption in *Q*₁ of the version represented by *Q*₂. Just as we account for the variations between *Qq.* and *Ff.* by assuming that *Q*₂ and *F*₁ represent two different *versions* of the text, not widely different, so we are to account for the variations between *Q*₁ and *Qq.* *Ff.* by assuming that *Q*₁ represents a third *version*, widely different from *Q*₂ and *F*₁. There are three independent versions, one represented by *Q*₂, one represented by *F*₁, and one represented by *Q*₁. We have shown above (pp. 793-8) that *Q*₁ has affinities with *Q*₂, and other affinities with *F*₁. All of these considerations go to prove that *Q*₁ is independent,⁴ that it is original, that it is authentic; that, in its way, it represents the *essential Hamlet*, just as, in their way, *Q*₂ and *F*₁ represent (each in a different way) this *essential Hamlet*; and that the readings of *Q*₁ should be weighed as the readings of an independent *version*, and not as the corruptions of another version; that they have a value and authenticity peculiarly their own.

This paper has unavoidably, here and there, touched upon the question of the relation of these three versions to each other, but no attempt is here made to solve it. The sole aim has been to establish firmer the authenticity of the First Quarto, to win for its readings the consideration they deserve, to break down the uncritical conservatism that has shut the eyes of most editors to the light that it can give.

FRANK G. HUBBARD.

⁴ See H. De Groot, *Hamlet, its Textual History*, Amsterdam, 1923.

XXXVII. PIERRE BAYLE AND HIS LITERARY TASTE¹

Since Desnoiresterres, Voltaire's biographer, remarked that Pierre Bayle's works had fallen into complete oblivion,² there has been a decided change among literary critics in their attitude toward this great French critic and philosopher. Not so very long ago Brunetière in one of his characteristic essays lamented the ingratitude and injustice shown by posterity to the refugee of Rotterdam. In recent histories of French literature, a more searching and a more sympathetic appraisal of his works is to be found, and Bayle shares an equal place with his younger contemporary, Fontenelle. Due recognition is invariably rendered Bayle for his prodigious scholarship, his unimpeachable logic, and his critical power and acumen—qualities which caused Sainte-Beuve to style him "le plus accompli critique qui se soit rencontré dans son genre,"³ and Brunetière "un maître des esprits."⁴ Yet, while granting Bayle high critical and reasoning qualities, critics with only a few exceptions have regarded him as lacking in literary taste and appreciation and have found fault with his loose style and careless composition. It is the object of this essay to determine the extent and value of these criticisms and to examine Bayle's literary characteristics. An attempt is made to show that literary critics have been too severe in completely denying Pierre Bayle a qualification which he possessed in no mean degree, though it was greatly overshadowed by his all-absorbing passion for pure thought and ideas.

¹ Editions of works by Pierre Bayle used in this paper are: *Œuvres diverses*, La Haye, 1737, 4 vols., fol.; *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, 1740, 4 vols., fol. (The *Œuvres diverses* will be referred to as *O. D.* and the *Dictionnaire* as *D.*); Émile Gigas, *Choix de la correspondance inédite de Pierre Bayle*, Copenhagen, 1890.

² *Voltaire et la société au XVIII^e siècle*, 4, 29.

³ *Portraits littéraires*, 1, 377.

⁴ *Études critiques*, 5, 182.

I

Pierre Bayle's contemporaries—Mme de la Sablière, LaFontaine, François Bernier, Saint-Evremond, Boileau, Malebranche, Dubos, Etienne Le Moynes, Denis Papin, and others—do not appear to have been shocked by his want of literary taste.⁵ It was not until the eighteenth century that

⁵ LaFontaine declared Bayle to have "le goût avec l'étude . . . un bon style et le langage sain" (Lettre à M. Simon de Troyes, February, 1686). Boileau thought him to be "marqué au bon coin" (Cf. Sayous, *Litt. franç. d'étranger*, 1, 371 and *O. D.*, 4, 772). Saint-Evremond found him "Admirable, Qui profond autant qu'agréable, Me met en état de choisir L'instruction ou le plaisir." (*D.*, 1, CXII). Mme de la Sablière, Bayle's "bonne amie," as Bernier named her, and her intimate circle agreed that: "On ne se lasserait point de lire Monsieur Bayle, de l'estimer et de luy vouloir du bien, quelque chose qui pût arriver"; they also found Bayle "comme le bon vin d'Italie: douce piquante," but they would even rather have him "piquante douce" (Cf. *Lettres de François Bernier*, É. Gigas, pp. 185, 188-189, 191, 193). François Bernier, the noted traveler, wrote: "Jamais homme ne reconnut mieux le fort et le faible d'un auteur que Monsieur Bayle, et . . . personne n'a jamais mieux entendu la langue, ni écrit plus finement," and Bernier wrote further: "Dans son livre des Comètes, et dans tout ce qu'il écrit l'on y voit véritablement la finesse de Mr. Pascal, mais l'esprit et le génie de Montaigne se fait connaître clairement" (Cf. *Lettres de F. Bernier*, É. Gigas, pp. 185-186). Malebranche thought Bayle's *Nouvelles* to be "un grand régal" and was impressed by "tant d'étendue et de justesse d'esprit" (É. Gigas, pp. 518, 509-510). Etienne Le Moynes, the distinguished scholar, declared: "Votre style me plaît fort, votre manière de dire les choses est fort agréable, et vous leur donnez ordinairement un tour fin et fort adroit, qui vous fera toujours bien de l'honneur, auprès de ceux qui s'y connaissent" (*Ibid.* p. 473). Denis Papin, the inventor, praised him thus: "Depuis que j'ai l'avantage de lire vos ouvrages, je les ai considérés comme un des temples les plus sacrés de l'immortalité" (*Ibid.* p. 601). Jacques du Rondel, the professor of belles lettres and Bayle's former colleague at Sedan, named him "Princeps Subtilitatum" (*Ibid.* pp. 343-344, 396). Jean-Baptiste Dubos, the Secretary of the French Academy, wrote to Bayle: "En fait d'ouvrage d'esprit vous allez aussi loin et plus distinctement que aucun autre" (*Ibid.* pp. 290, 288, 298). Concerning Bayle's *Dictionnaire*, Brodeau d'Oiseville said: "On attend pas moins qu'un chef d'œuvre de la part de la plus excellente plume de l'Europe. C'est de cette manière que vous êtes traité à Paris comme par tout ailleurs; les honnêtes gens et de bon goût vous regrettent incessamment, et ils envient à la Hollande le bonheur de vous posséder" (*Ibid.* p. xvi). For other comments on Bayle

defects in his style were pointed out. Voltaire, who otherwise delighted in calling Bayle his intellectual father, declared that: "Il s'abandonne à une mollesse de style et aux expressions triviales d'une conversation trop simple, et en cela il rebute souvent l'homme de goût."⁶ LaHarpe reproduced Voltaire's verdict almost *verbatim*.⁷ Diderot termed him "souvent ordurier."⁸ In the nineteenth century literary critics more or less reëchoed Voltaire's criticisms. Sainte-Beuve noted that his language was "en retard d'au moins cinquante ans."⁹ Sayous called attention to his taste which "n'existait chez Bayle qu'à un degré insuffisant."¹⁰ Pellissier thinks that Bayle "n'a pas du tout le sens de l'art."¹¹ Doumic reproaches him with a style "qui semble dater de cent années en arrière."¹² Lanson intimates that Bayle "n'est pas écrivain, pas artiste au moindre degré."¹³ After criticizing Bayle's taste and tact most unreservedly, Brunetière exclaimed emphatically: "S'il n'a rien dit d'essentiel qu'un autre, en le disant après lui, n'ait mieux dit que lui, pourquoi le lirions-nous ?—et aussi ne le lisons-nous point."¹⁴ This one-sided criticism is counterbalanced by that of Émile Faguet who considers Bayle as "l'esprit le plus exact et le plus clair qui ait été," and his style as "vif, aisé, franc."¹⁵

by Longepierre, Furetière, Isaac Claude, Daniel Larroque, Michel Le Vassor, and William Trumbull, see É. Gigas, *Lettres inédites de divers savants*, pp. xv, 417, 654, 425, 502, 697; these *Lettres inédites* form a part of the work by É. Gigas, *Correspondance inédite de Pierre Bayle*.

⁶ *Œuvres*, Moland's edition, 22, 263.

⁷ *Cours de littérature*, 2, 50.

⁸ *Œuvres*, 16, 491.

⁹ *Portraits littéraires*, 1, 373.

¹⁰ *Littérature française à l'étranger*, 1, 370; cf. also C. Lenient, *Étude sur Bayle*, p. 212; Petit de Julleville, *Histoire de la litt. franç.*, 6, 27.

¹¹ *Histoire de la litt. franç.*, 292-293.

¹² *Histoire de la litt. franç.*, 404.

¹³ *Histoire de la litt. franç.*, 629, 8th edition.

¹⁴ *Études critiques*, 5, 176.

¹⁵ *Dix-huitième siècle*, pp. 15 and 26.

Comments made by foreign writers who have dealt with Bayle's literary taste follow French critics more or less.¹⁶

Though most of these critics agree in their estimates of Bayle's defects, one must ask if their criticisms are substantiated by irrefutable instances. When the instances cited as proofs of Bayle's lack of literary taste are closely examined, however, most of them are found to be taken from his *Lettres à sa famille*, written before 1678, at a time when Bayle was but a young man. One may wonder at his letters; they seem to us like a literary digest of a great variety of subjects and human activities with incidental comment on literary works which he saw or read, and often only heard about. Thus, on reading his correspondence, one gets the impression that Bayle assumed the rôle of an impartial reporter. In fact, he often gives credit to others for his knowledge of certain subjects by his frequent use of the pronouns "on" and "ils."¹⁷ There are things, as Bayle assures us, "dont je ne me rends point garant. Je les rapporte sur la foi d'autrui."¹⁸

¹⁶ L. B. Betz states that Bayle has "nicht die leiseste Spur von Schönheitssinn" (*Pierre Bayle und die "Nouvelles de la République des Lettres,"* p. 82). H. E. Smith considers Bayle as a man "whose intellectual side was highly developed and his artistic sense not at all" (*The Literary Criticism of Pierre Bayle*, p. 113). G. Saintsbury gives as fair an estimate of Bayle as can be found: "Bayle perhaps needed nothing but better taste, greater freedom from prejudice, and a more exclusive bent towards purely literary criticism, to be one of the great literary critics of the world . . . Of purely literary sympathies Bayle seldom shows much trace . . . by which it is not in the least meant that he is not a man of letters himself, for he is an excellent one, and the reproaches which have been addressed to his style are not of much importance" (*A History of Criticism and Literary Taste in Europe*, 2, 316-317).

¹⁷ In one of his letters Bayle says concerning Fénelon's *Télémaque*: "On fait grand cas de cet écrit. On trouve que le stile en est vif, heureux, beau; le tour des fictions bien imaginé . . .," but he frankly admits that he has never read this work. Cf. *Lettres*, O. D., 4, 789 and 815.

¹⁸ D., Abumuslimus.

II

In a review of Bayle's literary defects, it must be emphasized that these defects are not entirely responsible for the oblivion into which his works have fallen.¹⁹ On the contrary, this neglect of posterity is primarily due to the nature of their contents. Theological questions predominate in Bayle's works, but the Frenchman of to-day shows little interest in such topics. Writings of similar nature by authors whose style and taste have never been questioned have suffered the same fate as those of Bayle.²⁰

Bayle has been criticized for his excessive and almost puerile display of quotations in various languages and of references to apparently unimportant subjects. In this respect it might be said that Bayle stands as a forerunner of the method followed by modern authors in their treatises and dissertations. Although distasteful to the average reader, his is the method of the writer who backs his arguments with an array of facts and authorities. He was an erudite, and as such he evinced the mania connected with this profession. His method is evident throughout his writings even including his correspondence; it must be remembered, however, that his correspondence was chiefly a medium through which Bayle furnished and sought information about a multitude of topics, and his mention of works of all kinds there does not necessarily mean that he made an ostentatious display of his knowledge. Furthermore, as to his dictionary quotations and references of all sorts are in accordance with the very nature of such a work. Yet there is undoubtedly found in

¹⁹ In 1892 Brunetière thought Bayle to be "profondément oublié" (*Op. cit.*, p. 174), but added: "Bayle n'a pas encore fini de jouer son rôle" (*op. cit.*, p. 182); in 1835 Sainte-Beuve remarked that: "Bayle est resté et restera autant et plus que les trois quarts des poètes et orateurs, excepté les très grands" (*op. cit.*, p. 386).

²⁰ Granted that few persons ever consult Bayle's *Commentaire philosophique* or his *Pensées diverses sur la comète*, how many ever read Bossuet's *Histoire des églises protestantes* or Fénelon's *Explication des maximes des saints*?

Bayle's dictionary an incongruous exhibition of scholarship which causes the reader to wonder at the author's ultimate intention. When, on reading the entry on Amphiloehus, we are told that: "Il ne faut pas le confondre avec cet Amphiloehus dont une oie fut amoureuse,"²¹ or when, in the entry on Amphitryon, we meet this statement: "Il n'est pas vrai qu'il (Amphitryon) ait appris aux hommes à mettre de l'eau dans le vin,"²² we want to know what these particular details may avail the reader. Bayle devotes three and a half columns to quoting authorities on the perplexing question as to whether or not the centaur Chiron gave lion's marrow to Achilles;²³ he takes up also the question as to whether Phoenix or Chiron acted as a tutor to Achilles, giving about three columns to the discussion. In both instances Bayle does not commit himself and offers no solution. As an explanation, it may be suspected that this method afforded the author an opportunity of citing a large number of conflicting authorities and of providing the reader's mind with food for an attitude of doubt and uncertainty toward human knowledge in general.

Nowhere else better than in his *Dictionnaire* are displayed Bayle's *esprit de parti* and its main characteristics: excessive amount of space given to Protestant ministers, professors, and theologians; omission of eminent authors and philosophers; failure to give to certain topics their relative importance. It has been suggested that Bayle adopted this course of omitting the names of certain authors, because he had nothing worth while or nothing scandalous or paradoxical to say about them.²⁴ There may be some truth in this statement. Compared with modern dictionaries or encyclopedias, Bayle's work is glaringly deficient. Yet, in all fairness, Bayle's dictionary is simply the register of his notions, opinions, and knowledge on particular men and topics. Such

²¹ *D.*, Amphiloehus, note E.

²² *D.*, Amphitryon, note G.

²³ *D.*, Achille, notes A and C.

²⁴ Brunetière, *op. cit.*, 5, 131; but É. Faguet differs (*op. cit.*, p. 22).

a register naturally reflects partiality and one-sidedness. Bayle unmistakably marked his preference for certain authors. To give four and a half pages to Arcesilas, six and a half to Averroes, twelve to Anaxagoras, eighteen to Spinoza, and only seven to Aristotle seems out of proportion from our modern point of view. He rather dwelled on authors with whose writings and ideas he sympathized, but not exclusively: Francis Bacon is allotted only half a page while Descartes, Montaigne, and Rabelais, whose writings exerted an influence on Bayle's intellectual development, have each no entry. Bayle's lack of interest in Aristotle may be cleared up. Aristotle represented scholasticism, and Bayle, who had espoused the cause of the new philosophy, turned his back on him. Another reason, as he indicated, for not giving a more thorough-going and intensive discussion of Aristotle was that he had to hold to the plan of his work, which was supposed at first to contain errors detected in other dictionaries, especially that of Moréri. Furthermore, Father Rapin had published his *Comparaison de Platon et d'Aristote*, and Moréri had used it in his dictionary for his long entry on Aristotle. Bayle accordingly did not deem it necessary to write extensively on the same subject. He felt justified in stating only a few errors made regarding the Greek philosopher.²⁵ He deviated little from this prearranged plan in the treatment of other subjects. In fact, if the length and number of his entries, and even more so of his footnotes, depend largely on the volume of his notes, it may be said, in turn, that the volume of his notes depends on the number of errors which he found in his readings about this or that particular subject. In the composition of his articles he either often lacked the necessary information or did not have a dependable work within reach from which to draw

²⁵ D., Aristote: "Aussi n'ai-je pas dessein de m'y étendre autant qu'elle [la matière] le pourroit souffrir, et je me contenterai même de ne produire dans les remarques qu'une partie des erreurs que j'ai recueillies concernant ce philosophe."

his material.²⁶ Brunetière regrets that no entries appear on Socrates and Plato under their respective names. True, but in justice to Bayle, it must be said that they are not ignored. In fact, if all the discussions to be found on Socrates and Plato in his dictionary were placed under their own names, they would constitute fairly good sized articles.²⁷

It may be wondered what Bayle's purpose was in giving so much discussion to men whose names posterity has completely forgotten. Was it as a challenge to our ingratitude or to our ignorance?²⁸ We cannot help but feel half mystified and half chagrined at neither knowing authors whom he considered important nor knowing a single one of their works.²⁹ Six and a half pages are given to Baudius, a professor of history in the 16th century, two of which merely recall the incidents of his shameful life. Again, two pages deal with DesAccords, a 16th century lawyer, who "donna trop dans les bagatelles." In the case of the latter two names Bayle undoubtedly wanted to "égayer la matière." In general, however, Bayle had a large fund of information in his *répertoires* about men of the past centuries, although there are also conspicuous exceptions: Guillaume and Jean du Bellay have each a fairly long article, Remi Belleau has only a few lines, and Joachim du Bellay's name does not

²⁶ To the already long entry on Ancillon, a minister of the Reformed Church, he adds: "J'eusse pu faire cet article beaucoup plus long que je ne le fais, car le livre dont je l'ai tiré contient beaucoup de détails" (D., Ancillon). At times we are confronted with such an entry: "Liebaut, Jean; il quitta Paris je ne sai pourquoi, et s'en retourna dans sa patrie où il mourut je ne sai quand" (D., Liebaut).

²⁷ D., Anaxagoras, notes R and S; Arcesilas, note E; Archelaus I, note D. By mistake Brunetière claims that Aristotle has no article (Cf. *Histoire de la litt. franç. classique*, 3, 65).

²⁸ Michel Le Vassor's letters to Bayle (É. Gigas, pp. 502, 508, 1697).

²⁹ Take the following names for instance: "Bzovius (Abraham) a été un des plus célèbres écrivains du 17e siècle, par la fécondité étonnante de sa plume"; or "Alstedius (Jean, Henri) a été l'une des plus fertiles plumes du 17e siècle." There are many names with this sort of eulogy.

appear at all.³⁰ On the other hand, he devoted little attention to his contemporaries. Obviously, he lacked biographical details and intimate knowledge of their works. Had Bayle been living in the French capital, he could have collected invaluable material. He plainly suggested this drawback when he asked Marais for information relative to Arnauld, Santeuil, LaFontaine, and LaBruyère.³¹ Bayle's partisanship, especially in dealing with religious sects and religious questions, asserts itself plainly. He could not go out of himself and suppress his personal feelings and grievances. In his article on Arnauld (Antoine) there seems to be an unbiased treatment of the subject until he is afforded an opportunity of assailing Jurieu, his bitter enemy.³² He mentioned the virtues of Averroes because he wanted to support his theory, which he upheld in his *Pensées diverses sur la comète*, that a heathen might also be a virtuous man. Under the same entry he also gave a note on the discussion of the charges of heresy brought against Averroes; Bayle possibly had in mind the charges which Jurieu and other theologians made against himself on the same ground.³³

Bayle has been severely reprimanded for his excessive freedom in the use of concrete words and salacious stories.³⁴ The fact is that during his lifetime Bayle was accused,

³⁰ There are articles on Benserade, Daurat, D'Assoucy, Gombauld, Jodelle, Malherbe, Marot, Racan, and Ronsard, but none on Bossuet, Boileau, Corneille, Racine. Virgil receives 6 pages and Ovid 14, while Dante is given 4 pages and Tasso only 6 lines. Men somewhat intellectually inclined like Bayle are given a good deal of attention: Desbarreaux, Desmarets, LaMothe LeVayer, Guy Patin. Brunetière states that Bayle neglects Pascal (Cf. *Histoire de la litt. franç. classique*, 3, 69), but, in fact, Pascal is given six pages. Faguet also claims that: "D'Assouci tient dix fois plus de place que Dante" (*op. cit.*, p. 22), but the truth of the matter is that Dante is given four pages and D'Assouci a little over four pages.

³¹ *O. D.*, 4, 772, 1698.

³² *D.*, Arnauld, notes L, P, Z.

³³ *D.*, Averroès, note M.

³⁴ Voltaire refers to the article on Abélard in Bayle's *Dictionnaire* as an instance not to be followed (*Œuvres*, 22, 263); Brunetière finds him "cynique" and "ordurier," but "comme innocemment" (*Études critiques*, 5, 126-127). Read also G. Saintsbury, *op. cit.*, 2, 316-317.

especially by churchmen, of being indiscreet and of indulging in obscene and licentious descriptions. Bayle defended himself here and there in his writings against these accusations, but to no avail, and the charges remained.³⁵ It is of interest to review his various expressions bearing on this point; they at times border on contradiction and inconsistency. Very early Bayle sponsored the idea of calling a spade a spade. Commenting on the plain-spokenness of Diogenes and those of his school, he said: "Si les cyniques eussent été les maîtres de la langue, on se seroit contenté d'un seul mot pour exprimer ce dont nous parlons. Car ces philosophes-là vouloient qu'on nommât chaque chose par son nom et se moquoient de ces scrupuleux qui en usaient autrement."³⁶ This example was not impressed too strongly upon his mind, for later on, upon remarking on the poetry of the Ancients, he thought that: "La politesse et l'honnêteté moderne est au-dessus de celle des anciens Romains. . . . Encore que notre siècle ne soit pas plus chaste que les autres, il est du moins plus poli et plus honnête pour l'extérieur."³⁷ At times he acted with a certain amount of prudishness when he intimated: "Il seroit à souhaiter que son livre n'eût parlé qu'en la langue des scavans de ce qui concerne la génération."³⁸ Bayle was admirable in his efforts not to hurt the modesty of his readers. When quoting several licentious passages from Baudius, he gave this gentle warning: "Ils sont imprimés en différent caractère; qui ne voudra pas les lire connoitra facilement ce qu'il doit sauter," and inserted quotations in Latin with this exquisite apology: "On ne peut honnêtement mettre en françois son latin."³⁹ Should we trust his claim that he dwelled at length

³⁵ *D.*, Lucrèce, note G; Hipparchia, note D; Sforce (Catherine), note D; Diogène; and his *Éclaircissement*; *O. D.*, 2, 293; *O. D.*, 3, 648.

³⁶ *O. D.*, 4, 544, 1673.

³⁷ *O. D.*, 1, 69, 1684. Bayle also states in the same place: "S'il y a de l'effronterie et de la saleté, c'est principalement dans la chose même et beaucoup plus dans les paroles qui l'expriment."

³⁸ *O. D.*, *Lettres*, 1, 178, 1696.

³⁹ *D.*, Baudius, notes K and L.

on the amorous weaknesses of Abélard, Saint Augustine, Baudius, David, and others in his *Dictionnaire* merely with the firm belief and unselfish intent of reforming men?⁴⁰ Bayle was not a hypocrite, but we feel that he was voicing his own attitude best when he said, speaking of Des Accords: "(Il) se donnoit cette licence, non pas pour favoriser les passions du cœur; mais pour amuser l'esprit et pour n'ôter pas à ses vers le sel qui les pouvoit rendre plus agréables et plus piquans, selon le goût qui régnoit depuis plusieurs siècles."⁴¹ Under the influence of his environment he apparently catered to the social taste of his time.⁴² He confessed to one of his French correspondents that serious French books had no great sale in Holland, but "Pour vos historiettes galantes on les y réimprime toutes."⁴³ Bayle's apologies showed that he keenly resented the charge brought against his improper descriptions, but detailed explanations and excuses on the part of the incriminated author at times make matters worse. Nevertheless, while there are in Bayle's *Dictionnaire* stories and facts which savor of a certain license and could just as well be suppressed, they are not such as to perturb the mind and the morals of a sound and wholesome reader. Moreover, he claimed for himself and for authors of dictionaries the right of treating his and their subject matter with clearness and precision.⁴⁴ On that

⁴⁰ "Je n'en ai parlé que comme de choses qui témoignent le dérèglement extrême de l'homme et qui doivent faire déplorer sa corruption" (O. D., 4, 754, 1697).

⁴¹ O. D., Des Accords, note C.

⁴² Relative to the social conditions of that time, read: F. Perrens, *Les Libertins en France, au XVIIe siècle*, chapter VI; Brunetière, *op. cit.*, 5, 201-212.

⁴³ O. D., 4, 728, 1696. He also remarked: "Le goût du public est si dépravé d'un côté et si tourné de l'autre vers les relations de voyages, réflexions sur les affaires du tems etc . . . qu'il n'y a guères que ces sortes de livres qui aient cours." (O. D., 4, 725, 1696.) Read also a similar statement made by J. B. Dubos in a letter to Bayle. (É. Gigas, pp. 293-294, 1697).

⁴⁴ "J'observai enfin qu'il n'y a guères d'auteurs à qui il convienne moins de faire les prudes qu'à ceux qui composent des dictionnaires; ce sont des

score Bayle was justified, otherwise countless books of a technical nature would fall under the same accusation. Upon the whole, this particular feature in Bayle's *Dictionnaire* has been exaggerated, and certain critics have advertised Bayle for a product for which he holds no monopoly whatever.⁴⁵ Readers in quest of prurient literature will meet with disappointment; they will not find in it what is to be found in the *Fabliaux*, the *Cent Nouvelles nouvelles*, the *Contes* of LaFontaine, and many other stories, old and new. To do Bayle justice, it must be said that his voluminous correspondence and his other writings are free from objectionable allusions.⁴⁶

III.

An introspective look into Bayle's education, mental make-up, and social environment throws interesting sidelights on the possible causes of his literary taste. In one of his earliest letters Bayle reveals to us his method of study and his mental make-up at the age of twenty-four: "Tantôt je me suis adonné aux langues, tantôt à la philosophie, ensuite à l'histoire, aux antiquitez, à la géographie et aux livres galans, selon que ces diverses matières m'étoient offertes; et tout cela sans faire qu'éfleurer les choses, arrivant que je suis

ouvrages destinez à l'explication nette et précise." (*D.*, Sforce (Catherine), note D.

⁴⁵ Commenting on the *Dictionnaire*, Faguet remarks: "C'est le livre qu'il faut le moins lire quatre à quatre"; and further on the same critic correctly adds that in proportion as one progresses in the reading of this work one finds that: "Les histoires grasses ou saugrenues deviennent plus rares, les questions philosophiques et morales attirent de plus en plus l'attention de l'auteur, la commère cède toute la place au philosophe, l'ouvrage devient proprement un dictionnaire des problèmes philosophiques. On le voit finir avec regret. (*op. cit.*, p. 25).

⁴⁶ Betz, *op. cit.*, 91. Passages such as the following are the exception. Cf. *Pensées diverses*, *O. D.*, 3, 91-92; *Réponse aux questions d'un provincial*, *O. D.*, 3, chapter 57, 606-607 and chapter 8, 1027-1031; *Nouv. lett. Critique générale de l'Histoire du calvinisme*, *O. D.*, 2, letter 17, 280 and letter 21, 303.

dégoûté d'un sujet avant d'avoir eu le tems de le connoître."⁴⁷ Bayle's own words portray fairly accurately his state of mind which lasted until his intellect was almost entirely monopolized years later by purely theological and philosophical questions. Looking back at his early literary preparation, Bayle exclaimed with deep regret: "Je ne songe jamais à la manière dont j'ai été conduit dans mes études que les larmes ne m'en viennent aux yeux."⁴⁸ With his known modesty Bayle admitted late in life that in his youth he had studied desultorily without either teachers or method.⁴⁹ He never forgave himself this wretched training. The results were but too apparent: light application, vagueness of purpose, wide interest, and lack of depth. He realized his deficiencies and confessed that: "Si je recommençois, je changerois bien de méthode. C'est le moyen de ne rien savoir à fonds."⁵⁰ It was too late for him to acquire a radical change in his mental make-up, and he

⁴⁷ *O. D., Lettres* 1, 13, 1671. In another letter he criticized his uncontrollable longing for knowledge: "La démangeaison de savoir en gros et en général diverses choses est une maladie flatteuse, amabilis insania, qui ne laisse pas de faire beaucoup de mal . . . J'ai été autrefois touché de cette même avidité et je puis dire qu'elle m'a été fort préjudiciable." Cf. *Lettres*, 1, 47, 1675.

⁴⁸ *O. D., Lettres*, 1, 26, 1674. See other letters in which he expresses the same sentiment: 1, 34 and 37, 1675.

⁴⁹ *O. D.*, 4, 750, 1697. As an illustration, it is worth quoting a list of some of the books that Bayle read in the early part of his stay at Geneva in 1671 when he was twenty-four,—Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, the works of Hesiod and Theocritus, "quelques satyres de Juvénal, quelque peu des *Métamorphoses* d'Ovide et quelques harangues de Cicéron," Passereau's *Clamor regis sanguinis*, Milton's Latin works, Morus' *Fides publica* and also "quelques harangues latines de M. Morus" ("les plus éloquentes et les plus brillantes que je vis jamais"), the letters of Lefèvre, Casaubon, and Scaliger, Mlle Shurman's works, Jouston's *De naturae constantia*, Meursius' *De Funere*, Père Pomey's *Libitina*, Père Bouhours' *Entretiens d'Eugène et d'Ariste* ("il ne se peut guère rien voir de plus poliment écrit"), Balzac's *Le Barbon*, Mme Desjardins or de Villedieu's novels, Mlle de Scudéry's *L'Almahide*. Cf. *O. D., Lettres*, 1, 13-15, 1671.

⁵⁰ *O. D., Lettres*, 1, 34, 1675. He doubted of his ever becoming "un homme profond." *O. D., Lettres*, 1, 107.

not our father's fault which he could never excuse. It reflected on his literary appreciation and in 1765 he candidly admitted: "Si je ne connus pas encore assez en vous l'usage de la plume, j'ai cru que c'est mon défaut et j'en suis sûr. Quand on l'use, on ne se trouve point mal à y et à que je trouve dans qu'on ne regrette pas les plus sages."¹⁴ Beginning this admission takes with the opinion which would have if Bayle wrote. Again, it is not to be taken too literally as if his "temperament" (1765) a power to live on the edge of the world, but it is not to be taken too literally. I find that for an author to follow, it is not to be taken too literally. Bayle's statements indeed say that his shortcomings, but they should not be taken too literally. His reputation would have done little good to most men, but they helped Bayle—endowed as he was with a remarkable memory and an extraordinary capacity for work—to acquire a surprisingly firm hold on a great variety of things. The defects inherent in his intellectual make-up or due to his early education turned out to be of invaluable service to him as a journalist, pamphleteer, controversialist and compiler.

Bayle hailed from Gascony, and his provincial extraction caused him no slight annoyance.¹⁵ His accent and style smacked of his home province, and he felt socially handicapped and hampered. Very early he endeavored to overcome his use of Gascon terms, but it was an almost hopeless task, and, as he said: "Pour l'accent il n'y a point

¹⁴ *O. D.*, 2, 227, 1665.

¹⁵ *O. D.*, 4, 759, 1697. Read also on the same page: "Ce manque de discernement éroit excusable. Si je n'étois pas fort jeune dans le monde, je l'étois du moins dans la république des lettres . . . Je me laissois aisément duper par les auteurs . . .". Concerning the composition of the *Nouvelles de la république des lettres* he says: "Je ne faisais point le critique, et je m'étois mis sur un pié de bonneté."

¹⁶ *O. D.*, *Lettres*, 1, 69, 1676: "Je voudrais de bon coeur avoir été averti de tous les gasconismes, car je me serois observé pour n'en pas contracter l'habitude, au lieu que ne m'en défiant pas, je croiois bien faire que de les bien mettre en usage."

de remède.”⁵⁴ However vexing this handicap may have been to Bayle in his youth, from a social standpoint, it was of no particular consequence to him, since he spent most of his life in his study room. As to his language and style, critics have indicated no signs of provincialism that we know. In order to obviate somewhat this provincial defect, Bayle’s supreme ambition was to live in Paris, where he would have been able to improve intellectually by the close contact of savants and libraries.⁵⁵ His wish was not fulfilled. Bayle sojourned in the capital a very short time and made only a few visits there when he taught philosophy at Sedan. In spite of Bayle’s honest conviction that he would profit by a stay in Paris, it may be questioned whether his contact with the polished and refined society of his time would have changed his literary taste and appreciation to any sensible degree. Temperamentally Bayle was not a society man and had little use for “le beau monde,” social pleasures, positions, and advancements.⁵⁶ He practised without any difficulty what he said: “Ceux qui n’aiment pas le monde ne doivent pas s’y commettre, et ç’a été ma maxime.” Of a very retiring and sedentary disposition, and clinging to his life of abjection and stagnation at Rotterdam, Bayle rejected every proposal made by friends or relatives toward bettering his social or financial condition; he feared that a change would involve an interruption in his

⁵⁴ *O. D.*, *Lettres*, 1, 104, 1678. Cf. also: “On me surprend tous les jours sur le fait quoique depuis six ou sept ans je ne sois plus exposé à cet air contagieux.” (*O. D.*, *Lettres*, 1, 83, 1677).

⁵⁵ *O. D.*, 2, 654, 1691: “Le séjour de Paris m’a toujours paru charmant et préférable au séjour de toute autre ville. J’ai toujours été persuadé que si j’avois demeuré là, j’aurois aquis quelque sorte de savoir par la conversation des savans qui y sont tout à fait sociables et par le grand nombre de belles bibliothèques.” Also cf. *O. D.*, 3, 503-507.

⁵⁶ *O. D.*, *Lettres*, 1, 77-78, 1678: “Mon humeur au reste est celle dont vous pouvez vous souvenir, d’aimer la retraite, la tranquillité, d’être sérieux, mais sans chagrin ni bizarrerie, très indifférent pour tout ce que les autres appellent des plaisirs . . . ” In another passage Bayle stresses the fact that his “humeur . . . a toujours été ennemie du joug et de la contrainte” Cf. *O. D.*, *Lettres*, 1, 44, 1675.

every day habits and cause him unnecessary bother and annoyance. Bayle preferred obscurity, since he was, as he acknowledged, good only for the study room.⁵⁷ In the company of his books he sought oblivion for himself and found it.

Bayle's particular type of mind will be readily understood when it is remembered that Bayle assumed very early a pessimistic attitude toward life in general. At the age of twenty-eight he considered his life purposeless and a total failure, and in a fit of despondency he exclaimed: "Pour moi j'ai passé l'âge d'apprendre. Il me faut arrêter où j'en suis et malgré moi borner mes espérances à rien."⁵⁸ Bayle also voiced his discouragement in his pursuit of letters and studies.⁵⁹ Various causes intensified Bayle's pessimistic tendency. The fact that he was a relapse—which was the prime reason for his leaving France for Geneva—always weighed heavily upon his conscience. Whether Bayle lived in Geneva, Rouen, Paris, Sedan, or Rotterdam, he tried to conceal his conversion for fear Protestants or Catholics would persecute him. On the other hand, the cruel treatment inflicted upon his relatives by the French government aroused his anger and filled his heart with vengeance. The death of his older brother drove him to a dumb and silent despair.⁶⁰ Under the circumstances and in spite of his

⁵⁷ *O. D.*, *Lettres*, 1, 146, 1684: "Il est fort vrai que le poste que j'occupe est un poste d'anéantissement et de ténèbres . . . De la manière dont Dieu m'a fait, c'est mon élément qu'un état de médiocrité. Le grand jour m'incommode, j'aime l'obscurité . . . Ainsi qu'on ne me blâme point de ce que je croupis à Rotterdam et même qu'on ne me plaigne pas; car ce qu'un autre regarderoit comme une prison et comme un anéantissement indigne, je le trouve si conforme à mon humeur que je ne le changerois pas pour une condition brillante . . . Je ne suis bon que pour le cabinet."

⁵⁸ *O. D.*, *Lettres*, 1, 40, 1675.

⁵⁹ *O. D.*, *Lettres*, 1, 43, 1675: "Je me repens mille fois le jour d'avoir jamais étudié, car dans quelqu'autre profession que je me fusse jetté, je serois quelque chose dans cette 28^e année de ma vie, au lieu que mesdames les muses me laissent un coquin et un esclave."

⁶⁰ H. E. Smith (*op. cit.*, 113) terms Bayle "a man of brains and not of feelings." Yet some of Bayle's letters to his family and his impassioned

precarious health, the loss of his position, and the endless and bitter controversies with his enemies, Bayle's "anéantissement" in the city of Rotterdam meant for him a kind of makeshift by which he could endure life until his end came. We feel tempted to say that, in view of his inveterate disposition to live like a recluse, Bayle's literary taste and style would have profited but little from a protracted stay in Paris. Had Bayle lived in the French capital, his life would undoubtedly have been that of a solitary without any social intercourse whatever.

In the main Bayle missed Paris most because he would have been able there to acquire much needed information which, through lack of library facilities, Sedan and Rotterdam could not furnish.⁶¹ His only recourse was to be well provided with "de bons dictionnaires pour avoir en peu de volumes des répertoires de toutes choses."⁶² This intimation is of interest. His erudition takes after the "*répertoires*" somewhat. It was especially in the composition of his *Dictionnaire* that he felt the lack of library facilities most keenly. He repeatedly complained that: "Un de mes grans embarras . . . a été de n'avoir pas tous les livres qu'il m'auroit fallu."⁶³ As some of his letters prove it, Bayle was wholly dependent upon his correspondence for information on certain books and authors.⁶⁴ His ignorance of facts concerning his contemporaries is noticeable. For instance, he asked for information about Mme de Sévigné: "Je voudrois bien savoir quelque chose de l'histoire de celle-là. Je la mettrois volontiers dans mon *Dictionnaire*."⁶⁵ During his exile in Holland, with a more or less hostile environment, there was little inducement offered Bayle to

Ce que c'est que la France toute catholique certainly show Bayle to be unmistakably a man endowed with feelings.

⁶¹ *O. D.*, *Lettres*, 1, 78, 1677.

⁶² *O. D.*, *Lettres*, 1, 89, 1678.

⁶³ *O. D.*, *Lettres*, 1, 180, 1696; *O. D.*, 4, 732 and 826.

⁶⁴ *O. D.*, 4, 800, 807, 826, 772.

⁶⁵ *O. D.*, 4, 776, 1696.

cultivate literary ideals. Though books printed in French had a larger sale than any other books, Bayle complained that Holland was "un méchant país pour les bons livres."⁶⁶

IV

The results of Bayle's mental make-up and education are plainly in evidence in his method of composition and they are such as could be expected under the circumstances. In his letters he enumerates his defects with the greatest naïveté. He wrote—and this is especially obvious in his correspondence—without elaboration or preparation of any kind, giving no particular attention to the choice or arrangement of thoughts and words. He delighted in composing "currente calamo," and, as he said: "Dans la dernière négligence et selon que les mots me viennent sans balancer un moment."⁶⁷ Bayle maintained this characteristic throughout his life, and late in life he still congratulated himself upon possessing it: "Il n'y a rien qui me plaise davantage que la négligence, et j'ai besoin que ceux qui reçoivent de mes lettres soient dans ce goût-là."⁶⁸ As a consequence of his method his writings at times evince prolixity, looseness, lack of concentrated and well-coordinated thought.⁶⁹ In this respect he seems to continue the great masters of the sixteenth century with their disregard for regularity and for well-ordered exposition of ideas. Speaking of the contents of a letter, he analyzed his defects to a nicety: "Elle [la lettre] me fit peur, je n'y vis rien de naturel. Les pensées y sont tirées par les cheveux; il y a des applications forcées, tout y est outré. . . . Dieu sait si celui à qui elle s'adresse se croit bien régalé de tant de passages en diverses langues. Tout le mieux qu'il en pensera, c'est que j'y ai affecté furieusement d'étaler beaucoup de

⁶⁶ *O. D.*, *Lettres*, 1, 144, 148, 1684.

⁶⁷ *O. D.*, *Lettres*, 1, 20, 1672; cf. also 4, 723, 1696.

⁶⁸ *O. D.*, 4, 885, 1706.

⁶⁹ "Si je suis petit parleur, je suis en récompense prolixé écrivain." Cf. *O. D.*, *Lettres*, 1, 52, 1675.

lecture."⁷⁰ Conscious of his deficiencies, Bayle realized that the only way to be satisfied with his composition was to rewrite each letter ten or twelve times: "J'écris fort mal, je l'avoue, mais je pourrais mieux écrire. Si je relisais mes lettres, il n'y auroit guère de lignes où je ne fisse des corrections nécessaires."⁷¹ We are glad that his natural bent prevented him from "mettre au net" his letters; thus we get the benefit of the "première saillie de son esprit." Yet in some of his other writings more restraint, more condensation, and more sobriety would not have been amiss. Another defect hardly noticeable in his correspondence becomes quite obvious in his ambitious works. He lacks "esprit de suite" and indulges in other subjects irrelevant to the main topic, but, as he said: "Je perds facilement les idées."⁷²

In a letter to Leclerc he tells us a few details about the composition and plan of the *Nouvelles de la république des lettres*. At the time when Fontenelle's *Entretiens sur la pluralité des mondes* were published, he discerned clearly that his journal should stand half-way between "les nouvelles de gazettes" and "les nouvelles de pure science" and should appeal not only to the savants, but also to "les cavaliers et les dames." Bayle reveals his whole literary attitude and at the same time evinces his novelliste's good sense and practical understanding of his time: "Il faut donc égaier un peu les choses, y mêler de petites particularitez,

⁷⁰ *O. D.*, *Lettres*, 1, 38-39, 1675. The following passage is also interesting: "Or il arrive de là que mes lettres ne valent rien, parce qu'elles sont bâties de la première chose qui se présente et que les pièces qui les composent y sont placées non pas selon leur mérite mais selon leur âge; c'est-à-dire que je n'y apporte aucune méditation et que je n'examine point quel rang, quel ordre il faut donner aux pensées, me contentant de les ranger à mesure qu'elles me viennent." (*O. D.*, 4, 545, 1673).

⁷¹ *O. D.*, *Lettres*, 1, 34, 1675.

⁷² *O. D.*, 4, 596-597, 1675. Another passage conveys this attitude: "Je ne donne pas mal dans le défaut de Montagne qui est de savoir quelquefois ce que je dis mais non jamais ce que je vais dire," *O. D.*, 4, 543; Cf. also *O. D.*, 3, 9 and *O. D.*, *Lettres*, 1, 107.

quelques petites railleries, des nouvelles de roman et des comédies, et diversifier le plus qu'on pourra Si je serrois mes extraits en sorte que les quatre ou cinq feuilles fussent réduites à deux, je conviens que l'ouvrage seroit plus exact, plus régulier et plus propre à plaire au docteur mais nécessairement il seroit sec et dénué de mille petits agrémens."⁷³ As to his *Dictionnaire*, Bayle always worked on it "avec précipitation et sans le secours d'une bonne bibliothèque."⁷⁴ Asked by a correspondent to send a plan of the things which he might need, Bayle replied: "Je le trouve impraticable parce que je ne m'aperçois des choses qui me seroient nécessaires . . . que quand je dresse actuellement un article pour lui donner la forme. Je ne fais jamais l'ébauche d'un article. Je le commence et je l'achève sans discontinuation."⁷⁵ Even in the composition of his other works Bayle neither pursued a well-formulated plan nor considered the relative importance of the subject matter that he treated. As the length of his articles contained in his dictionary depended largely on the number or size of his notes, deplorable omissions must have occurred, but he honestly welcomed corrections: "En sorte que mon *Dictionnaire* se purge des fautes innombrables qui me sont échappées."⁷⁶ It is all well and good, but in the execution of his work we detect traces of his "perpétuel défaut," this incapacity to plan ahead and to co-ordinate his thoughts.

As to his style, if Bayle had been of such a disposition as to profit by contact with a refined and polished society, he might have corrected his style, but, as Sainte-Beuve suggests, he would be a different Bayle—a Bayle without frankness

⁷³ *O. D.*, 4, 614-615, 1684.

⁷⁴ *O. D.*, 4, 826, 1702.

⁷⁵ *O. D.*, 4, 821. Bayle also admits that he wrote the *Pensées diverses sur la comète* "sans suivre un seul et unique plan"; and he further states: "Je ne savais pas de quoi je vous parlerois à la troisième page et . . . presque tout ce que je vous ai dit s'est présenté à moi à proportion que je composais sans que de ma vie j'y eusse seulement pensé" (*O. D.*, 3, 158-159).

⁷⁶ *O. D.*, 4, 826, 1702.

of expression.⁷⁷ Possibly had Bayle been more careful and thoughtful about the choice of his words, he would not have used expressions like: "faire ses choux gras," "écrire à toute bride," "faire suer les prédicateurs les plus éloquens," "aller busquer fortune," "faire le bec," or speaking of an author's *manière d'écrire* as "trop mal peignée," but all these expressions give color and freshness to his style.

Bayle complained of the "dure loi" and the "mille tortures d'esprit" which face a writer when he attempts to give expression to his ideas in the French language. In one of his letters he outlined the advantages and disadvantages of the *style lié* and the *style coupé*; he preferred the former because: "Ceux qui se servent du style coupé ont moins de peine à ôter les équivoques; ils recommencent une période presque à chaque ligne. C'est prendre le parti le plus facile; un paresseux s'accommode fort de cela. Vous et moi, Monsieur, qui nous sommes accoutumés au style lié et qui enfermons le plus de pensées que nous pouvons dans une période, nous sommes en effet plus courts que ceux qui se servent du style coupé."⁷⁸ In this respect Bayle was mistaken in regard to his own style. Although he praised the Ciceronian period and claimed to adopt it, Bayle's style in many of his pages is short-cut and to the point. As a rule the text in large type in his *Dictionnaire* is condensed but colorless, while most of the footnotes stand out in relief for their simplicity, clearness, ease, and straightforwardness; Émile Faguet considers some of the footnotes as "des chefs d'œuvre."⁷⁹ Occasionally, as in his *Ce que c'est que la*

⁷⁷ Sainte-Beuve, *op. cit.*, pp. 374-375.

⁷⁸ *O. D.*, 4, 723, 1696.

⁷⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 26. Certain criticisms on Bayle's style must be noted here. Sainte-Beuve claims that: "En avançant pourtant et à force d'écrire, sa phrase, si riche d'ailleurs de gallicismes, ne laissa pas de se former; elle s'épura, s'allégea beaucoup, et souvent même se troussa fort lestement" (*Op. cit.*, p. 374, note); the same critic also found Bayle's works "une des lectures les plus agréables et commodes" and his *Œuvres diverses* "préférables au *Dictionnaire*" (*op. cit.*, pp. 386-387). Commenting on the *Dictionnaire*, Faguet remarks: "Si ses articles sont longs, son style est vif, aisé, franc, et

France toute catholique, Bayle allowed his indignation to run loose, and his style then borders on vehemence.⁸⁰ Numerous passages could be quoted to illustrate Bayle's style at its best.⁸¹ The following passage is characteristic of Bayle's style and method:

"Les philosophes ne sont guère plus en état de juger de la machine du monde que ce palsan de juger d'une grosse horloge. Ils n'en connoissent qu'une petite portion. Ils ignorent le plan de l'ouvrier, ses vues, ses fins, et la relation réciproque de toutes les pièces. Alléguez à quelqu'un que la terre a dû être ronde afin qu'elle tournât plus facilement sur son centre, il vous répondra qu'il vaudroit mieux qu'elle fût quarrée afin de tourner plus jentement et de nous donner de plus longs jours. Que pourriez-vous répondre

va quelquefois jusqu'à être court" (*op. cit.*, p. 26); and he continues: "La lecture de Bayle est non seulement instructive et suggestive, mais . . . agréable, attachante, enveloppante et amicale. C'est un délicieux causeur, savant, intelligent, spirituel, un peu cancanier et un peu bavard" (*op. cit.* p. 28). Brunetière admits that Bayle does not write badly "si même il n'écrit mieux, plus correctement, avec plus d'esprit que tant d'autres dont les noms s'étaient encore dans nos histoires de la littérature" (*op. cit.*, 5, 174); but he also adds that Bayle writes "négligemment, trop vite, sans ordre ni méthode" (*op. cit.*, 5, 175). Read also Petit de Julleville, *op. cit.*, 6, 27.

⁸⁰ É. Faguet, *op. cit.*, p. 25; however, Brunetière holds a different opinion when comparing Bayle and Jean Jacques Rousseau (Cf. *op. cit.*, 5, 175-176).

⁸¹ Read the following footnotes cited from the first volume only of Bayle's *Dictionnaire*: Abderame A, Accarisi A, Accius P, Agathon F, Alciat (André) G, Amphiarus H, Anaxagoras A and R, Ancillon D and F, Andronicus (Marcus Pompilius) A, Antoine (Marc, p. 249) A, Apafi F, Arcesilas K, Archelaus K (p. 294), Arimanius B, Aristandre B, Aristote M, Arnauld BB, Artemidore B, Atticus G, Augustin E, Aureolus B, Balde H, Baudoin N, Bertelier G, Bochard D, Breauté D, Brenzius B, Brossier E, Bruschius D, Brutus (Marc Junius) D. Read also from Bayle's various works: *Commentaire philosophique*, O. D., 2, part I, chapters 3 and 6; part II, chapters 6 and 10; *Pensées diverses*, O. D., 3, chapters 7, 48, 83, 133, 136, 152, 156, 236; *Continuation des Pensées diverses*, O. D., 3, chapters 4, 23, 119; *Critique générale de l'Histoire du calvinisme*, O. D., 2, letters 8, 14; *Nouv. lett. Critique générale de l'Histoire du calvinisme*, O. D., 2, letters 2, 12, 16; *Réponse aux questions d'un provincial*, O. D., 3, part I, chapter 2; part II, chapter 105; *Nouvelles de la république des lettres*, O. D., 1, articles 8 p. 97, 5 p. 143, 10 p. 173, 4 p. 263, 5 p. 273, 9 p. 335, 2 p. 385, 9 p. 474; *Lettres à sa famille*, O. D., 1, letters 19 p. 36, 26 p. 44, 27 p. 45, 28 p. 46, 101 p. 150.

de raisonnable si vous étiez obligé d'articuler les embarras où l'univers tomberoit en cas que Mercure fût plus grand et plus proche de la terre?"⁸²

These passages remind one of Voltaire's or Anatole France's manner:

Une des plus grandes marques de l'infirmité de l'homme est que plus il acquiert de connoissances plus il trouve qu'il n'y a presque rien de certain. Jamais la philosophie n'a été plus près de sa perfection qu'en ce siècle, et c'est à présent que l'on est plus convaincu que jamais qu'on ne nous débite que des jeux d'imagination plus ou moins heureux, mais toujours très incertains. L'histoire n'est pas exempte de cette disgrâce, car plus on l'étudie plus on en connoît l'incertitude.⁸³

En général il est vrai de dire que le monde ne se conserve dans l'état où nous le voyons qu'à cause que les hommes sont remplis de mille faux préjugés et de mille passions déraisonnables; et si la philosophie venoit à bout de faire agir tous les hommes selon les idées claires et distinctes de la raison, on peut être très assuré que le genre humain périroit bientôt. Les erreurs, les passions, les préjugés, et cent autres défauts semblables, sont comme un mal nécessaire au monde. Les hommes ne vaudroient rien pour cette terre si on les avoit guéris, et la plupart des choses qui nous occupent seroient inutiles.⁸⁴

V

It will be now our aim to ascertain Bayle's literary taste and appreciation. Critics have emphasized the fact that Bayle was deprived of "sentiment littéraire." They insist that Bayle often mentioned in the same paragraph literary works of unequal value and bestowed praise on masterpieces and mediocre works alike. Sainte-Beuve smiled, however, at Bayle's "associations bizarres," and in his usual broad-mindedness considered them as "prompts et naïfs reflets de son impression contemporaine."⁸⁵ In the preceding pages we noted Bayle's inveterate negligence, his lack of concentration, and his disregard for plan and order. On passing judgment on Bayle's literary defects, one has to bear these

⁸² *D.*, Anaxagoras, note R; read also a passage in Diderot's style where Bayle emphasizes the study of trades and crafts (Cf. *O. D.*, 1, *Lettres*, 76).

⁸³ *O. D.*, 1, 185.

⁸⁴ *O. D.*, 2, 274.

⁸⁵ *Op. cit.*, 1, 381-382.

facts in mind. He does not enumerate books that he has read, seen, or heard of in the order of importance or similarity of contents. For instance, he mentions in the same paragraph: Boileau's works, a criticism by Desmarets, Malebranche's *Recherche de la vérité* and *Traité de l'égalité des deux sexes*, Abbé de Pure's *Vie du maréchal de Gassion*, and Rohaut's *Traité* "où il explique la transsubstantiation par les principes de Descartes."⁸⁶ Bayle simply communicates information to his numerous correspondents in a perfect sense of neutrality and unconcern. Ordinarily he passes no judgment on the works mentioned in his letters, but, when he does so, he keeps his personality in the background and rather quotes the opinions of authors.

An instance which has been accepted as proof of Bayle's lack of literary taste is his comment upon Racine's and Pradon's *Phèdre*.⁸⁷ It is worth while quoting the text in order to appreciate wholly Bayle's method of commenting on literary items: "Je vous dirai . . . que l'*Hippolite* de M. Racine et celui de M. Pradon, qui sont deux tragédies fort achevées et qu'on a représentées cet hiver, partagent la cour et la ville; les uns trouvant plus de conduite ou de poésie ou d'esprit dans l'une de ces deux pièces, les autres dans l'autre."⁸⁸ Undoubtedly this is a very serious misjudgment; yet it is one which ought to be looked upon with leniency, considering the near perspective. On the other hand, on first reading one might conclude that Bayle did not care to decide on the superiority of the plays and seemed to be more interested in the outcome of this disgraceful quarrel. Whatever it may be, we rather think that Bayle had not read either play, but acted merely the part of a reporter. He possibly learned through the *Mercure* or some pamphlet facts and details more or less biased in favor of Pradon and stereotyped the gist of the whole

⁸⁶ O. D., *Lettres*, 1, 30, 1674.

⁸⁷ Pellissier, *op. cit.*, p. 292; Sainte-Beuve, *op. cit.*, 1, 382; Petit de Julleville, *Histoire de la litt. franç.*, 6, 27; Lenient, *op. cit.*, pp. 210-212.

⁸⁸ O. D., *Lettres*, 1, 76, 1677.

story without further personal comment.⁸⁹ What makes us feel that Bayle had not read these two tragedies at the time when he wrote this much-criticized comment is the very fact that they were performed early in January 1677, and this comment appeared in a letter dated from Sedan, April 1, of the same year. It is hardly possible that he had read them in printed form by that date or had seen them, for his visits to Paris were rare. It is more reasonable to believe that in this case, as in many others, his information was gained from hearsay, or was at least second hand.⁹⁰ If it were true, it would minimize the importance of this comment as an instance of Bayle's lack of "sentiment littéraire." In a letter of May 6, of the same year Bayle reported a news item decidedly unfavorable to Pradon: "On a fait une critique de la tragédie de M. Racine et de celle de M. Pradon La critique se déclare hautement contre Pradon."⁹¹

⁸⁹ A similar explanation may be offered for another oft-quoted passage: "*L'Iphigénie* de M. Coras se joue enfin par la troupe de Molière, après que celle de M. Racine s'est assez fait admirer dans l'Hôtel de Bourgogne" (*O. D.*, 4, 563, May 28, 1675). Brunetière finds fault with the use of the words *enfin* and *assez* (*Cf. op. cit.*, 5, 132), but it is probable that Bayle had neither seen nor read the plays in question, though he was then in Paris, for he was held down by his duties as a tutor and had little time to himself (*Cf. Lettres*, 1, 43-44). Here, again, this comment may be based on hearsay. On the other hand, in a letter dated, June 24, of the same year Bayle speaks of Racine's play as a play "qui a été tant applaudie l'hiver passé à l'Hôtel de Bourgogne pendant quarante représentations consécutives" (*O. D., Lettres*, 1, 49).

⁹⁰ Betz (*op. cit.*, p. 32) even claims that Bayle: "Obgleich er sich in früheren Jahren wiederholt in Paris aufhielt und längere Zeit in dem Geburtsorte Corneilles, Rouen, lebte, nie den Fuss in ein Theater gesetzt, um einige Stunden seiner Studien dem vulgaren Vergnügen des Lust oder Schauspiels zu opfern, brauchen wir wohl kaum ausdrücklich zu erwähnen. Wir wagen sogar die Behauptung, dass Bayle sich nie die Mühe genommen, ein Drama ganz zu lesen." This criticism contains a great deal of truth, but it conflicts somewhat with Bayle's own statement (*Cf. O. D. Lettres*, 1, 48, 1675; 1, 22, 1673).

⁹¹ *O. D., Lettres*, 1, 78; read also Bayle's remark on Pradon's *Tamerlan* (*O. D., Lettres*, 1, 59, 1675).

When Bayle wrote most of the literary estimates singled out from his correspondence by critics as evidence of his lack of taste, he was only a young man fresh from his province. Having no opportunity to witness the performance of dramatic productions, he naturally formed his estimates from reading the plays. Writing from Geneva to his older brother about two plays he has just read—*Les Femmes savantes* and *Psyché*—, Bayle is at a loss to determine their literary qualities: “Je ne saurois bien dire laquelle m’a plu davantage.”⁹² This judgment may seem odd from our modern point of view, but Bayle lacked first of all the proper perspective. A youthful critic might well make such a mistake when one considers that *Psyché* united the efforts of four well-known men—Molière, Corneille, Quinault, and Lulli. Furthermore, there are other comments in his letters which counterbalance the fact that Bayle placed: “Le ballet de *Psyché* au niveau des *Femmes savantes*.”⁹³ In the same paragraph he considers Molière’s comedy as a: “Pièce aussi achevée qu’on en vit jamais.” In another letter Bayle criticizes operas most severely, and little doubt can be entertained as to his opinion on the merit of these performances.⁹⁴ He speaks of Racine’s *Iphigénie* and Thomas Corneille’s *Circé* together in the same place, but without any idea of comparison entering into his mind; he possibly thinks of Corneille’s play because, as he says: “Je fus hier au soir par hasard à la représentation de cette belle pièce.”⁹⁵ In Bayle’s opinion *Iphigénie* is a play “des plus achevées,” and the preface to this tragedy contains “de grandes beautés,” but, whether, as Sainte-Beuve intimates, Bayle “aime la préface presque autant que la pièce,”⁹⁶ we really cannot say. It is also true that he considers the *Comte de Gabalis*, a book on magic, in the

⁹² *O. D. Lettres*, 1, 22-23, 1673.

⁹³ Sainte-Beuve, *op. cit.*, 1, 382.

⁹⁴ *O. D., Lettres*, 1, 67, 1676.

⁹⁵ *O. D., Lettres*, 1, 49, 1675.

⁹⁶ Sainte-Beuve, *op. cit.*, 1, 382; Lenient, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

paragraph following a mention of Bossuet's works, but he does so with no idea of comparing their literary merit. Such contrasts or *rapprochements* are of common occurrence in his letters, and more could be cited if anything were to be gained by so doing.

In order to offset the effect of opinions held by critics as regards Bayle's literary taste and appreciation, some of the estimates which Bayle made of some of his contemporaries in his *Correspondance* and other works are worth noting here. These estimates are usually written in an easy and offhand manner and ought to offer a criterion by which Bayle's literary taste should be judged. As it will be seen by this rapid survey, these estimates show Bayle as a literary critic in a favorable light and, in fact, most of them singularly harmonize with our present day criticisms of the same authors.

On Pascal:

"L'un des plus grands géomètres, l'un des plus subtils métaphysiciens, et des plus pénétrants esprits qui aient jamais été au monde." On Pascal's life: "Cent volumes de sermons ne valent pas cette vie-là et sont beaucoup moins capables de désarmer les impies."⁹⁷ "L'un des plus sublimes esprits du monde"; "*Les Lettres provinciales* de M. Pascal ont passé et passent encore pour un chef d'œuvre"; concerning Pascal's *Pensées*: "Ce qu'on en trouva parmi ses papiers a été rendu public, et a été admiré."⁹⁸

On Malebranche:

"C'est un grand homme, d'un profond jugement, et d'une pénétration extraordinaire."⁹⁹ On Malebranche's book, *Morale*: "Je l'ai lue avec beaucoup de plaisir. Elle n'est point diffuse et dit des choses bien singulières et d'autres qui sont communes mais tournées d'un air d'original."¹⁰⁰

On LaBruyère's *Caractères*:

"C'est un livre incomparable . . . Ce ne sont pas des caractères faits à plaisir; il a peint l'esprit et l'humeur et les défauts de presque toute la cour et de la ville."¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ *O. D.*, 1, 194-195, 1684.

⁹⁸ *D.*, Pascal.

⁹⁹ *O. D.*, *Lettres*, 1, 99, 1678.

¹⁰⁰ *O. D.*, 4, 617, 1684.

¹⁰¹ *O. D.*, *Lettres*, 1, 179, 1696.

On LaFontaine:

"Avec la permission de ceux qui mettent l'antiquité si au-dessus de notre siècle, nous dirons ici franchement qu'en ce genre de compositions ni les Grecs ni les Romains n'ont rien produit qui soit de la force des *Contes* de M. de LaFontaine; et je ne sai comment nous ferions pour modérer les transports et les extases de Messieurs les humanistes s'ils avoient à commenter un ancien auteur qui eût déployé autant de finesse d'esprit, autant de beautés naturelles, autant de charmes vifs et piquans que l'on en trouve en ce livre-ci . . .";¹⁰⁵ "M. de LaFontaine fournit pour sa part des poésies toutes semblables à celles qu'on a déjà vues de lui et que l'on a tant admirées comme incomparables en leur genre. Ce sont toujours des contes divertissans, des fables ingénieuses, en un mot ce sont des vers qui sous une simplicité et une facilité apparente cachent le plus fin et le plus heureux artifice qui se puisse voir. La morale y est répandue bien à propos avec des traits fort piquans contre les mauvaises coutumes du siècle."¹⁰⁶

On Molière:

"L'antiquité n'a rien qui surpasse le génie de Molière dans le comique, ne vous en déplaie Aristophane, Plaute et Térence. Aussi depuis sa mort ne voions-nous aucune comédie qui vaille la peine d'être lue."¹⁰⁷ "A peine verra-t-on jamais un si grand génie pour le comique."¹⁰⁸ "*Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* de Molière ne vaut pas à beaucoup près son *Misanthrope*; mais on y rioit infiniment plus qu'au *Misanthrope*."¹⁰⁹

True, Bayle says that: "On doit considérer la comédie comme un repas donné au peuple,"¹⁰⁷ but he does so in a passage where he endeavors to prove that the judgment of the majority is fallacious. In another passage Bayle holds a very different view. To the criticism made by Boileau that Molière had "trop de complaisance pour le parterre," Bayle replies that this criticism is "raisonnable à certains égards, injuste à tout prendre," and adds the following note:

¹⁰⁵ *O. D.*, 1, 273, 1685.

¹⁰⁶ *O. D.*, 1, 374. Betz (*op. cit.*, p. 42) suggests that: "Wahrscheinlich hat er (Bayle) den lebenslustigen Fabeldichter in Paris gekannt."

¹⁰⁷ *O. D.*, *Lettres*, 1, 39, 1675. Cf. also *D.*, *Amphitryon*, note B.

¹⁰⁸ *O. D.*, *Lettres*, 1, 22-23, 1673; cf. also É. Gigas, p. 72, 1674.

¹⁰⁹ *O. D.*, 3, 203, 1704.

¹⁰⁷ Quoted by Betz, *op. cit.*, p. 30 and Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 29 and 116.

"Elle [Boileau's *censure*] étoit pour ainsi dire essentielle à son sujet: elle contient une observation très légitime et qui devoit être une règle inviolable, si l'on ne faisoit des comédies que pour les faire imprimer; mais comme elles sont principalement destinées à paroître sur le théâtre en présence de toutes sortes de gens, il n'est point juste d'exiger qu'elles soient bâties selon le goût de M. Despréaux . . . C'est blâmer Molière de ce qu'il a travaillé non seulement pour les esprits fins, et de bon goût, mais aussi pour les gens grossiers. Il a eu ses raisons . . . Souvenons-nous que les frais des comédiens sont grands, et que l'usage de la comédie est de divertir le peuple aussi bien que le sénat. Il faut donc qu'elle soit proportionnée au goût du public, c'est-à-dire, qu'elle soit capable d'attirer beaucoup de monde; car sans cela, ne fût-elle qu'un élixir de pensées rares, ingénieuses, fines au souverain point, elle ruineroit les acteurs et ne serviroit de rien au peuple."¹⁰⁸

Although Bayle himself boasts of being able to indicate a hundred barbarisms in Molière's works, he utters a warning to those who complain that the great playwright "se donnoit trop de liberté d'inventer de nouveaux termes et de nouvelles expressions":

"Prenez bien garde qu'on ne blâme ici que l'excès de sa liberté; car au fond, l'on ne nie pas qu'il ne s'en servit bien souvent d'une manière très heureuse et qui a été utile à notre langue. Il a fait faire fortune à quelques phrases et à quelques mots qui ont beaucoup d'agréments . . . Au reste, il n'y a point de meilleure forge de nouveaux mots que la comédie; car si elle produit quelque nouveauté de langage qui soit bien reçue, une infinité de gens s'en emparent tout à la fois et la répandent bientôt au long et au large par de fréquentes répétitions. On ne peut contester légitimement aux bons auteurs le droit de forger de nouveaux mots, puisque sans cela les langues seroient toujours pauvres, stériles, languissantes . . . "¹⁰⁹

On LaRoche foucauld:

"Il n'y a rien de plus moral, rien de plus délicat et de plus sensé que les réflexions de feu M. de LaRoche foucauld: cependant on ne dira jamais que ce soit un livre propre à inspirer la dévotion."¹¹⁰

On Boileau:

"Les satires . . . ont pris un caractère de pudeur qui est pour le moins aussi admirable que l'esprit, le tour, le sel et les agrémens que l'illustre M. Despréaux y a fait briller."¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ D., Poquelin, note G.

¹⁰⁹ D., Poquelin, note D.

¹¹⁰ O. D., 2, 294, 1685.

¹¹¹ O. D., 1, 69-70, 1684.

In other places Bayle names him "fameux satirique," "grand esprit," "grand poète."¹¹³ Bayle in his youth called authors of satires "de véritables boute-feux et des perturbateurs du repos public,"¹¹⁴ but late in life he showed the greatest deference to Boileau when he wrote to Marais: "Il y a longtemps que j'applique à ce grand homme un éloge plus étendu que celui que Phèdre donne à Esope, naris emunctæ natura numquam verba cui potuit dare. Il me semble aussi que l'industrie la plus artificieuse des auteurs ne le peut tromper."¹¹⁴

On Racine: Commenting on *Bajazet* and *Mithridate*, Bayle thinks that Racine: "réussit à miracle dans la tragédie."¹¹⁵ He adds later that Racine is a "très excellent faiseur de tragédies."¹¹⁶ Commenting also on Racine's and Corneille's *Bérénice*, he seems to be favorable to Racine's *tendresse*.¹¹⁷

On Fontenelle's *Entretiens sur la pluralité des mondes*:

"Je dis qu'ils sont d'un caractère fort peu commun. C'est un résultat de mille pensées diverses où l'on trouve de plaisanteries galantes, des railleries fines, des moralitez profondes et enjouées, un essor d'imagination aussi vaste et aussi libre qu'on en puisse voir, une grande vivacité; tout cela soutenu d'un fond de physique et d'astronomie qui débrouille bien des choses dans le système de M. Descartes. Il est certain que tout en riant on nous fournit ici plusieurs grandes vues."¹¹⁸

On Corneille: After inserting an *Éloge de Pierre Corneille* in his *Nouvelles*, Bayle remarks: "Bien loin d'avoir trouvé excessives les louanges qu'on donne à cet illustre défunt, nous avons trouvé qu'on aurait pu lui en donner davantage."¹¹⁹

¹¹³ *O. D.*, *Lettres*, 1, 60, 1675; 4, 546, 1673; *D.*, Arnauld, note T.

¹¹⁴ *É. Gigs*, pp. 68-69, 1674.

¹¹⁵ *O. D.*, 4, 772, 1698; also *D.*, Abelly, note A; *O. D.*, 3, 505.

¹¹⁶ *O. D.*, *Lettres*, 1, 22-23, 1673.

¹¹⁷ *O. D.*, *Lettres*, 1, 49, 1675.

¹¹⁸ *D.*, *Bérénice*, note D (p. 533).

¹¹⁹ *O. D.*, 1, 547, 1686; also 1, 477 and 751.

¹²⁰ *O. D.*, 1, 211, 1685.

On Quinault's operas: "M. Quinault qui est l'auteur des vers pourroit bien mieux faire; mais il prend un tour propre à s'accommoder aux airs. Je conseille fort à votre ami de n'employer pas deux écus à l'achat de ces pièces-là."¹²⁰ In another place Bayle speaks "du tendre M. Quinault . . . qui compose les vers de l'opéra qui lui ont donné une si belle réputation."¹²¹

On Thomas Corneille's *Circé*: "Elle est très bien conduite, très bien exécutée, les pensées fines et délicates y sont fréquentes et bien exprimées."¹²²

On various authors: Bayle terms Huet "un des plus savans hommes de France";¹²³ Fléchier "une des meilleures plumes de France";¹²⁴ he considers Saint-Evremond "illustre,"¹²⁵ Nicole "célèbre,"¹²⁶ and Santeuil "l'un des plus grans poètes de ce siècle."¹²⁷

On Mme. de Sévigné: There is no doubt in Bayle's mind that her letters are to be preferred to those of de Rabutin, and he adds: "Cette dame avoit bien du sens et de l'esprit . . . Elle mérite une place parmi les femmes illustres de notre siècle."¹²⁸

On Mlle de Scudéry's *Morale du monde*:

Cette lecture est très agréable et très instructive . . . Comme elle [Mlle de Scudéry] a beaucoup de douceur et dans son stile et dans ses pensées, elle ne touche pas assez fortement les défauts du cœur, selon le goût de certains esprits trop chagrins, peut-être, qui voudroient qu'au lieu de piquer les plaies, on les déchirât sans miséricorde.¹²⁹

¹²⁰ O. D., *Lettres*, 1, 67, 1676.

¹²¹ O. D., *Lettres*, 1, 59, 1675.

¹²² O. D., *Lettres*, 1, 49, 1675.

¹²³ O. D., *Lettres*, 1, 53, 1675; Cf. also 4, 599, 1675.

¹²⁴ O. D., *Lettres*, 1, 53, 1675; Cf. also 4, 575, 1679.

¹²⁵ O. D., 4, 812, 1702.

¹²⁶ O. D., 4, 575, 1679.

¹²⁷ É. Gigas, p. 103, 1697.

¹²⁸ O. D., 4, 776, 1698.

¹²⁹ O. D., 1, 608, 1686; Cf. also 1, 149, 1684 and *Lettres*, 1, 125, 1680.

On Mme Des Houlières:

"Mme Des Houlières, si connue par ses beaux vers, a fait une pièce de théâtre nommée *Genseric*, roi des Vandales, qui ne lui fait pas tant d'honneur que ses petites pièces précédentes."¹²⁰

On Mme de la Sablière: Bayle thought her to be a woman: "Qui connoit le fin des choses et qui est connue partout pour un esprit extraordinaire."¹²¹

As a young man Bayle had a weakness for novels. He apparently enjoyed *Dom Carlos*, the *Prince de Condé*, M. de Scudéry's *Ibrahim ou l'Illustre Bassa*, and Mlle de Scudéry's *Cyrus* and *Clélie*.¹²² Yet he did not find time for every sort of novel;¹²³ he liked the *Princesse de Clèves* and also found "agréable" Mme de LaFayette's "joli petit roman," *Zaïde*.¹²⁴ At times his literary judgments are biased through his personal interest in authors. The *Maxims* of Queen Christina of Sweden are: "Aussi bonnes que celles de M. de LaRocheffoucault."¹²⁵ Bayle places Mme Des Houlières, the *esprit fort*, next to LaFontaine: "Nos meilleurs poètes comme LaFontaine et Mme Des Houlières font souvent des vers libres selon la méthode des anciens."¹²⁶ His community of ideas and thought with La Mothe Le Vayer and Naudé caused him to consider them: "Les deux savans de ce siècle qui avoient le plus de lecture et l'esprit le plus épuré des sentimens populaires."¹²⁷

¹²⁰ O. D., 4, 580, 1680.

¹²¹ O. D., 1, 374, 1685; cf. also O. D., *Lettres*, 1, 125, 1680.

¹²² O. D., *Lettres*, 1, 22-23, 1673; *Lettres*, 1, 114, 1679; O. D., 4, 548, 1674; O. D., 1, 149, 1684.

¹²³ O. D., *Lettres*, 1, 114, 1679: "L'auteur de l'*Héroïne Mousquetaire* en quatre volumes in-12 qui est un Béarnois nommé Prechac fait des romans à perte de vue . . . Je ne saurois prendre la peine de lire cela. Quand je trouve un roman comme la *Princesse de Clèves* et le *Prince de Condé* ou quelque nouvelle historique comme *Dom Carlos*, le *Comte de Ulfé* et les *Mémoires de Hollande*, je les lis avec plaisir."

¹²⁴ O. D., *Lettres*, 1, 24-25; 1673; O. D., 4, 528, 1672 and 574, 1678.

¹²⁵ O. D., 4, 731, 1697.

¹²⁶ O. D., 4, 642, 1690.

¹²⁷ O. D., *Lettres*, 1, 57, 1675; he later prepared a new edition of *Naudens et Patiniana*, cf. O. D., 4, 193.

Like many of his contemporaries, Bayle felt himself a modern to the core. Filled as it were with the glory and achievements of the seventeenth century, Bayle exclaimed with a certain pride: "Ainsi nous voilà dans un siècle qui va devenir de jour en jour plus éclairé de sorte que tous les siècles précédens ne seront que ténèbres en comparaison."¹³⁸ In spite of that eager and militant spirit which he showed in the discussion of ideas, Bayle never actively participated in the quarrel of the Ancients and Moderns, though his name may have been drawn into it.¹³⁹ In this indifference we may see a proof of his lack of interest in matters purely literary, but he plainly indicated his stand toward the Ancients and the Moderns in various places throughout his works. Early in his career, after reading Desmarets' work in defense of the Moderns, Bayle said: "Pour moi qui ne suis pas ennemi des anciens, je les [les remarques] trouve victorieuses pour la plupart."¹⁴⁰ Later, his attitude is definitely stated in the footnotes of his *Dictionnaire*. His comment on Homer is too interesting to be passed over. He finds the Greek poet "trop grand parleur et trop naïf," and he continues apologetically: "Grand génie d'ailleurs et si fécond en belles idées . . . s'il vivoit aujourd'hui il feroit un poème épique où il ne manqueroit rien."¹⁴¹ After comparing the treatment and handling of the material in the composition of *Amphitryon* by Plautus and Molière, Bayle has no hesitancy in giving the preference to the modern playwright.¹⁴² Yet, incon-

¹³⁸ *O. D.*, 1, 41, 1684.

¹³⁹ H. Rigault, *Histoire de la querelle des anciens et des modernes*, pp. 235-240. Rigault who has clearly interpreted Bayle's attitude in the controversy states: "Bayle . . . n'a pas traité la question *ex professo*; ce n'est pas son habitude." Cf. É. Gigas, p. 249, a letter written by Dubos to Bayle.

¹⁴⁰ *O. D.*, *Lettres*, 1, 60, 1675.

¹⁴¹ *D.*, *Andromaque*, note H.

¹⁴² *D.*, *Amphitryon*, note B: "S'il n'y avoit qu'à comparer ces deux pièces l'une avec l'autre pour décider la dispute qui s'est élevée depuis quelque tems sur la supériorité ou l'infériorité des anciens, je croi que M.

sistent as it may seem, it would be unfair to suppose Bayle to be blind to the literature of antiquity.¹⁴³ In one of his letters he earnestly recommends the study of the classics to his younger brother and warns him not to let a single day go by: "Sans lire dans un auteur ancien Attachez-vous à Cicéron, c'est le grand maître Pour les poètes Virgile est sans doute le meilleur Pour la langue grecque . . . on se promène avec plaisir dans les auteurs grecs, on se sent chatouiller l'oreille par les nombres doux et coulans et l'harmonieuse structure de cette langue dont le génie est mille fois plus délicat que celui de la latine."¹⁴⁴ Though Bayle had never "blanchi au service des muses,"¹⁴⁵ he cared for literature, and he was, as Saintsbury suggests, an excellent man of letters.¹⁴⁶ His chief interest, however, lay in another direction. Aside from his "associations bizarres," Bayle's literary appreciation differs but slightly from that of many of his contemporaries. His attitude was becoming the rule and not the exception. Voltaire's comment on Dante voices the opinion which was in vogue in the eighteenth century: "On me vole toujours un tome de l'Arioste, on ne m'a jamais volé un Dante On trouve chez nous, dans le dix-huitième siècle, des gens qui s'efforcent d'admirer des imaginations aussi stupidement extravagantes et aussi barbares."¹⁴⁷

VI

In conclusion, the lack of popularity of Bayle's works is not due to his literary taste, but to the subject matter,

Perrault gagneroit bientôt sa cause. Il y a des finesses et des tours dans l'*Amphitryon* de Molière qui surpassent de beaucoup les railleries de l'*Amphitryon* latin."

¹⁴³ Rigault, *op. cit.*, pp. 235-240.

¹⁴⁴ *O. D.*, *Lettres*, 1, 32-33, 1675. Read also a eulogistic passage on Cicero, *O. D.*, 1, 169, 1684.

¹⁴⁵ *O. D.*, *Lettres*, 1, 55, 1675.

¹⁴⁶ Saintsbury, *op. cit.*, 2, 316-317.

¹⁴⁷ *Œuvres*, Moland's ed., 41, 252.

which has now lost its hold on the public. Bayle's incongruous display of scholarship—a display of quotations and references—stares us constantly in the face; yet his is the method of the scholar who wants to support his arguments with authorities. Bayle's incurable negligence, his inability to coördinate his thoughts and ideas, and his rambling manner of touching on a great variety of subjects apparently irrelevant—defects which he candidly admits—link Bayle with his illustrious predecessors of liberal thought in the sixteenth century. Like Voltaire's *Dictionnaire philosophique*, Bayle's *Dictionnaire historique et critique* is conspicuously deficient and one-sided if compared with modern and up-to-date dictionaries and encyclopedias. Bayle's work, done with no concerted and systematic plan, is, after all, the register of his personal notions on certain men and things. Finally, his rather free descriptions, scattered here and there in his *Dictionnaire*, have nothing in themselves that will impair the morals of a healthy and well-balanced man.

If we had to seek factors which determined Bayle's literary attitude, it would be an idle task, and the results would be problematical. Nevertheless, we should recall his desultory and slipshod readings during his youth and his studies made without guidance and instruction. Bayle preserved this habit until his death. His thirst for knowledge or *libido sciendi*, carried out without any method, made him a remarkably well-informed man at the expense possibly of concentration and depth. We might also recall his deliberate and sought-for intellectual *anéantissement* and his social obscurity. In all likelihood his intellectual bent was not conducive to worshipping form and artistic finish exclusively. His literary attitude is nowhere else better illustrated than in his method of composition. Although Bayle spoke of his "tortures d'esprit," he showed little elaboration and preparation. His free way of writing as shown in his letters and in the footnotes of his *Dictionnaire* has its charms, indeed. Oftentimes rambling, Bayle's

style is natural, straightforward, and sprinkled with popular expressions; some of his pages compare favorably with the pages of the great writers of the eighteenth century.

Bayle's artistic appreciation may have its limitations, but in this respect he was like many of his contemporaries who, during the transitory period, no longer held form and thought in perfect unity. Undoubtedly Bayle was a Modern, but he was ready to accept philosophical ideas from the Ancients which he held in common with them. Since the clash of wits and ideas appealed to him most, form was not the chief consideration. Hence the cause of his "associations bizarres," many of which may be explained, however, as being due to immature judgment, to second-hand information, or to a human desire to eulogize. Instead of following the path of a lesser Boileau, Bayle chose a much larger field than the one usually assigned to a purely literary critic and became a most versatile and most daring handler and expounder of ideas in the realm of history, philosophy, and religious controversy. Bayle's interest in literature proper, which was only secondary in his youth, became practically insignificant in his later years, if we judge by the dates of his comments on literary men and works as indicated in this paper. However, it has been shown that it was not beyond Bayle's intellectual grasp to judge and appreciate literary works of art. Many clear-sighted and keen estimates which Bayle made of his contemporaries, though left unstressed by his critics and commentators, are singularly correct and in harmony with our literary opinions of to-day; in fact, these estimates, if they mean anything at all, show Pierre Bayle to be no mean literary man and critic.

HENRY E. HAXO

XXXVIII. AN UNPUBLISHED CRITICISM OF VOLTAIRE'S *ERYPHILE*.*

Voltaire's tragedy *Eryphile* was performed first in the private theater of Madame de Fontaine-Martel, and on Friday, March 7, 1732, in the Théâtre Royal. Although announced as a masterpiece, it was not a success. Only seven representations were given before Easter and five after.¹ In vain did Voltaire make hasty changes in his text between the performances; he could not save it, and the original verdict of the public proved fatal. As he had already done with *Artémire* (1720), Voltaire withdrew the play and never allowed it to be printed.² However, in 1779, just after his death, it was published for the first time with the note: "Pièce que l'auteur s'était opposée qu'elle fut imprimée de son vivant."³

The subject is far from original. When the play begins, *Eryphile* has killed, some twenty years ago, *Amphiaraus*, her husband, with the help of *Hermogidé*, her lover. She has also placed her child in the hands of a slave who has saved him. But now she hates both her crime and her accomplice. The people desire a king; they nearly oblige her to marry *Hermogide*. She refuses and declares publicly,

* I am indebted to Professor Gustave L. van Roosbroeck for drawing my attention to this criticism and for helpful suggestions.

¹ Henri Lion, *Les Tragédies et les Théories dramatiques de M. de Voltaire*, 1895, p. 66. The number of twelve performances agrees with the report given by the *Mercur* of March 1732.

² Cf. Gust. L. van Roosbroeck, "A Prologue for Voltaire's *Artémire*," *Phil. Quart.*, April 1922. Voltaire made use of a few verses of *Eryphile* for some of his other plays and took up a similar subject in his *Sémiramis*. Some of these verses are found in *Mahomet*, *Mérope*, *La Mort de César*. Cf. *Oeuvres complètes de Voltaire*, Didot, 1827, p. 142. Also Moland, II, pp. 461-530. Lion, *op. cit.*, p. 194 sq.

³ It is probable that this edition was based on a copy of the actor *Lekain*. The same manuscript was used again for the Kehl edition. Another manuscript, which Decroix (the corrector of the proofs of the Kehl edition) believed more reliable, enabled Beuchot to print a quite different version of *Eryphile*.

in the Temple, that her son is not dead and that therefore the throne must remain vacant until he returns. On the other hand, Hermogide holds that the son of Amphiaraus no longer lives; "I have decided to seize the supreme power, he adds, by force of arms if need be." Then Eryphile begs defense from a young victorious general, Alcmeon, whom she loves without being entirely aware of it, and who loves her notwithstanding her age. She is even going to marry him, when the warning ghost of Amphiaraus appears and prevents the ceremony. Eryphile now recognizes in Alcmeon her own son, and he, armed with the paternal sword, goes out to fight Hermogide who besieges the palace. Nevertheless, in order to spare the blood of his subjects, he challenges him to a duel near the grave of Amphiaraus. Blinded by the gods, distracted by his father's ghost, he strikes his own mother instead of Hermogide. Eryphile dramatically appears on the stage and dies. Alcmeon wishes to take his own life, but is prevented from doing so. He faints and the tragedy ends.

It is obvious that this theme is nothing but the old story of Orestes. Alcmeon is Orestes, while Eryphile represents Clytemnaestra, and Amphiaraus plays the rôle of Agamemnon.

In spite of this lack of originality,⁴ the *Mercure* of March 1732 is enthusiastic over the play: "Le public a trouvé cette tragédie pleine d'harmonie et d'élégance dans les vers, de pensées nobles et élevées. La diction en est mâle, les traits heureux; les descriptions, les images, les maximes neuves et hardies. Cette pièce, extrêmement applaudie par de nombreuses assemblées, est parfaitement bien interprétée. . . ." The *Almanach littéraire ou Etrennes d'Apollon* of 1780 reprints a *Mémoire peu connu*

⁴ Voltaire drew upon himself much criticism for disguising an old plot under new names. There are traces of still other influences in his tragedy: the duel near the grave, for instance, is an adaptation from a scene in the *Choéphores* of Aeschylus. Cf. *Théâtre des Grecs*, trad. par le P. Brumoy, II, p. III sq.

which is a dithyrambic praise of *Eryphile*, as the greatest glory of the rising sun—young Voltaire.⁶ On the other hand Voltaire's play did not escape ridicule at the hands of dramatic satirists. *Les Amusements à la Mode*, a comedy by Riccoboni and Romagnesi (Théâtre Italien, April 21, 1732), contained an act: *Les Catastrophes liri-tragi-comiques*, which is a kind of parody of *Eryphile* and *Jephthé*,⁶ although this appears to have been overlooked by Voltaire's bibliographers.

Of distinctly greater importance, however, is the criticism and witty parody of *Eryphile* introduced in de Boissy's play, *Le Triomphe de l'Ignorance* which was acted March 20, 1732, but still remains unpublished.⁷ The title itself is significant: Eryphile comes on the stage to appeal to Ignorance, whose dark veils alone can save Eryphile from being torn into pieces by the critics. She protests against the bitter attacks of which she is an innocent victim, and begs for protection against the slanderers who claim that she is only a copy from two originals: Oedipus and Orestes. But the answers of Ignorance are quite sarcastic.

⁶ Who was the author of the *Mémoire*? The only clue to his name is his initials: M. D. L. M. (Monsieur De La Motte?)

⁶ *Jephthé* is an opera by l'abbé Pellegrin. *Les Catastrophes liri-tragi-comiques* were published separately in 1732. See Sonneck, *Catalogue of Opera Librettos in the Library of Congress*.

⁷ A few lines of the play were printed in Desboulmiers, *Histoire du Th. de l'Opéra-Comique*. *Le Triomphe de l'Ignorance* is one of the newly discovered MSS. of Louis de Boissy (1694-1758). I intend to make them the subject of a later publication. A few data derived from Desboulmiers' *Histoire anecdotique et raisonnée du Théâtre Italien* (publiée sous l'anonyme). Paris, 1769, 7 vol. in-12. have been given on some of them in C. F. Zeek's thesis: *Louis de Boissy, Auteur comique*. (Grenoble, 1914). The eleven MSS. are entitled: 1. *Mélopomène vengée ou les trois Spectacles réduits à un et les Amours des Déeses à rien*. 2. *Les Contes*. 3. *La France galante*. 4. *Scène qui devait être ajoutée à la Comédie du Je ne sais quoi*. 5. *Le Triomphe de l'Ignorance*. 6. *La Coquette amoureuse*. 7. *Zéphire et la Lune ou la Nuit d'Été*. 8. *Le Droit du Seigneur ou Parodie d'Aben-Saïd*. 9. *Margéon et Katifé ou le Muet par Amour*. 10. *La Comète*. 11. *La Péruvienne*.

Eryphile.

Arbitre des succès, reine du genre humain,
 Vous dont le tribunal sans règle est souverain,
 Qui, dans tous vos arrêts, où l'instinct seul préside,
 Prenez le cœur pour juge et le plaisir pour guide;
 Ignorance, pour qui j'étaie mes brillants,
 Défendez Eriphile, en butte aux faux savants!
 Ces traîtres vont partout, déchirant ma conduite,
 Dire, pour écarter la foule qui me quitte,
 Que, malgré mon éclat dont elle est étonnée,
 Je ne suis dans le fond qu'un monstre bien orné; . . .

L'Ignorance.

Ils n'ont pas tout le tort . . .

Eryphile.

Que l'on voit, à travers toute ma draperie,
 De deux originaux que je suis la copie;
 Que mon fils Alcéméon, au crime réservé,
 Que ce fils, comme Oedipe, est un enfant trouvé;
 Et que, vengeant sur moi le meurtre de son père,
 Comme Oreste, il devient l'assassin de sa mère;
 Qu'en moi, d'abord, pour peu qu'on m'observe de près,
 De Jocaste, ma soeur, on reconnaît les traits; . . .

L'Ignorance.

A dire vrai, vous avez un grand air de famille . . .

ERYPHILE:

Qu'on lit, en même temps, dans mon regard funeste,
 L'adultère noirceur de la mère d'Oreste; . . .

L'Ignorance.

Plus je vous regarde, et plus je trouve qu'ils ont raison . . .

So, these two originals, which Eryphile resembles, are the Orestes story already mentioned, and the Oedipus legend.

Then follows a passage, bringing out a striking weakness of the play:

Eryphile:

Ils ajoutent encore, joignant l'ironie au mépris,
 Que de prendre six francs j'avais fait sagement,
 Etant un opéra qu'on n'a pas mis en chant;
 Qu'on ne peut trop payer tous les frais des machines
 Que font mouvoir pour moi les puissances divines;
 Mais que, malgré cette aide et tant de traits perdus,
 J'aurai le triste sort de mon frère Brutus.*

It is undeniable that *Eryphile* contains far too many "scènes à effet" and "coups de théâtre," as if the author had attempted to hide his unoriginal and poorly conducted plot behind a startling and breathless external action.

Ignorance is extremely reserved at first. She is soon asked bluntly to explain why she does not give her entire support now, whereas she was so lavish of praise at the first performance. This gives to Ignorance an opportunity for stating her main reproach.

Eryphile.

Ne ferez-vous point taire un discours qui m'offense?
 Il est de votre honneur de prendre ma défense.
 Justifiez, Madame, en combattant pour nous,
 Les applaudissements que j'ai reçus de vous.

L'Ignorance.

Vous m'embarrassez; il est vrai que j'ai beaucoup applaudi
 le premier jour, mais c'est moins l'ensemble de la pièce que la beauté des
 détails . . .

Et, sans détour inutile,
 Disons le fait comme il est:
 Si nous admirons le style,
 La conduite nous déplaît;
 Eryphile, file, file,
 File mal son intérêt . . .

Eryphile (à part).

Grands Dieux! A ce discours puis-je rester tranquille?
 Mais cache tes transports, malheureuse Eryphile.

* Voltaire's tragedy, *Brutus* (1730), had been a failure.

Those objections of Lady Ignorance are well justified: it is hard to follow the complicated plot up to the climax, because the suspense is not well maintained.

Ignorance, like the bewildered spectators of the "première," has had enough time now to reflect on the real value of *Eryphile*, and she desires explanations on several points. She is going to embarrass Eryphile more and more, until this temperamental visitor is very much angered by the attitude of a person who no longer deserves her name and wants to know far too much. . . Ignorance makes an inquiry into the reason for a grave discrepancy and lack of verisimilitude: how could Hermogide, Eryphile's former lover, have become so old, whereas Eryphile is said to be still "dans son printemps"? Eryphile's lofty and hollow answer, high-sounding like a Cornelian tirade, which it incidentally parodies, is no explanation at all.

L'Ignorance.

Eclaircissez-moi certaines choses que je n'entends pas.

Eryphile.

Si vos doutes sont tels qu'on les puisse éclaircir,
On le fera, Madame, avec bien du plaisir.

L'Ignorance.

Comment se peut-il faire qu'Hermogide, votre ancien tenant,
ait si fort vieilli, et que vous soyez restée si jeune?

(*Air: La bonne Aventure.*)

Vous voir dans votre printemps,
Ainsi qu'il l'assure,
Ayant un fils des plus grands,
Qui paraît avoir trente ans . . .
La rare aventure o gué,
La rare &c . . .

Eryphile.

Pour ne jamais vieillir mes pareilles sont nées,
Et ne rendent jamais compte de leurs années.*

* Corneille: " . . . Car aux âmes bien nées,
La valeur n'attend point le nombre des années."

The tomb where the duel between Alcmeon and Hermogide is fought is not a very fortunate location,¹⁰ nor is the time; these shortcomings do not escape Boissy's keen critical sense.

L'Ignorance.

Passons; éclaircissez-moi sur un fait plus important:
C'est le duel de votre fils et d'Hermogide.
Dites-moi, d'abord en quels lieux
Se battent-ils tous deux?

Eryphile.

Sur le tombeau de mon époux.

L'Ignorance.

J'admire le champ de bataille et la complaisance d'Hermogide.

Eryphile.

Tous les lieux sont égaux, lorsqu'on veut se venger.

L'Ignorance.

Madame, croyez-vous qu'un vers
Excuse ce travers?

Ignorance asks such precise and searching questions, that she at last discourages and confuses Eryphile. She has become a terrible examining magistrate and inquires about that "obscure" way Eryphile had been slain in the "obscurity." . . .

L'Ignorance.

"Se battent-ils dans le jour?

Eryphile sings:

Non, le duel qui m'est fatal
Se fait bien avant dans la brume.

¹⁰ A similar fight around a tomb in Voltaire's *Sémiramis* was sharply criticised at the time.—Cf. Mannory, *Observations sur la Sémiramis de M. de Voltaire*, 1749.

L'Ignorance.

O le combat original!
Mais c'est donc au clair de la lune . . .

Eryphile.

Quand j'y songe, grands Dieux! mon âme est éperdue:
C'est dans le même instant que mon cher fils me tue . . .

L'Ignorance.

Je n'ai jamais pu comprendre
Comment sur vous son bras tombe.
A son père menaçant
Quand vous servez d'hécatombe,
Vous perce-t-il dans le flanc,
Le long de ça, le long de là,
Le long de la tombe,
Par derrière ou par devant?

Eryphile.

C'est sur ce monument, quand je suis en prière,
Qu'il me tue à tâtons; et, faute de lumière,
Je lui pardonne, hélas, de s'être ainsi mépris:
Dans la nuit, on sait trop que tous les chats sont gris!"

The cries of Eryphile behind the wings are also mentioned in the foreword of the Kehl edition to the play as one of the chief reasons for its failure. De Boissy does not forget to censure them; at the same time, he makes fun of the bombastic speeches in *Eryphile* about the sacred dagger of Amphiaraus, putting the adjective "sacré" before the noun instead of after:

L'Ignorance.

Et les cris que vous poussez dans la coulisse?

Eryphile.

Sacré fer de nos rois, don trop pernicieux,
Que pour faire le crime ont conservé les Dieux,
Vous êtes seul l'auteur de cette catastrophe,
Et vous méritez bien que je vous apostrophe!

L'Ignorance.

Votre fils, des mains du grand prêtre,
A tort d'accepter le présent,
Quand il lui dit bien clairement
De craindre un instrument si traître . . .

Next, the appearance of a ghost on the stage, a device claimed to be an innovation borrowed from the English drama, is ridiculed by Boissy, who sees in it no innovation at all.

L'Ignorance.

"Il fallait supprimer cette épée merveilleuse, aussi bien que votre revenant;

D'arracher les morts du tombeau,
Le spectacle rare et nouveau,
Que l'ombre du *Festin de Pierre*!¹¹
Laire la, &c.

Eryphile.

C'était pour inspirer une noble terreur.

L'Ignorance.

Ou pour faire rire!

At last, Eryphile, convulsed with rage, utters wild threats: she is going out to slaughter all her censors, and, on her return, she will set fire to the theater. So ends the scene.

L'Ignorance.

Pourquoi le grand prêtre prédit-il le dénouement un moment avant qu'il se fasse?

Eryphile.

Ah, tant de questions me lassent à la fin;
Une juste fureur s'empare de mon sein.
Puisque vous répondez à mes douleurs aigries
Par des doutes malins et par des railleries,
Frémissez, et songez qu'après de tels affronts

¹¹ An allusion to Molière's comedy, *Don Juan ou le Festin de Pierre*, in which a ghost appears.

Je vais tout entreprendre, et que j'ai les bras longs . . .
Je cours de mes censeurs faire un affreux carnage;
Ignorants et savants, tout va sentir ma rage . . .
Puis, avec Hermogide et ses coupe-jarrets,
Je reviens, pour réduire en cendres le palais!

Compared with the eulogies of *Eryphile* written in 1732, this critical scene shows us the other side of the medal and allows us to gauge more accurately the impression the play produced. Boissy may have had an influence on Voltaire, who recast his play several times and was at great pains to choose an entirely original subject in his next play, *Zaïre* (August 1732). But what of the relations of Voltaire and Boissy at that moment? It is strange to find Boissy making merry with a tragedy by a man whose friend he was fourteen years earlier, when he wrote a panegyrical defense of Voltaire as the most gifted author of the day, in *L'Elève de Terpsichore* (1718).

ANTONY CONSTANS

XXXIX. WIELAND'S *TEUTSCHER MERKUR* AND CONTEMPORARY ENGLISH JOURNALS

Wieland's first mention of the plan of the *Merkur* is in a letter to Riedel dated Sept. 17, 1772:¹

Ich bin entschlossen, eine Art von Journal zu entrepreniren, welches *quo ad formam* einige Ähnlichkeit mit dem *Mercure de France* haben soll. Prosaische Original-Aufsätze, Litterarische Nachrichten, Recensionen und Revisionen unrichtiger Urtheile über interessante Schriften, sollen die Haupt-Artikel davon ausmachen.

The opening numbers of the *Merkur* conform, in general, to this outline. But while the name is imitated from the French periodical,² the contents were in part borrowed from English journals. An article recently published in a foreign periodical would not thereby be less acceptable to the German reader, and Wieland, as we now know, immediately lodged subscriptions with the leading English journals.³ Nor did he attempt to disguise the fact that the articles concerned were borrowings, as the words *Nach dem Englischen* or even the name of the journal are often added to the German title. Nevertheless, a great deal of uncertainty has hitherto prevailed concerning the provenience of some of these contributions, so much so, that certain articles have been ascribed to Wieland which now turn out to be translations. The scarcity of the *Merkur* and also of the English journals accounts, in part, for this state of affairs. As my own set of the *Merkur* is incomplete,

¹ *Auswahl denkwürdiger Briefe von C. M. Wieland*. Hrsg. von Ludwig Wieland, Wien, 1815, I. 302.

² It may be noted, by the way, that the *Nederlandsche Mercurius* also antedates the *Teutscher Merkur* by more than 15 years.

³ The unpublished correspondence of Bode shows that he was the intermediary in procuring for Wieland *The Critical Review*, *The Universal Magazine*, *The London Magazine*, *The Gentleman's Magazine*, *The Lady's Magazine*, *The Country*, *The London Chronicle*, *The School for Wives*. See Hans Wahl, *Geschichte des Teutschen Merkur*, p. 79 (*Palaestra* 127). My own study is practically limited to the *Universal Magazine* and the *Gentleman's Magazine*.

while only a few of the English journals have been accessible, the present study can make no claim to exhaustiveness. It does, however, shed a new and definite light on the articles treated.

The fourth article in the *Merkur* for August, 1773 (Vol. 3, pp. 167-183) is entitled *Die Regierungskunst, oder Unterricht eines alten Persischen Monarchen an seinen Sohn. Nach dem Englischen*. The *Zusätze* at the end have been quite definitely assigned to Wieland, but opinions differ as to the authorship of the article itself: Hirzel and Minor were inclined to regard it as a parody of Haller, Wihan thought he could detect some resemblance to the *Economy of Human Life*, whereas Seuffert's final conclusion is that the article is probably by Wieland.⁴ It can now be shown that *Die Regierungskunst* is a faithful translation of *The Art of Reigning: Or the Instructions of a Persian Prince to his Son*, which appeared in the *Universal Magazine* for January, 1773 (Vol. 52, pp. 29 f.):

Attend, my beloved son, to my counsel, and learn that virtue is true wisdom. Fear nought so much as thine own power. Authority is only a blessing, when wisdom is its guide. Let thy government have a view to the laws, and to the established forms of the Constitution. Examine, minutely, every wilful inclination, every rising wish, before it is put in execution; and instantly reject it, if thou dost blush to own it to thy people: In that case, it is thine enemy.

Höre meinen Rath, geliebter Sohn, und lerne dass Tugend wahre Weisheit ist. Fürchte nichts so sehr als deine eigne Gewalt. Macht ist nur dann ein Glück, wenn Weisheit sie leitet. Lass bei deiner Regierung die Gesetze und die eingeführte Staatsverfassung niemals aus den Augen. Fasse keinen Entschluss, am aller wenigsten in Sachen, wobey deine Lieblingsneigung betroffen ist, ehe du ihn aufs sorgfältigste geprüft hast; und verwirf ihn sogleich, wenn du erröthen müsstest, ihn öffentlich deinem Volke zu bekennen. In diesem Falle ist er dein Feind.

This opening paragraph may serve as a fair sample of the entire translation: towards the end, it will be noticed, Wie-

⁴ The various references are given by Seuffert in his *Prolegomena zu einer Wieland-Ausgabe*. III, No. 11, foot-note, and V. No. 221 (Anhang zu den Abb. d. Königl. Preuss. Akademie 1905, 1908).

land has inserted the words *am aller wenigsten in Sachen, wobey deine Lieblingsneigung betroffen ist*. Similarly the sentence *und beschränke die Freyheit der Handlung nicht durch unnöthige Gesetze* (p. 173) is an addition of the translator's. Other renderings that may be specially noted are: *Sinnlichkeit* (p. 169) for *luxury*; *deines eigenen inneren Werthes* for *thy interior worth*; *verkauft sein Volk* (p. 169) for *alienates his people*; *Aufgeklärte, gebildete Nationen* (p. 170) for *Civilized nations*; *mehr Garben in einem Morgen Feldes einzuernenden* (p. 173) for *to reap more sheaves in one morning*. This last passage probably offers the only instance of downright mis-translation. After *Ueberrede nie einen Richter* (p. 172) the sentence *'Tis thus the enemy of God strives to seduce the just* has no counterpart in the German text.

The general tenor of the translation points decidedly to Wieland. As the *Zusätze* are approximately twice as long as the original article, it is possible that Wieland translated it merely for the purpose of recording his own divergent views.

The same number of the *Universal Magazine* contains another article which Wieland evidently considered suitable for reproduction in the *Merkur*: *Reflections concerning Aliment* (pp. 9-13). The German title runs: *Betrachtungen über die Wahl der Nahrungsmittel*, with the foot-note: *Aus dem Englischen* (*Merkur*, 1773, Vol. 4, p. 134). The article, unsigned, covers twenty pages, and is the longest contribution in the November number. The translation follows the English original rather closely, aside from unintentional slips and errors: *infectious* is translated by *epidemisch* (p. 137); *reach people in every station* = *Menschen von allen Ständen hingerissen werden* (p. 137, foot-note); *exalts the animal salts* = *löst die animalischen Salze auf* (p. 138); *the fever is often raised even to the degree of madness* = *oft ist das Fieber durch den Grad der Mattigkeit schon entstanden* (p. 139); *The liquid part* = *Die flüssige Art* (p. 142); *animal or vegetable substances* = *Thiere oder vegetabilische Substanzen* (p. 144); *to adulterate* = *zu verderben* (p. 146); *intoxicating* =

wohlschmeckend (p. 146); *well fermented*=*wohl ausgebacken* (p. 147); *This custom ought to be reversed*=*und sie ist höchst verwerflich* (p.152).

Radish is translated by *Rübe* (p. 148); *a person of any delicacy* by *ekle Personen* (p. 139); *poison* by *der Gift* (p. 141). Concerning *ekel* 'wählerisch im Essen' Kretschmer⁵ points out that it is thus used by Wieland, Schiller, and Voss, and is still to be noted in this sense in Weimar; *der Gift* is recorded for Schiller, Wieland, and Schubart,⁶ as well as for Goethe. These data are of course not sufficient to ascribe the translation to Wieland.

At the end of the August, 1774 number of the *Merkur* (Vol. III, pp. 252 ff.) is a group of anecdotes, the first being entitled: *Von John Herzog von Marlborough*. This is a translation from the *Gentleman's Magazine* for January, 1774 Vol. 44, pp. 16 f.):

This great man, who, by the pen of an enemy, has been acknowledged as the greatest general, and as the greatest minister, that our country, or perhaps any other, has produced;††

Jedermann kennt den Herzog von Marlborough als den größten General und größten Minister den England jemals hatte. Selbst einer seiner ersten Feinde, der Lord Bolingbroke konnte ihm dies Zeugniß nicht versagen. (*)

The nature of the translation, correct but free, appears from the above quotation; the original has an additional sentence from Voltaire, referring to France, and also another paragraph at the end, referring to a proposed biography of the Duke. By the omission of this paragraph the point is brought out more strikingly in the German anecdote, which thus ends with the words "in Shakespears Werken." Possibly Wieland himself was the translator.

The first article in the October, 1774 number of the *Merkur* is entitled: "*Der Einsiedler von Warkworth. Eine Northumberländische Ballade in drey Gesängen. Nach dem*

⁵ Paul Kretschmer, *Wortgeographie der hochd. Umgangssprache*, Göttingen, 1918, p. 331.

⁶ Hermann Fischer, *Schwäbisches Wörterbuch*, III, 654.

(*) Bolingbroke's Letters on the use and Study of History 1752, p. 300.

†† Bolingbroke's Letters on the Use and Study of History, 1752, p. 300.

Englischen." (Vol. IV, pp. 1-63). The contribution, signed X, is a translation of Percy's *The Hermit of Warkworth. A Northumberland Ballad. In three Fits or Cantos*. London, . . . 1771 (VII, 52 pp. in quarto).⁷ As the English ballad had appeared three years before its publication in the *Merkur*, it is possible that Wieland's (or his contributor's) attention was called to it by two articles in the *Universal Magazine* for June, 1774 (Vol. 54, pp. 290-292): "A Description of the Hermitage of Warkworth in Northumberland," and, immediately following it: "Sir Henry Bertram. A Legendary Tale." At the close of the latter we find the following paragraph (p. 292):

We cannot dismiss this subject, without observing that our readers, who are fond of Poetry, may find a pleasing Ballad, written upon the above affecting story, by the learned Dr. Percy.

The prose *Einleitung* of the translation corresponds to the Advertisement of the original, which also contains a number of foot-notes, most of which reappear in the German text. The note on *endelich* (*Merkur*, p. 9), is of course not in the English text. Of the 213 stanzas of the original, six have been omitted, namely page 22, stanza 1; page 41, stanza 3; page 44, stanza 5; page 45, stanzas 1-3. The Postscript is likewise missing. A number of errors and peculiar translations may be noted: on page 22 (of the *Merkur*) *one lower apartment* is rendered by *einem niedrigen Zimmer*; on p. 31 we read *westwärts* for *south*; on p. 29 we have *aus rohem Stein* for *in the living stone*; p. 37, *stehn am Ufer wohlgestellt* for *And range the borders round*; p. 61, *funfzehn Winter* for *fifty winters*; p. 46, *Graf* translates *carle*, which was, of course, read as *earl*; on p. 10, *Mädchen* stands for *lady*, and on p. 18 this word is rendered by *Dirne*; on p. 20, the translator uses the form *meine Banden* (acc. pl.) and on p. 11 he uses *Dickigt* as a masculine noun, a form cited for Hagedorn in the Grimm *Wörterbuch*. One would thus

⁷ The ballad has been reprinted on pp. 1086-1100 of Schröer's edition of Percy's *Reliques* (Englische Sprach- und Literaturdenkmale hrsg. v. K. Vollmöller, Bd. 6, Berlin, 1893).

surmise that the translator was, like Hagedorn, a North-German.

In the November number of *Der Teutsche Merkur* for 1776 (Vol. 4, pp. 180-186) there is a story entitled "Ein Pulver wider die Schlaflosigkeit in einer dramatischen Erzählung. (Aus dem *Universal Magazine*)," the authorship of which scholars have been inclined to ascribe to Wieland himself. Seuffert, *Prolegomena*⁸ V, p. 59, puts a question-mark before this number (439), but adds: "Der Ton macht Wieland kenntlich; der Stoff gibt wesentliche Züge zu Wielands 'Novelle ohne Titel,' die ihn allerdings weniger ironisierend angreift, als es der Merkur Aufsatz tut."

An examination of the index of the *Universal Magazine* for 1776 yields no results, but a scrutiny of the articles themselves discloses the source of the story in the *Merkur*: "The Parting Lovers: A Dramatic Tale. Illustrated with a Beautiful Engraving of an interesting Scene, designed by Moreau" (Vol. 59, pp. 76-77, for August, 1776).

It becomes reasonably certain that the title of the German story is of Wieland's invention, but the text proper is merely a translation—a very good one, to be sure—of the story in the *Universal Magazine*. A juxtaposition of the opening sentences of the two stories will sufficiently demonstrate this fact:

In a delightful retirement, at a short distance from the city of Cadiz, a few years since, lived a Gentleman of an ancient Spanish family, called Don Felix. His brother Don Pedro had been employed in a public character by the Court of Madrid, and possessed one of the best Governments in South America. Felix had been married some years, and heaven favoured him with a daughter, called Angelina, as much distinguished for her

Nicht weit von Cadix lebte seit einigen Jahren, in einer angenehmen Einsamkeit, ein Edelmann, von einer alten Spanischen Familie, mit Namen Don Felix. Sein Bruder, Don Pedro, war vom Hofe zu Madrid in einer öffentlichen Bedienung gebraucht worden, und besass eines von den besten Gouvernements in Südamerika. Felix war seit einigen Jahren verheyrathet; und der Himmel beglückte ihn mit einer Tochter, die er Angelina nannte,

⁸ *Prolegomena zu einer Wieland-Ausgabe*. V. Berlin, 1909 (Anhang zu den Abh. der Königl. Preuss. Akademie der Wiss. vom Jahre 1908).

beauty and virtue, as the brilliancy of her wit.

und die sich eben so sehr durch ihre Schönheit und Tugend, als durch die Lebhaftigkeit ihres Geistes auszeichnete.

The closeness of the translation as a whole is exemplified by the above passage; the freest rendition is probably the following:

. . . was a new source of jealousy to Manly, which was increased by some intelligence he received from his servant, who was accidentally in the garden, and saw Ferdinand with a Lady, whom he supposed his Master's Mistress, the night the former was married.

. . . war für Manly eine neue Quelle der Eifersucht, welche noch durch eine Nachricht vermehrt wurde, die er von seinem Bedienten erhielt, der in der Nacht, da Ferdinand seine heimliche Heyrath vollzogen, zufälliger Weise im Garten gewesen war.

The only other comment necessary is on the translation of *a malevolent falsehood* as *eine boshafte Falschheit* (p. 185). Düntzer⁹ long ago conjectured that the concluding words of the German story must be by Wieland. A comparison of the English text now shows that the whole final paragraph in the *Merkur* is an addition ("Und so bliebe dann . . ."), while the passage immediately preceding has likewise been changed:

. . . he tenderly embraced her, protesting the proofs she had given him of her love deserved the greatest acknowledgements, and had intirely removed his passion for Angelina. 'Forgive me, Madam' said he, turning to that Lady, 'if what I owe virtue and these charms I, with my utmost care, my life, my soul, endeavour to repay.'

The natural conclusion of this Tale is what the Reader will no doubt anticipate, that Manly availed himself of this period of general joy, and obtained the con-

. . . umarmte er sie zärtlich, bezeugte, die Beweise, die sie ihm von ihrer Liebe gegeben hätte, verdienten die grösste Erkenntlichkeit, und—"kurz, ergab sich in sein Schicksal wie—einem artigen wohlgezogenen Liebhaber in einer dramatischen Erzählung zusteht."

"Dass Master Manly sich dieses Augenblicks der allgemeinen Freude geschwinde zu Nutze gemacht, und die Einwilligung des Don Felix zu seiner Vermählung mit der holden Angelina erhalten haben werde, lässt sich auch vorhersehen.

⁹ *Wieland's Werke*, Berlin, Gustav Hempel, 38.Bd.S.207.

sent of Don Felix to his marriage with Angelina, which was solemnised soon after with great pomp, and the future attentions of Ferdinand to his lovely Deceiver proved the truth of the declaration he made when he discovered the imposition.

W.

“Und so bliebe dann dem gutherzigen Leser nichts übrig, als diesem zweyfachen glücklichen Paar eine gute Nacht zuzugähnen, und—vollends einzuschlafen. Unsre allzeit fertigen Dramatifexe aber werden sichs, hoffentlich, nicht zweymal sagen lassen, . . .¹⁰

A study of the changes here enumerated, particularly in the title, as well as the concluding paragraphs, makes it almost certain that Wieland himself was the translator and redactor. Concerning the author of the English story, whose name is indicated by the initial *W*, nothing is known. The engraving, which depicts Angelina and her maid at one side, and Manly with his servant at the other, has the following inscription:

When Manly saw the Maid prepare to part
A deadly cold ran shiv'ring to his heart:
She thrice essay'd to speak; but thrice in vain;
For sobs and sighs her fault'ring voice restrain.

Practically every number of the *Universal Magazine* has one such engraving, illustrating what was presumably meant to be the most important story, usually of not more than three pages. No less than four of those published in 1776 bear the same initial, and in three cases out of these four we find the second title: *A Dramatic Tale*.¹¹ Possibly these tales, all of which have approximately the same length, are themselves extracts from longer works.¹² That certain other contributions to the *Universal Magazine* are mere extracts can be shown by *The History of Agathon* (Vol. 54, pp. 172-180), which boils down Wieland's four volumes to

¹⁰ The conclusion, with changed punctuation and orthography, is given in the Hempel Edition above cited.

¹¹ *The Restless Lover, a Dramatic Tale*. Vol. 58, p. 25; *The Supposed Rival: A Dramatic Tale*, p. 73; *The Impatient Lover, a Dramatic Tale*, p. 184.

¹² My colleague Professor Lancaster points out that the story of the *Parling Lovers* describes the situation in Molière's *Dépit amoureux* and in Secchi's *Gl'Inganni*.

less than eight pages. Similarly, *Die Geschichte des Fräuleins von Sternheim*, here attributed to Wieland, is condensed from two volumes to three instalments of some three pages each. (Vol. 59, pp. 234-238; 295-298; 372-375). To these and other translations from the German I shall recur on another occasion.

Concerning the ballad "*Edwin und Emma*. Nach dem Englischen," published in the *Merkur* for June, 1776 (Vol. 2, p. 198 ff.) Seuffert states: Vermutlich nach David Mallet. Wielands Autorschaft ohne Sicherheit zu vermuten: Marbacher Schillerbuch 1905 S. 297 f.¹³ The original of this is to be found in the *Universal Magazine*, Vol. 57, p. 149 f., September, 1775, under the rubric: *The British Muse: Containing Original Poems, Songs, etc.*:

Edwin and Emma. *A Ballad.*

Far in the windings of a vale,
Fast by a sheltering wood,
The safe retreat of health and peace,
An humble cottage stood.

There beauteous Emma flourish'd fair
Beneath a mother's eye,
Whose only wish on earth was now
To see her blest and die.

— — —

Im fernen Thal, geschützt vom Wald,
Durchströmt vom Silberbach,
Wo Ruh und Unschuld, unbemerkt,
Wohnt unterm Hüttendach,

Dort blühte Emma voller Reitz,
Der Mutter Liebling, auf;
"Oh Himmel! segne nur mein Kind,
"Dann, bat sie: nimm mich auf."

Each poem has twenty-four stanzas, and the German text, as may be seen from the opening lines, is a good, free translation of the original. The introductory stanza of the German

¹³ *Prolegomena* III, p. 10, No. 18. The *Marbacher Schillerbuch* referred to is not accessible to me.

poem, set off by asterisks, is not in the original, and thus belongs, presumably, to the translator:

Euch, die Ihr Eure Thränen nie
Versaget fremdem Leid,
Freundinnen! Euren Herzen sey
Dies Lied von mir geweiht.

The *Universal Magazine* does not mention the author's name, but the ballad is by David Mallet, as conjectured by Seuffert. It may be found in any edition of Mallet, as well as in most selections from his works. That the German text, however, descends from that in the *Universal Magazine* is indicated by readings such as *When May's sweet mornings break* = *So lacht im jugendlichen May*, where other editions of Mallet¹⁴ read: *When vernal mornings break*. Furthermore, the *Universal Magazine* offers only the text of the ballad, while the Mallet editions contain a six-line quotation from Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* (II, iv, 44-49), and also a letter in which the ballad is alleged to be founded on certain events of real life, here narrated. Wieland, fond as he was of such foot-notes authenticating his narrative, would certainly not have omitted this material if he had used the regular Mallet editions.

The facts so far adduced shed no additional light on the question of the authorship of the translation. If we consider, however, that the translation of the preceding tale from the *Universal Magazine* is in all probability by Wieland, and that he is certainly the author of another reference to the same source, presently to be discussed, his authorship of the translation of *Edwin and Emma* is made more probable.

The *Merkur* for February, 1777 (Vol. I, p. 170) contains a *Rüge gegen einen Engländischen Kunstrichter*:

"Die Schreibart der griechischen Schriftsteller unter der Regierung des "Kaysers Hadrian ist ungleich, steiff, dunkel, und affectiert; Lucian ist die "einzige Ausnahme die ich kenne"—sagt der mit K. unterzeichnete Verfasser

¹⁴ Compare, for example, Robert Anderson, *The Works of the British Poets*, London, 1795, Vol. IX, p. 716; Alex. Chalmers, *The Works of the English Poets*, London, 1810, Vol. XIV, p. 43; Robert Walsh, Jr., *The Works of the British Poets*, Philadelphia, 1822, Vol. XXVI, p. 286.

der *History of the Origin, and Progress of the usefull and Polite Arts in a series of Lettres* (die im Universal-Magazin von 1776. nach und nach erschien) im 6ten seiner Briefe . . .

The English text here referred to may be found in Vol. 59, p. 307 of the *Universal Magazine* (Dec. 1776): "The style of Greek Authors in the reign of the Emperor Hadrian is unequal, obscure, stiff, and affected. Lucian is the only exception I am acquainted with." Wieland's authorship of the *Rüge* is generally conceded. See Seuffert, *Prolegomena* V, p. 62 (No. 456).

At the end of the July, 1777, number of the *Merkur* (Vol. 3, pp. 94-96) is an advance notice of Nicolai's edition of *Das Leben Johann Bunkels*. Instead of reproducing the publisher's advertisement verbatim, the *Merkur* inserts an extract from an account in the *Monthly Review* of the year 1766. This comprises some thirty-three large octavo pages (Vol. 35, pp. 33-43, 100-123), devoted entirely to the second volume of the work in question. The quotation in the *Merkur* amounts to twenty-five lines, which are taken, as it turns out, from three different passages on pages 34 and 123 of the *Monthly Review*. Not only is the context thereby lost, but the translator has also failed to catch the ironical and bantering tone perceptible in various passages of the review. The paragraph on page 34, for example, runs as follows in the original:

Yet, wild and wonderful as are the stories told by this strange adventurer, and monstrous, and even ridiculous as some of his narrations are, they are *splendide mendaces*; and we cannot help admiring the singular turn and capacity of the writer:—Who, whenever he soars above the limits of common sense, is generally elevated into so fine a frenzy, that we willingly suffer him to transport us, in his aerial flights, to 'Thebes, to Athens, or the Lord knows where.'—When, like one of the weird sisters on a broomstick, he scampers away over earth and seas, or desperately plunges into some horrible and untried gulph, we are nothing loth to mount behind and bear him company, though it were down to the centre, or 'beyond the visible diurnal sphere.'—What an amazing mortal is this Buncle! Never, surely, did his equal exist! Nat. Lee is nothing to him; nor even the fiery poet, Lord Flame, who kept the town staring, laughing and hollowing, for near a month together, with his Hurlothrumbo. In fine, he is a perfect *unique*,

and, certainly, as much an original, in his way, as Shakespeare or Sam. Richardson; though, possibly, with this difference, that their excellencies proceeded merely from native, uncultivated genius; while our Author's peculiar sublimities seem to be the produce of a genius and imagination over-heated and run to seed in the hot-beds of romance and religious controversy. In all his extravagancies, however, he appears to maintain, with strictest uniformity, the character of an honest man,—earnest in promoting the best interests of his fellow creatures, and zealous to the highest degree, for what he apprehends to be the cause of Truth.

The paragraph in the *Merkur* runs as follows (p. 95f.):

“Ich kann nicht umhin, (sagt der *Reviewer*) die sonderbare Manier und Fähigkeit dieses Schriftstellers zu bewundern,—welcher, wenn er über die Grenzen des gemeinen Verstandes empor steigt, gemeiniglich sich zu einer so schönen Fantasey erhebt, dass wir uns sehr gern mit ihm nach Theben, nach Athen, und Gott weiss wohin, fortreissen lassen.—Er ist vollkommen einzig für sich, und in seiner Art so original, als Shakespeare oder Samuel Richardson, obgleich mit diesem Unterschiede, dass ihre Vortrefflichkeiten bloss aus angeborenem unkultivirtem Genie herrühren, dahingegen Bunkels erhabene Sonderbarkeit, die Frucht eines Genies und einer Einbildungskraft zu seyn scheint, die durch romantisches Wesen und durch religiösen Eifer, wie in einem Treibhause erhitzt und zum Sprossen getrieben worden. Bey aller seiner Seltsamkeit, zeigt er beständig den Charakter eines ehrlichen Mannes, voll Ernst, das Wohl seiner Nebenmenschen zu befördern, und im höchsten Grade eifernd, für das was er für die Sache der Wahrheit hält.—Johann Bunkel, ist der sonderbarste, der launigste, der angenehmst-seltsamste Schriftsteller, der je die Feder geführt hat. In seinem Leben ist mehr Verstand, mehr Gelehrsamkeit, auch mehr Unsinn und mehr Unterhaltung, als man je in einem Buche zusammenvereint glauben könnte.—Ich lese seine Werke immer mit Vergnügen, da es mir scheint, dass ihre Schönheiten bey weitem ihre Fehler übersteigen.—u.s.w.

The last three sentences are taken from the final paragraph of the English article (p. 123):

We now, for the present, take our leave of John Buncle, Esquire; a writer, perhaps, the most singular, most whimsical, and most agreeably absurd, that ever put pen to paper. In his life there is more sense, more learning, more nonsense, and more entertainment, than one could have supposed it possible to see united in one composition.—In a word, we always peruse his works with pleasure, as we think their beauties more than compensate for their defects; and that the balance is considerably in favour of the candid and good humoured Reader.

I have quoted the two texts in full, for the reason that Wieland, in his later denunciation of *Bunkel*, repeatedly refers to the German text as representing the opinion of the English reviewer (*Merkur*, 1778, Vol. 3, pp. 76-78; Vol. 4, p. 260). In all probability Wieland himself is also the author of the notice that contains the translation under discussion.

The November number of the *Merkur* for 1777 (Vol. 4, pp. 119-145) contains an article by Wieland: *Ueber das göttliche Recht der Obrigkeit oder: Ueber den Lehrsatz: "Dass die höchste Gewalt in einem Staat durch das Volk geschaffen sey." an Herrn P. D. in C.* On p. 144 there is a quotation from the inscription on the tomb (*Grabmal*) of Mrs. Macaulay:

Government is a Power delegated for the Happiness of Mankind, when conducted by Wisdom, Justice and Mercy.

This is presumably taken from the account in the *Universal Magazine* for Sept. 1777 (Vol. 61, p. 160), of the statue erected in honor of Mrs. Macaulay.

The same number of the *Merkur* (pp. 173-177) has an article "Ueber die nöthige Vorsicht bey Verstorbenen sich von der Wirklichkeit des Todes gewiss zu machen. (aus dem Gentl. Magazin Sept. 1777)." The English article is on pp. 422-424 of the number indicated (Vol. 47), and has the page-heading: *Caution against the Burial of Persons supposed to be dead.* The writer is W. Hawes. The German text makes a number of omissions, particularly of the foot-notes. An interesting passage is to be noted on p. 176 of the *Merkur*, where the words *about the middle of the back* are translated: *auf einem ihrer Backen.*

The last article in the *Merkur* for February, 1778 (Vol. I, pp. 187-192) bears the title: "Die Lustreise. (Von Mistris Brooke der Verfasserin der Lady Julie Mandeville und Emilia Montagu.) Ein Auszug aus dem Englischen." The work in question is *The Excursion. By Mrs. [Frances Moore] Brooke, Author of the History of Lady Julia Mandeville, and of Emily Montague*, 2 vols. 12 mo. London, Cadell.

The introductory paragraph in the *Merkur* one would naturally attribute to the German translator: it is not original with him, however, but a translation of the opening lines of a review in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for August, 1777 (Vol. 47, p. 387):

Mrs. Brooke is so distinguished as a novelist, that whatever she writes will be read with avidity, as tending not only to amuse but to instruct. In this work she has introduced a young lady of family, but small fortune, with a mind sensible and improved, but totally ignorant of the world, launching out from the country, steering, without a pilot or a compass, through the rocks and shelves of a London life, and in imminent danger of being wrecked, by listening to the siren voice of a young nobleman of the *bon ton*; one who had been taught . . .

Mistris Brooke, die unter den neuesten Verfasserinnen lehrreicher und unterhaltender Novellen oder kleiner Romane eine der ersten Stellen einnimmt, produziert in diesem kleinen Werk, welches wir unsern jungen Leserinnen nach und nach mitzuthemen gedenken, ein junges Frauzimmer von guter Herkunft aber geringem Vermögen, voll feinem Gefühl, und durch Erziehung gebildet, aber auf dem Land erzogen und mit der Welt gänzlich unbekannt—die sich, mit aller ihrer gutherzigen Offenheit und nichts Böses ahnenden Unschuld, ohne Steuer und Compass, mitten unter die Klippen und Sandbänke des Londoner Lebens wagt, und indem sie dem Syrenengesang eines jungen Cavaliers *du bon Ton* Gehör giebt, in unmittelbare Gefahr läuft zu Grunde zu gehen. Je seltner die kleinen Romane sind . . .

The rest of the paragraph is original with the translator. An extract of four pages follows. A similar one is to be found in the April number (Vol. 2, pp. 91-94). These, however, are not based directly upon Mrs. Brooke's novel, but upon the summary printed in the *Universal Magazine* for July, 1777 (Vol. 61, pp. 28-33):

PART I

A rural Scene—Character of Col. Dormer—of Louisa and Maria Villiers—

A Journey to London.

The former Productions of this elegant Writer have been so well received . . . we have taken the Liberty to select such Parts of it as we apprehended would be most agreeable to our Readers, still keeping in View the great

Out-line of the Narrative, and only rejecting such Parts as contained either the fair Author's Reflections, or as were not absolutely connected with the Simplicity of the Fable.

Only the heading is taken over into the *Merkur*, the following preamble having been rendered superfluous by the insertion of the introduction of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, quoted above:

Erste Abtheilung.

Eine ländliche Scene, Bild des Obersten Dormer und zweier Schwestern, Luise und Marie Villiers, eine Reise Nach London.

The text of the *Merkur* which follows upon this is a free, but otherwise correct reproduction of the summary in the *Universal Magazine*:

On a mild evening in September last, as the two nieces of Col. Dormer, a gentleman of small fortune in Rutland, were leaning over the terrace-wall of their uncle's garden, admiring the radiant lustre of the setting sun, the mixed gold and azure which played on a rustic temple belonging to a neighbouring villa, praising the heart-felt pleasures of retirement and the tranquil joys of a rural life, the lovely Lady H—, whose charms had raised her to the most distinguished rank, happened to pass by, in a superb carriage, with a numerous train of attendants, in her way to the North. The sisters, for which we shall hereafter account, were differently affected: Louisa beheld this splendid equipage with languid admiration, and returned to contemplate the objects which had before engaged her attention.

An einem heitern Abende des vergangenen Herbstmonats hatten die zwöo Nichten des Obersten Dormer, eines Edelmanns von mässigem Vermögen in Rutland, sich über ihres Onkels Gartenmauer gelehnt, bewunderten da die Majestät der untergehenden Sonne, deren Strahlen in einer sanften Mischung von Gold und Azur an einer benachbarten ländlichen Kirche spielten, und priesen die herzlichen Freuden der Einsamkeit und die frohen Scenen des stillen Landlebens. Hier geschah es, dass die liebenswürdige Lady H. die ihre Reitze zu einem ansehnlichen Range erhoben hatten, in einem prächtigen Wagen, mit einem zahlreichen Gefolge, hier vorbey nach den nördlichen Provinzen reiste.

Dieser Anblick machte auf die Schwestern verschiedne Eindrücke. Luise schenkte dieser glänzenden Equipage nur eine flüchtige Bewunderung, und kehrte gleich wieder zu ihren vorigen Betrachtungen zurück.

The translator, it will be noticed, divides up the long periods of the original. He also strives for a certain variety, for when the passage beginning with the words *the radiant*

Jaure is soon after quoted in practically identical form. It renders it as

Die Pracht der Abendsonne, das Gold und der Anstrich der Landföhren in herrlichen Freuden der Einsamkeit, als die stillen Sonnen des Landjägers.

In a few places the translator omits superfluous words or phrases. For example, on p. 189 of the *Meritor* the original reads:

of a country gentleman; or, to use a phrase more suited to his character a squire, a race happily almost extinct, who was descended from a worthy family in Nottinghamshire.

For this the German text has simply *einer Edelwäner aus guter Familie*. Again, on page 93 of the April number, the following text is not translated:

doated on the Opera and Pantheon, because there were no two places where people looked so well; and adjoined the Pantheon, not because it was triste, but because it was unbecoming.

The following errors or unusual translations may be noted: rustic temple = ländliche Kirche (p. 188 and elsewhere); languid admiration = trübselige Bewunderung (p. 189); every literary pursuit = alle Wissenschaften (p. 189); robes = Säcke (p. 189); sprightly, playful = sprudelnd, unternehmend (p. 191); flavour = Geruch (p. 192); alarmed = befremdete (p. 91); are the springs which actuate the mind = die Wellen sind, auf denen die Seele daher treibt (p. 92); squireism = Junkersleben (p. 94); effectually murdered sleep = ermordeten im buchstäblichen Sinn ihren Schlaf (p. 92). To this passage the German text alone has the foot-note: Ein Ausdruck aus Shakespeares *Hamlet*. The correct reference, as a matter of fact, is not to *Hamlet*, but to *Macbeth* (II, ii, 35). Such foot-notes are characteristic of Wieland's works, and the dozen years, or more, which had elapsed since the publication of his translation of Shakespeare would make such a slip quite possible. On page 190 the words nach dem Ausdruck eines lezterstorbenen edlen Schriftstellers—ihnen Gratien zu geben, have the foot-note: Milord Chesterfield. This also is not found in the original.

The translator stopped on page 31 of the original, where a new episode begins (*To recount all Maria's timid efforts . . .*) The second half of Part I of the abstract was thus omitted, as were also Parts II-IV, in subsequent numbers of the *Universal Magazine*. Seuffert (*Prolegomena* V, No. 506) is inclined to assign the article to Wieland; "Ein Mitarbeiter hätte doch das Ganze eingeschickt." The two foot-notes, which are undoubtedly the property of the German translator, give additional weight to this ascription, and in general, there is nothing in the style and method of the translation which would argue against Wieland's authorship.

The fourth article in the *Merkur* for Jan. 1786 (Vol. 1, pp. 82-85) is entitled: *Von Peter dem wilden Knaben. Auszug aus dem Kirchenbuch von North-Church, in der Grafschaft Hertford*. This is a literal translation of an account in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for November, 1785 (Vol. 55, pp. 851-853), which has the page-heading: *Authentic Account of Peter the Wild Boy*. An introductory paragraph, signed *Crito*, is not reproduced by the German translator, in its stead there is a foot-note, which may very well be by Wieland himself:

Peter the Wild Boy, of which you inserted Lord Monboddo's account, p. 113, and related his death, p. 236, having been buried in the church-yard of the parish where he resided, he was buried at the expence of Government, a brass plate . . .

Da dieser wilde Peter, von den Vertheidigern des wilden Naturstandes, namentlich von Rousseau, und noch ganz neuerlich von Lord Monboddo, so häufig angeführt worden, so hoffen wir, diese authentische Nachricht von ihm wird unsern Lesern willkommen seyn, um so mehr, da sie manche Behauptungen gedachter Männer widerlegt und berichtigt.

Rousseau is nowhere mentioned in either of the English texts cited. The translation, as a whole, is good. As instances of free, or peculiar rendering may be cited: *his parent = den Eltern* (p. 83); *and left to perish, or shift for himself = seinem guten oder bösen Schicksal allein überlassen worden sey* (p. 83); *proper masters = eigenen Lehrern* (p. 83); *had not the appearance of an idiot = hatte keine Spur von Blödsinn* (p. 84); *hum a tune = eine Melodie dudeln* (p. 84); *beech-mast = Buchmoss* (p. 84); *sturdy and obstinate vagrant = halsstarrigen*

und verhärteten Landläufer (p. 85); brass plate = metallene Platte (p. 85).

Instead of the lengthy inscription which concludes the English article, the translator merely says, again in a footnote: . . . *Innschrift, die das hauptsächlichste von ihm sagt.*

At the end of the February number of the *Merkur* (1786, Vol. 1, pp. 186-192) is an article with the title: *Beyspiele von zwey sehr merkwürdigen Blinden, dem Dr. Moyes und John Metcalf. Aus den Memoirs of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester S. 785.* The February number of the *Gentleman's Magazine* of the same year (Vol. 56, pp. 103 f.) has a similar article: *Anecdotes of Dr. Moyes the blind Philosopher. By Mr. Bew. From the Memoirs of the Literary and Philosophical Society at Manchester.* As the two numbers presumably appeared at the same time, the *Merkur* could hardly depend upon the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and furthermore their common source is indicated. Moreover, the English account lacks the page reference, and is shorter than the German article, ending with the words: *cheerful, and apparently happy* (= *Merkur*, p. 189, l. 26).

A comparison of the two texts shows that the German translator, who signs his name *Sch-rcht*, had only an imperfect knowledge of English. For example, *solar system* = *Sonnenschein* (p. 187); *family devoted to learning* = *Familie . . . die von jeher in dem Rufe stand, den Musen geopfert zu haben* (p. 187); *edged tools* = *jeder Art des Handwerkszeugs* (p. 187); *he . . . constructed a loom* = *verfertigte er einen grossen Vogel* (p. 187), where, of course the translator read *loon*; *acquired his information* = *seine Ideen ordnete* (p. 188); *touch of a straw* = *Berührung einer Säge* (p. 188): here *straw* was read as *saw*.

The translation is usually very free, and at the end of the first paragraph on p. 188 six lines of the English text are omitted (*He determined—conversation*) presumably because the translator was not sure of their meaning.

W. KURRELMEYER.

XL. SHELLEY AND SPAIN

The conjunction of the centenary of Shelley's death with the present interest in things pertaining to Spain and Spanish literature makes opportune an examination of the question: to what extent did Spain interest Shelley? For that this country did interest him will be borne out by even a superficial scanning of the titles in the older editions of his poems, while a perusal of his correspondence will disclose the fact that for at least the last three years of his life Shelley was a devoted student of certain phases of Spain's history and literature.

As early as 1811, during his stay at Keswick, Shelley had opportunity to browse among the many treasures of Southey's large collection of books relating to Spain. However, Mac-Carthy's statement¹ that Shelley at this time knew no Spanish, in part explains his failure to respond to the charm of Spanish thought.

By 1814 Shelley was familiar with Cervantes' *Don Quixote*, for in her *History of a Six Weeks' Tour*² Mary Shelley's journal entry of August 9, 1814 concludes: "At about one we arrived at Grosbois, where under the shade of trees we ate our bread and fruit and drank our wine, thinking of Don Quixote and Sancho." Two years later a translation of *Don Quixote*, presumably that by Jervis (1748) or by Smollett (1752), figures with *Paradise Lost* and the *Faerie Queene* on Shelley's reading list.³

Nothing definite, however, came of this acquaintance with the greatest of Spanish prose writers. It required the touch

¹ D. F. Mac-Carthy: *Shelley's Early Life*, London, 1872, p. 126.

² Percy Bysshe Shelley: *Essays, Letters From Abroad, Translations And Fragments*, ed. Mrs. Shelley, London, 1840, II, pp. 12-13.

³ Charles I. Elton: *An Account of Shelley's Visits to France, Switzerland, and Savoy, in the Years 1814 and 1816 with Extracts from "The History of a Six Weeks' Tour" and "Letters descriptive of a Sail round the Lake of Geneva and of the Glaciers of Chamouni," first published in the year 1817*, London, 1894, pp. 47-48.

of the poet, and especially of the dramatic poet to awaken Shelley's interest. The initial impulse came through Mrs. Maria Gisborne whom he met at Leghorn on May 9, 1818.⁴ She was characterized by Mary as "a lady of great accomplishments . . . charming for her frank and affectionate nature," who "had the most intense love of knowledge, a delicate and trembling sensibility, and preserved freshness of mind after a life of considerable adversity."⁵ As a favorite friend of Mary's father, Godwin, the Shelleys had sought her with eagerness, and a most open and cordial friendship was established between them. At this time she was "the sole attraction of [Leghorn] this most unattractive of cities"⁶ who made "even agreeable"⁷ the Shelleys' unexpected stay of about a month. On June 11, 1818, the Shelleys went to the Baths of Lucca where Shelley employed his time translating Plato's *Symposium* and reading Ariosto with Mary. From the letter written to the Gisbornes from here on July 10, 1818, it appears that at the beginning of their acquaintance the works of the Italian poets had proved to be the principal theme of mutual interest, for no mention is made of anything Spanish.

The following year political events periodically focused Shelley's attention on Spain. In the letter of January 26, 1819, from Naples describing his visit to Pompeii, he tells Thomas Love Peacock:⁸

There are rumors here of a revolution in Spain. A ship came in twelve days from Catalonia, and brought a report that the king was massacred; that eighteen thousand insurgents surrounded Madrid; but that before the popular party gained head enough, seven thousand were murdered by the Inquisition. Perhaps you know all by this time.

⁴ *The Letters of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, ed. Roger Ingpen, London & New York, 1909, II, p. 601, footnote. (Hereafter referred to as *Letters*).

⁵ *Letters*, I, xviii.

⁶ *Ibid.*, II, p. 602.

⁷ *Ibid.*, II, p. 602.

⁸ *Ibid.*, II, p. 667.

In May of 1819, Mary made the following entries in her journal:⁹

Sunday, May 30.—Read Livy, and *Persiles and Sigismunda*. Draw. Spend the evening at Miss Curran's.

Monday, May 31.—Read Livy, and *Persiles and Sigismunda*. Draw. Walk in the evening.

Mary's readings generally followed the lines of Shelley's interests, though not always. He often suggested topics to her and her readings formed the basis of discussions. But evidence is lacking to show whether or not the above mentioned readings of Cervantes' romance were shared by Shelley or in any way discussed with him.

Nothing further is noted until after the death of Shelley's little son William, at Rome June 7, 1819. Three days later, Shelley, Mary and Claire Clairmont left Rome for Leghorn near which the Gisbornes were residing. Claire's journal¹⁰ states that they arrived there June 17, stayed a week, saw the Gisbornes, and removed to Villetta Valsano near Monte Nero, outside Leghorn. In the glazed tower of this residence Shelley wrote *The Cenci*. His first letter from here to Peacock, dated June [?20 or 21], 1819, contains the information:¹¹

The doctor (I put little faith in the best) tells me I must spend the winter in Africa or Spain. I shall of course prefer the latter, if I choose either.

Whether in anticipation of such a stay he undertook a purposeful study of Spanish or whether, in accordance with Medwin's statement,¹² it is to be looked upon as mere

⁹ Mrs. Julian Marshall: *The Life and Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley*, London, 1889, I, p. 241.

¹⁰ Edward Dowden: *The Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, London, 1909, New Edition, p. 427. (Hereafter referred to as Dowden: *New Ed.*)

¹¹ *Letters*, II, p. 695.

¹² H. Buxton Forman: *The Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley*. By Thomas Medwin. A New Edition printed from a copy copiously amended and extended by the Author and left unpublished at his death, Oxford University Press, London et al., 1913, p. 198.

chance that Shelley "was initiated in the beauties of Calderon from the purchase of some odd volumes of his plays, and Autos, which were ever after his constant companions," remains a moot question. The fact is that Shelley began the study of Spanish shortly after his arrival at Villetta Valsano. How soon thereafter it is difficult to say, though it was certainly very soon, for, in the letter dated Leghorn, July 25, 1819, in which he informs his friend Thomas Jefferson Hogg of little William's death, he already speaks of achievement:¹³

Let me recommend you who know Spanish to read some plays of their great dramatic genius Calderon. I have been reading "La Devocion della [sic] Cruz" and the "Purgatorio di [sic] San Patricio," in both of which you will find specimens of the very highest dramatic power—approaching Shakespeare, and in his character. The "Principe Constante" they say is also very fine. We have a house very near the Gisbornes, and it is from Mrs. Gisborne that I learned Spanish enough to read these plays.

So impressed was he by his reading of these dramas that he consciously plagiarized from one of them in the work which he was composing at the time. This first trace of the direct influence of Calderon upon Shelley is the passage in Act III, Scene I of *The Cenci* in which Beatrice describes the chasm appointed for her father's murder. "An idea in this speech," confesses Shelley in the preface of the tragedy, "was suggested by a most sublime passage in 'El Purgatorio de San Patricio' of Calderon, the only plagiarism which I have intentionally committed in the whole piece." The "sublime passage" is found in Jornada II, Scene 19:

No ves ese penasco, que parece
Que se esta sustentando con trabajo,
Y con el ansia misma que padece,
Ha tantos siglos que se viene abajo?
Pues mordaza es que sella y enmudece
El aliento a una boca que debajo
Abierta esta, por donde con pereza
El monte melancolico bosteza.¹⁴

¹³ *Letters*, II, p. 702.

¹⁴ Curiously enough, this metaphor which so impressed Shelley recurs in *Los Dos Amantes del Cielo*, Act I, Scene XV, and again Act II, Scene VII.

Shelley's passage reads:

Two miles on this side of the fort, the road
Crosses a deep ravine; 'tis rough and narrow,
And winds with short turns down the precipice;
And in its deep there is a mighty rock,
Which has, for unimaginable years,
Sustained itself with terror and with toil
Over a gulf, and with the agony
With which it clings seems slowly coming down;
Even as a wretched soul hour after hour
Clings to the mass of life; yet, clinging, leans;
And, leaning, makes more dark the dread abyss
In which it fears to fall: beneath this crag
Huge as despair, as if in weariness,
The melancholy mountain yawns . . .

Comparison of these passages discloses a striking similarity between them and also the fact that the last line of the Spanish is translated literally in the English version.

The Cenci was concluded in early August of 1819.¹⁵ On the 22nd of this month Shelley sent Peacock this daily program from Leghorn:¹⁶

My employments are these: I awaken usually at seven; read half-an-hour; then get up; breakfast; after breakfast ascend *my tower*, and read or write until two. Then we dine. After dinner I read Dante with Mary, gossip a little, eat grapes and figs, sometimes walk, though seldom, and at half-past five pay a visit to Mrs. Gisborne, who reads Spanish with me until near seven.

and added toward the close of the letter:¹⁷

I have been reading Calderon in Spanish. A kind of Shakespeare is this Calderon; and I have some thoughts if I find that I cannot do anything better, of translating some of his plays.

The following month he enjoyed the companionship of still another Spanish enthusiast. On September 21, 1819, he informs Peacock:¹⁸

Charles Clairmont is now with us on his way to Vienna. He has spent a year or more in Spain, where he has learnt Spanish, and I make him read

¹⁵ Dowden: *New Ed.*, p. 432.

¹⁶ *Letters*, II, p. 708.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, II, p. 708.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, II, p. 719.

Spanish all day long. It is a most powerful and expressive language, and I have already learnt sufficient to read with great ease their poet Calderon. I have read about twelve of his plays. Some of them certainly deserve to be ranked among the grandest and most perfect productions of the human mind. He exceeds all modern dramatists, with the exception of Shakespeare, whom he resembles, however, in the depth of thought and subtlety of imagination of his writings, and in the rare power of interweaving delicate and powerful comic traits with the most tragical situations, without diminishing their interest. I rate him far above Beaumont and Fletcher.

It was under the spell of this visit of Clairmont's and of his accounts of the conditions in Spain that the political vein responsible for *The Mask of Anarchy* and *Peter Bell the Third*, was tapped in Spain's behalf. For Shelley, Ferdinand VII's reactionary policy, restoring absolutism, and the heartless persecutions resulting from the efforts of this monarch to crush every form of liberalism, were evils which had to be overcome at any price. His intense hatred of political tyranny with its attendant love of liberty was poured forth in the ode beginning:

Arise, arise, arise!
There is blood on the earth that denies ye bread;
Be your wounds like eyes
To weep for the dead, the dead, the dead.

which was first published in 1820 in the volume with *Prometheus Unbound* under the title *An Ode Written October 1819, before the Spaniards had recovered their Liberty*. In the modern editions this poem bears the more general title *An Ode: To the Assertors of Liberty* which does not reveal so clearly the source of its inspiration. Its intent, according to Mrs. Shelley's note¹⁹ was "to adorn the cause he loved with loftier poetry of glory and triumph."

To the Gisbornes he accounted for this political digression in the following concluding paragraph of the letter dated Florence, November 6, 1819:²⁰

¹⁹ *Poetical Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, ed. Edward Dowden, New York & Boston, [1893], p. 531.

²⁰ *Letters*, II, p. 746.

How goes on Portuguese—and Theocritus? I have deserted the odorous gardens of literature, to journey across the great sandy desert of politics; not, as you may imagine, without the hope of finding some enchanted paradise. In all probability, I shall be overwhelmed by one of the tempestuous columns which are forever traversing, with the speed of a storm, and the confusion of a chaos, the pathless wilderness. You meanwhile will be lamenting in some happy oasis that I do not return. This is out-Calderonizing Muley.

thus incidentally giving humorously his impression of General Muley's endless speeches in *El Principe Constante*.

A few days later Clairmont left him "not without many lamentations, as all true lovers pay on such occasions," as Shelley informed Mrs. Gisborne's son, Henry Reveley, November 17,²¹ and he continued his studies in Calderon alone. The recountal of this independent trial of his powers completely filled his letter of November 16, 1819, from Florence to Mrs. Gisborne:²²

Madonna,

I have been lately voyaging in a sea without my pilot, and although my sail has often been torn, my boat become leaky, and the log lost, I have yet sailed in a kind of way from island to island; some of craggy and mountainous magnificence, some clothed with moss and flowers, and radiant with fountains, some barren deserts. *I have been reading Calderon without you.* I have read the "Cisma de Ingalaterra," the "Cabellos de Absolom," and three or four others. These pieces, inferior to those we read, at least to the "Principe Constante," in the splendour of particular passages, are perhaps superior in their satisfying completeness. The "Cabellos de Absolom" is full of the deepest and tenderest touches of nature. Nothing can be more pathetically conceived than the character of old David, and the tender and impartial love, overcoming all insults and all crimes, with which he regards his conflicting and disobedient sons. The incest scene of Amnon and Tamar is perfectly tremendous. Well may Calderon say in the person of the former:—

Si sangre sin fuego hier[v]e,²³
que fara sangre con fuego?

Incest is, like many other incorrect things, a very poetical circumstance. It may be the excess of love or hate. It may be the defiance of everything

²¹ *Ibid.*, II, p. 752.

²² *Ibid.*, II, pp. 749-50.

²³ The omission of the v was doubtless inadvertent on Shelley's part. His orthography has been preserved in all quotations.

for the sake of another, which clothes itself in the glory of the highest heroism; it may be that cynical rage which, confounding the good and the bad in existing opinions, breaks through them for the purpose of rioting in selfishness and antipathy. Calderon, following the Jewish historians, has represented Amnon's action in the basest point of view—he is a prejudiced savage, acting what he abhors, and abhorring that which is the unwilling party to his crime.

Adieu. Madonna, yours truly,

P. B. S.

I transcribe you a passage from the "Cisma de Ingalaterra"—spoken by "Carlos, Embaxador de Francia, enamorado de Ana Bolena." Is there anything in Petrarch finer than the second stanza?

Porque apenas el Sol se coronaba
de nueva luz en la estacion primera,
quando yo en sus umbrales adoraba
segundo Sol en abreviada esfera;
la noche apenas tremula baxaba,
a solos mis deseos lisonjera,
quando un jardin, republica de flores,
era tercero fiel de mis amores.

Alli, el silencio de la noche fria,
el jazmin, que en las redes se enlazava,
el cristal de la fuente que corria,
el arroyo que a solas murmurava,
El viento que en las hojas se movia,
el Aura que en las flores respirava;
todo era amor'; que mucho, si en tal calma
aves, fuentes, y flores tienen alma!

No has visto providente y officiosa,
mover el ayre iluminada aveja,
que hasta beber la purpura a la rosa
ya se acerca cobarde, y ya se alexa?
No has visto enamorada mariposa,
dar cercos a la luz, hasta que dexa,
en monumento facil abrasadas
las alas de color tornasoladas?

Assi mi amor, cobarde muchos dias,
tornos hizo a la rosa y a la llama;
temor che ha sido entre cenizas frias,
tantas vezes llorado de quien ama;
pero el amor, que vence con porfias,

y la ocasion, que con disculpas llama,
me animaron, y aveja y mariposa
queme las alas, y llegue a la rosa.²⁴

The growing fascination the dramas exerted upon Shelley is shown by the following extract from a letter written to Leigh Hunt from Florence during November, upon learning that the latter was translating Tasso's *Aminia*.²⁵

With respect to translation, even I will not be seduced by it; although the Greek plays, and some of the ideal dramas of Calderon (with which I have lately, and with inexpressible wonder and delight, become acquainted) are perpetually tempting me to throw over their perfect and glowing forms the gray veil of my own words.

During December Mary was drawn into Shelley's Spanish readings, as the following statement in her letter of December 15, 1819, to Mrs. Gisborne shows:²⁶

I have begun reading with Shelley the "Conquista de Mexico" by Solis. In another extract²⁷ she informs the same correspondent that "Shelley Calderonized on the late weather; he called

²⁴ In 1820 Medwin made the following translation of the last two stanzas with aid from Shelley. The latter's contribution is displayed in italics:

Hast thou not seen, officious with delight,
Move thro' the illuminated air about the flower
The bee, that fears to drink its purple light,
Lest danger lurk within that rose's bower?
Hast thou not marked the moth's enamoured flight
About the taper's flame at evening hour,
Till kindle in that monumental fire
His sunflower wings their own funereal pyre?
My heart, its wishes trembling to unfold,
Thus round the rose and taper hovering came;
And Passion's slave, Distrust, in ashes cold
Smothered awhile, but could not quench the flame;
Till Love, that grows by disappointment bold,
And Opportunity, had conquered Shame,—
And like the bee and moth, in act to close,
I burnt my wings, and settled on the rose.

²⁵ *Letters*, II, p. 755.

²⁶ *Shelley Memorials: From Authentic Sources*, ed. Lady Shelley, London, 1859, p. 129.

²⁷ Marshall: *op. cit.*, I, p. 263.

it an epic of rain with an episode of frost, and a few similes concerning fine weather."

With the beginning of the new year the march of events in Spain took a turn which was to gladden the hearts of all the young liberals of Shelley's type. Colonel Rafael de Riego's revolt at Cadiz on January 1, 1820, and his proclamation of the liberal constitution of 1812, set an example that was followed late in February in all the larger cities of northern Spain. Ferdinand VII was forced to capitulate in favor of the liberals and the revolution seemed to have triumphed. In March these tidings reached the Shelleys at Pisa. They were enraptured. Mary's letter of the 26th to Mrs. Gisborne fairly pulsates with their keen satisfaction:²⁸

I suppose that you have heard the news—that the beloved Ferdinand has proclaimed the Constitution of 1812, and called the Cortes. The Inquisition is abolished, the dungeons opened, and the patriots pouring out. That is good. I should like to be in Madrid now.

This dawn of political freedom was at once hymned by Shelley in the *Ode to Liberty*. He put all his own exultation into its forcible beginning:

A glorious people vibrated again
The lightning of the nations: Liberty
From heart to heart, from tower to tower, o'er Spain,
Scattering contagious fire into the sky,
Gleamed.

and in this gleam Shelley thought he foresaw Spain beckoning England to join the ranks of the liberated powers:

England yet sleeps: was she not called of old?
Spain calls her now, as with its thrilling thunder
Vesuvius wakens Ætna, and the cold
Snow-crag's by its reply are cloven in sunder:
O'er the lit waves every Æolian isle
From Pithecusa to Pelorus
Howls, and leaps, and glares in chorus:
They cry, Be dim; ye lamps of heaven suspended o'er us.
Her chains are threads of gold, she need but smile
And they dissolve; but Spain's were links of steel,

²⁸ Dowden: *New Ed.*, p. 461.

Till bit to dust by virtue's keenest file.
 Twins of a single destiny! appeal
 To the eternal years enthroned before us,
 In the dim West; impress us from a seal.
 All ye have thought and done! Time cannot dare conceal.

Shelley recurred to the theme of liberation in the allusion to

. . . Lamp-like Spain, who now relumes her fire
 On Freedom's hearth, . . .

in his poetical *Letter to Maria Gisborne* composed in her own house at Leghorn, July 1, 1820. Picturing himself "some weird Archimage" engaged with the perplexing problems of steamboat designing, he roused anew

Out of the forest of the spotless past
 the "recollected pleasures" of their former study of Spanish,

The language of a land which now is free,
 And winged with thoughts of truth and majesty,
 Flits round the tyrant's sceptre like a cloud,
 And bursts the peopled prisons, and cries aloud,
 "My name is Legion!"—that majestic tongue
 Which Calderon over the desert flung
 Of ages and of nations; and which found
 An echo in our hearts, and with the sound
 Startled oblivion;—thou wert then to me
 As is a nurse—when inarticulately
 A child would talk as its grown parents do.

On July 2, 1820, the day after the above was penned, the Spanish revolution was reflected in the military insurrection at Naples. King Ferdinand I was forced to concede to the demand of the revolutionists for the Spanish Constitution of 1812, and again the cause of liberalism seemed to be taking a long step forward. Shelley watched these new developments with the most intense interest, looking "upon the struggles in Spain and Italy as decisive of the world, probably for centuries to come."²⁹ He was inspired by them to compose, between the 17th and 25th of August, his *Ode to*

²⁹ *Poetical Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley, cit.*, p. 455.

Naples in which he again recalled Spain's example in the question:

Durst thou not start to hear Spain's thrilling poems
From land to land re-echoed solemnly,
Till silence became music?

For the next few months Shelley's interests were mainly divided between the progress of political affairs and Revalley's experiment of constructing a steamboat to ply between Leghorn, Genoa, and Marseilles. But with the return of autumn he again resumed his readings, and in November (probably 8th) he wrote Peacock from Pisa:³⁰

I have been reading nothing but Greek and Spanish. Plato and Calderon have been my gods.

About the same time he informed John Gisborne:³¹

I am bathing myself in the light and odour of the flowery and starry "Autos." I have read them all more than once.

adding as postscript: "I have a new Calderon coming from Paris."³²

On November 11th in writing to Marianne Hunt³³ he follows his inquiry "Where is Keats now?" with the resolve: "I intend to be the physician both of his body and his soul, to keep the one warm, and to teach the other Greek and Spanish."

Before the end of the month in which he made these promises he had an opportunity to carry them out, though Keats was not the patient. It was at this time that Shelley's cousin, Thomas Medwin, a retired captain, who had returned with him from Florence on October 22, 1820, and who had been sharing his house on the Long Arno, fell seriously ill. For six weeks Shelley waited upon him assiduously. Medwin himself relates³⁴ that he had studied Spanish during his

³⁰ *Letters*, II, p. 831.

³¹ *Ibid.*, II, p. 833.

³² *Ibid.*, II, p. 834.

³³ *Ibid.*, II, p. 839.

³⁴ Forman: *op. cit.*, p. 243.

military service in India from a Spanish translation of Le-Sage's *Gil Blas* and that he and Shelley now "luxuriated" together during his convalescence in Calderon's *Autos* which, he claims, had been "found by Shelley accidentally in an old book-stall at Leghorn."³⁵ They also read the *Cisma de Inglaterra* and "Cervantes' *Little Novels* in two volumes, which he [Shelley] deemed very inferior and slight, and totally unworthy of the great genius."³⁶

Mary's journal entries of this period³⁷ are also enlightening as to the effect of Shelley's interest in Spanish upon the other members of the household:

Tuesday, November 14.—Write. Read Homer, Targione, and Spanish. A rainy day. Shelley reads Calderon.

Thursday, November 23.—Write. Read Greek and Spanish. Medwin ill. Play at chess.

Friday, November 24.—Read Greek; Villani; and Spanish with Medwin. Pacchiani in the evening. A rainy and cloudy day.

Friday, December 1.—Read Greek, *Don Quixote*, Calderon and Villani. Pacchiani comes in the evening. Visit La Viviani. Walk. Sgricci is introduced. Go to a funzione on the death of a student.

Saturday, December 2.—Write an Italian letter to Hunt. Read Oedipus, *Don Quixote*, and Calderon. Pacchiani and a Greek prince call. Prince Mavrocordato.

Sunday, December 3.—Read Greek, Calderon, and *Don Quixote* . . .

Saturday, December 9.—Read Greek, and Spanish with Emilia Viviani in the evening.

Monday, December 11.—Read Greek, Spanish and Calderon . . .

In 1821 there is found first in Shelley's letters, a passing mention to Claire Clairmont, February 18,³⁸ of the uprising of the French and Spaniards, and four days later, February 22, the request to Charles Ollier to send him "a history of

³⁵ The quotation continues: "It was the quarto Edition, which formed one of the gems in Tieck's Catalogue, an edition of great rarity and value. It was not a perfect work but consisting of several odd volumes, which it may be remarked was the case with Tieck's . . ."

³⁶ Forman: *op. cit.*, p. 256.

³⁷ Edward Dowden: *The Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, London, 1886, II, p. 359 and Marshall: *op. cit.*, I, p. 272.

³⁸ *Letters*, II, p. 854.

the late war in Spain; I think one has been written by Southey,³⁹ Major Somebody's account of the siege of Zaragoza; it is a little pamphlet."⁴⁰

In the prose essay, *A Defence of Poetry*, which engaged his attention during the months of February and March, his study of Calderon's *autos* was echoed in the following explanation of their purpose and shortcomings:⁴¹

Calderon, in his religious Autos, has attempted to fulfil some of the high conditions of dramatic representation neglected by Shakespeare; such as the establishing a relation between the drama and religion, and the accommodating them to music and dancing; but he omits the observation of conditions still more important, and more is lost than gained by the substitution of the rigidly-defined and ever-repeated idealisms of a distorted superstition for the living impersonations of the truth of human passions.

He also includes Calderon among the poets whose works have given humanity a higher conception of love.⁴²

At successive intervals, Ariosto, Tasso, Shakespeare, Spenser, Calderon, Rousseau, and the great writers of our own age, have celebrated the dominion of love, planting as it were trophies in the human mind of that sublimest victory over sensuality and force.

In April (19th) his short note to Henry Reveley displayed two main currents of interest: boating and Spanish. But of the latter he had for the moment stopped drifting down the familiar stream to explore a less known course. For Calderon he had substituted a trial of the dramatic art of Cervantes.⁴³

³⁹ Southey's *History of the Peninsular War* was not published until 1823-32.

⁴⁰ *Letters*, II, p. 857. Adolf Droop: *Die Belesenheit Percy Bysshe Shelley's nach den direkten Zeugnissen und den bisherigen Forschungen*, Jena Diss., Weimar, 1906, p. 115, suggests that the pamphlet requested by Shelley may have been either of the following: Charles Richard Vaughan: *Narrative of the Siege of Zaragoza*, 1809; William Buy: *Narrative of the second Siege of Zaragoza from the Spanish*, 1809.

⁴¹ Shelley: *A Defence of Poetry*, ed. Albert S. Cook, Boston, 1890, p. 17.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 29.

⁴³ *Letters*, II, p. 866.

Tell Mr. and Mrs. Gisborne that I have read the "Numancia," and after wading through the singular stupidity of the first act, began to be greatly delighted, and, at length, interested in a very high degree, by the power of the writer in awakening pity and admiration, in which I hardly know by whom he is excelled. There is little, I allow, in a strict sense, to be called *poetry* in this play; but the command of language, and the harmony of versification, is so great as to deceive one into an idea that it is poetry.

The new Calderon whose coming from Paris he had so exultantly heralded to John Gisborne in a postscript during November of 1820, was not forthcoming. The Gisbornes promised to supply the lack by forwarding the coveted books from Paris, but then either forgot the commission or were prevented from executing it by the shortness of their stay. At length Shelley grew impatient and on September 14, 1821, directed this request to Horace Smith.⁴⁴

The Gisbornes promised to buy me some books in Paris, and I had asked you to be kind enough to advance them what they might want to pay for them. I cannot conceive why they did not execute this little commission for me, as they knew how very much I wished to receive these books by the same conveyance as the filtering-stone. Dare I ask you to do me the favour to buy them? A complete edition of the works of Calderon, and the French translation of Kant, a German Faust, and to add the "Nympholept?"

To prevent a possible duplication he wrote John Gisborne, October 22, 1821, cancelling the former request for new books and asking instead help in shipping his old ones.⁴⁵

If you can assist Peacock in sending them [his books] to Leghorn, you would do me an especial favour; but do not buy me Calderon, Faust, or Kant, as H[orace] S[mith] promises to send them me from Paris, where I suppose you had not time to procure them.

Yet on the last day of the year he reiterated his wish for a Calderon to Claire Clairmont:⁴⁶

Should you take it into your head to call on Molini for me, let not Calderon having been sent for be an objection—I want a Calderon.

⁴⁴ *Letters*, II, pp. 912-13.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, II, pp. 919-20.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, II, p. 927.

This request seems to have been gratified, for he opened his letter of January 25, 1822 to Horace Smith with the statement:⁴⁷

I have delayed this fortnight answering your kind letter because I was in treaty for a Calderon, which at last I have succeeded in procuring at a tolerably moderate price

In Shelley's poetical works of the year 1821 the only reflection of Spain or things Spanish is the following scant allusion in *Hellas*,⁴⁸ written during the autumn months:

From the West swift Freedom came,
Through clouds its shafts of glory rain
From utmost Germany to Spain.

The opening winter and early spring weeks of 1822 found Shelley lacking in courage and enthusiasm to undertake any great poetical enterprises.⁴⁹ In this frame of mind he at length yielded to the temptation he had sought to resist since his first acquaintance with the works of Calderon⁵⁰ and occupied himself with making translations from the Homeric poems, from Goethe's *Faust*, and from Calderon's *Mágico Prodigioso*. He was engaged upon the latter when Trelawny arrived at Pisa January 14, 1822.⁵¹ His descrip-

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, II, p. 932.

⁴⁸ Of this work Medwin's assertion (Forman: *op. cit.*, p. 353.) that "The opening Chorus of *Hellas* is taken from the *Principe Constante* of Calderon, as Shelley pointed out to me; and the drama [is] an imitation of the Persians of Aeschylus" implies a greater indebtedness on Shelley's part to Calderon than is borne out by the facts of the case. These are that the *Principe Constante* opens with the stage directions: "Jardin del rey de Fez. Cautivos, que salen cantando" though there is no actual opening chorus in the sense of Shelley's *Chorus of Greek Captive Women*. Moreover, the song which the Spanish captives sing at Zara's behest comes at the end of the first scene and not at its beginning.

⁴⁹ Dowden: *New Ed.*, p. 526.

⁵⁰ Cf. letter of August 22, 1819 to Peacock and that of November of the same year to Hunt, pp. 891 and 895 *ante*.

⁵¹ Marshall: *op. cit.*, I, p. 319.

tion⁵² of his first meeting with Shelley at the Williams' and of his own astonishment at finding such a slip of a youth, is well known.

Mrs. Williams saw my embarrassment, and to relieve me asked Shelley what book he had in his hand. His face brightened, and he answered briskly—

"Calderon's 'Magico Prodigioso.' I am translating some passages of it."

"Oh, read it to us!"

Shoved off from the shore of commonplace incidents that could not interest him, and fairly launched on a theme that did, he instantly became oblivious of everything but the book in his hand. The masterly manner in which he analysed the genius of the author, his lucid interpretation of the story, and the ease with which he translated into our language the most subtle and imaginative passages of the Spanish poet, were marvellous, as was his command of the two languages.

About this time Shelley was also endeavoring to make progress with the fragments of his historical drama *Charles the First*.⁵³ For one character of this he was indebted to Calderon if the following statements⁵⁴ by Medwin be true:

Shelley was much struck with the characteristic Fool, who plays a part in it [*La Cisma de Inglaterra*], and deals in fables, but more so with the octave stanzas (a strange metre in a drama, to choose,) spoken by Carlos, Enamorado di [*sic*] Anna [*sic*] Bolena, whom he had met at Paris, during her father's embassy.⁵⁵

Shelley meant to have made the last of kings' fools, Archy, a more than subordinate among his dramatis personae, as Calderon has done in his *Cisma d' [*sic*] Inglaterra*, a fool *sui generis*, who talks in fable, "weaving a world of mirth out of the wreck of all around."

In March Shelley was still engaged upon his translations from the *Mágico Prodigioso* as is attested by these concluding words of one of Williams' journal entries:⁵⁶

⁵² Edward John Trelawny: *Recollections of the Last Days of Shelley and Byron*, London, 1858, pp. 13-14.

⁵³ Dowden: *New Ed.*, p. 526.

⁵⁴ Forman: *op. cit.*, pp. 244 and 343.

⁵⁵ The quotation continues: "So much did Shelley admire these stanzas, that he copied them out into one of his letters to Mrs. Gisborne" and refers to the verses appearing in the letter quoted on pp. 893-95 *ante*.

⁵⁶ *Journal of Edward Ellerker Williams, Companion of Shelley and Byron in 1821 and 1822*, ed. Richard Garnett, London, 1902, p. 41.

Wednesday, March 20th. 1822. . . Walked with Shelley along the banks of the Arno. Took our writing materials, and while Shelley translated Calderon's "Cyprian" I wrote some revisions.

The reference to *Cyprian* would indicate that Shelley was probably working upon Act I, Scene II.

Along with these other activities went his reading of Goethe's *Faust*. How its effect was deepening upon him is evident from this letter of April 10, 1822 to John Gisborne:⁶⁷

I have been reading over and over again "Faust," and always with sensations which no other composition excites. It deepens the gloom and augments the rapidity of ideas, and would therefore seem to me an unfit study for any person who is a prey to the reproaches of memory, and the delusions of an imagination not to be restrained. . .

and he was drawn to make a comparison with Calderon's masterpiece.⁶⁸

Have you read Calderon's "Magico Prodigioso?" I find a striking similarity between "Faust" and this drama, and if I were to acknowledge Coleridge's distinction, should say Goëthe [*sic*] was the *greatest* philosopher, and Calderon the *greatest* poet. "Cyprian" evidently furnished the germ of "Faust," as "Faust" may furnish the germ of other poems; although it is as different from it in structure and plan as the acorn from the oak. I have—imagine my presumption—translated several scenes from both, as the basis of a paper for your journal. I am well content with those from Calderon, which in fact gave me very little trouble; but those from "Faust"—I feel how imperfect a representation, even with all the licence I assume to figure to myself how Goëthe [*sic*] would have written in English, my words convey. No one but Coleridge is capable of this work.

Shelley's interest in Calderon remained unabated until the very end. During his stay at Lerici and on his sailing trips he kept up the readings he had begun three full years before. Either because with each new acquisition he felt it incumbent upon him to report progress to the Gisbornes, or because the glories of his surroundings recalled their pleasant days together at Leghorn while he was gaining his first insight into the beauties of Spanish, Shelley kept these

⁶⁷ *Letters*, II, p. 953.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, II, p. 954.

friends informed of his latest acquirements. The last which he was to report, were sent to John Gisborne on June 18, 1822.⁵⁹

I have read several more of the plays of Calderon. "Los Dos Amantes del Cielo," is the finest, if I except one scene in the "Devocion de la Cruz."

To these readings during Shelley's fatigued condition resulting from the strain of Mary's illness at this time, are attributed the horrible dreams and visions to which he was subject shortly before his death.⁶⁰

The last record of Shelley's *españolismo* is contained in a single sentence in the letter he sent Horace Smith on June 29, 1822, two days before leaving Lerici never to return:

I still inhabit this divine bay, reading Spanish dramas, and sailing, and listening to the most enchanting music.⁶¹

The first clause forms an eternal epitaph for Shelley's spirit. The Gulf of Spezzia and the name of Shelley live down the ages together.

E. HERMAN HESPELT.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, II, pp. 977-78.

⁶⁰ Three differing versions of a dream or nightmare are given by Mary Shelley (Dowden: *New Ed.*, pp. 560-61), by Medwin (Forman: *op. cit.*, p. 405), and by Lady Shelley (*Op. cit.*, pp. 191-92). The latter two state specifically that the suggestion came from a drama of Calderon's. Medwin even gives as the title *El Encapulado*. This is presumably the source of the conjecture made by the editor of the Albion edition of Shelley's works (quoted by Droop: *op. cit.*, p. 158) where the title has become *El embozado o el encapulado*.

In the latest work to appear in this connection (Salvador De Madariaga: *Shelley and Calderon and Other Essays on English and Spanish Poetry*, New York, [1921], p. 46) the author suggests that the basis of Shelley's dream may have been the incident of Act III, Scene XIII of *El Mágico Prodigioso*. [This excellent work appeared after all the material for this paper had been assembled.]

All of the above suggestions seem to be far afield in view of the quotation from the letter of June 18, 1822. In both of the plays there mentioned there are situations which could be made to serve as well as any heretofore proposed for such an intangibility as a suggestion for a dream.

⁶¹ *Letters*, II, p. 984.

XLI. WALTER SAVAGE LANDOR AS A CRITIC OF LITERATURE

As a critic of literature Walter Savage Landor had ideals but few principles. Such a statement is not another paradox in the life of the old lion. It means simply that we look in vain in Landor's numerous judgments on literature for a method or a body of criteria. He never formulated a system, like Coleridge; or standards, like Arnold; nor even consistent prejudices, like Carlyle. The evolution of English criticism between Dryden and Coleridge he disregarded, as indeed he seemed to disregard all consecutive philosophical thought. He did not look into the new worlds of psychological and social criticism. He was not interested in the relations of things, but rather in the things themselves. Such statements are never truer of Landor than when he studies a piece of literature, or a writer. As a critic he never saw literature in perspective—so marvellously increased in his own day—but as something directly before him,—foreshortened. Thus he judged Pindar and Wordsworth each *per se*; one would think he was a contemporary of both. In all his criticisms we cannot find a body of guiding principles. Personal ideals are the determinants. It need scarcely be added that these are austere and high.

The few scattered principles which Landor himself expressed are less peculiar to literature than to common sense: the critic should be just; he should be learned; and, like the poet, he should write not for the many, but for the few and the discerning. This is practically all. The allusions to critics and criticism in the *Imaginary Conversations*, the *Pentameron*, and *Pericles and Aspasia* amount to this only. Such "principles" are obvious, but Landor states them nobly, and as no one else could. Thus of justice in criticism: "The critic walks in a garden which is not his own; and he neither must gather the blossoms to embellish his discourse, nor break the branches to display his strength. Rather

let him point to what is out of order, and help to raise what is lying on the ground."¹ Or of knowledge this, with its grave irony: "I would seriously recommend to the employer of our critics, young and old, that he oblige them to pursue a course of study such as this: that under the superintendence of some respectable student from the university, they first read and examine the contents of the book; a thing generally more useful in criticism than is generally thought; secondly, that they carefully write them down, number them, and range them under their several heads; thirdly that they mark every beautiful, every faulty, every ambiguous, every uncommon expression. Which being completed, that they inquire what author, ancient or modern, has treated the same subject, first in smaller, afterward in larger portions, noting every defect in precision and its causes, every excellence and its nature; that they graduate these, fixing *plus* and *minus*, and designating them more accurately and discriminately by means of colours, stronger or paler. For instance, purple might express grandeur and majesty of thought; scarlet vigour of expression; pink, liveliness; green, elegant and equable composition."²

The passage suggests Landor's thoroughness in his verbal and textual criticisms, and also his contempt for the casual critic. Landor lived through the days of the Quarterlies, that period of sword-and-buckler criticism. His own works were sadly cut to pieces. *Southey and Porson* was partly an outlet for his rage against the swarm of flies that were busy with him, with Southey, and with Wordsworth. But, apart from his own wounds, it was natural for one who was

¹ *The Works of Walter Savage Landor*, London 1846, II, 320. *The Pentameron*.

² *The Works of Walter Savage Landor*, I, 11. *Southey and Porson*. Some of Landor's comments on theories of poetry may be found in *ibid.*, I, 9, 13, 19, 81, 83, 90, 99 and II, 310, 314, 323, 368, 375, 409; and in Forster, *Walter Savage Landor*, p. 570. On rhyme, *The Works of Walter Savage Landor*, I, 96, 103; on style, *ibid.*, I, 16, 151ff; on criticism, *ibid.*, II, 320; on epic poetry, *ibid.*, I, 59-60; Forster, *Walter Savage Landor*, p. 519; on the sonnet, *The Works of Walter Savage Landor*, I, 70-74; on metres, Forster, *Walter Savage Landor*, p. 380.

beyond the arrows, views, and shouts of men to have the same attitude towards criticism as towards poetry. Criticism, like poetry, to be worth anything should be for the best, and, consequently unintelligible to the common rout of men. "He writes," says Mrs. Browning, "criticism for critics and poetry for poets."³ There are "we critics who write for the learned" and "our younger brothers who write for the public."⁴ Landor says he will not mention "the refuse of the literary world, the sweeping of booksellers' shops, the dust thrown up by them in a corner to blow by pinches on new publications; not to tread upon or disturb this filth."⁵ What he says of poetry he feels to be true of criticism: good criticism, "like good music, pleases most people, but the ignorant and the inexpert lose half its pleasures, the invidious lose them all. What a paradise lost is here!"⁶

This is the great Achilles whom we knew. This is Lawrence Boythorn. He is as scornful in his theories of criticism as in his manner towards chefs or Italian magistrates. "By the grace of God, Walter Savage Landor"; none other! His literary criticisms are characteristic offshoots of his unique aims in literature. He tried, as everyone knows, to present concepts of the intellect or of the soul unadorned, in white light. His poems are like fragments of beautifully chiselled marble; not reproductions in the manner of the Greeks, but by a miracle, original creations done in the spirit of Greece. The medium is English, severe, self-sustained, integral. The means to this end was an erudition without parallel among nineteenth century poets. This type of creative art was Landor's goal; from it he never swerved. And it is not too much to say that in many instances his literary judgments may be referred to it. From his lofty and somewhat strange ideals come his wayward opinions in criticism.

³ *The Contemporary Review*, XXIII, 809. Letter to R. H. Horne.

⁴ *The Works of Walter Savage Landor*, I, 11. *Southey and Porson*.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 11. *Southey and Porson*.

⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 323. *The Pentameron*.

Wayward in form as in substance, Landor did not write critical essays.⁷ In no writer of the nineteenth century may be found so many critical judgments on writers without the accompanying formal essay. His really memorable opinions float about in letters and diaries, and in the notes and journals of pilgrims to Fiesole. A small anthology might be made of his notions on Byron, Shelley, or the ancients. The bulk of his literary criticism may be found in the *Imaginary Conversations*. In his letters Landor protests again and again that the opinions of these characters cannot be regarded as his own. The reader, however, vetoes this pretension. Their creator is a rather awkward Proteus; under the disguises we detect the well-known features of W. S. Landor. The reader is justified in taking the literary criticism to be Landor's though it happens to come from the lips of Petrarch or Porson. If we examine the *Conversations* minutely (which it has been my misfortune to do) we encounter everywhere brilliant epigrams on literature. Even in the political and religious subjects Landor is never very far from literary themes. His enormous knowledge of the classics must not make us, by comparison, undervalue his acquaintance with other literatures. He read less than Carlyle, and remembered less than Macaulay, but his reading was wide, and often, as in his study of Milton, concentrated. Aside from chance references, the substance of Landor's criticism is in those dialogues which he himself classified as "Conversations of Literary Men." These are reflective; there is little need to consider the circumstances or action, as in the historical conversations; and if the names of the speakers are mentally deleted, there remains in effect literary criticism. To these the reader should turn to estimate Landor as a critic of literature; to *Southey and Porson* (both conversations), *The Abbe Delille and Walter Landor*, *Landor, English Visiter* [sic] and *Florentine Visiter*, *Boccaccio and Petrarch*, *Archdeacon Hare and Walter Landor*; and to others

⁷ Exceptions are the papers on Theocritus, Catullus, and a few other minor pieces.

similar in character. Nor must we forget, as we consider where Landor's criticism occurs, his unusual amount of critical verse. Some of this is doggerel, like the invitation to Tennyson; some is humorous epigram, as in the fugitive lines to Dickens; and some is in Landor's noblest mood, as in the lines to Browning. Altogether this verse totals hundreds of lines, and cannot be neglected in an estimate of Landor's critical opinions.⁸

If all such fragments were placed within the bounds of a single volume, the main characteristics of Landor as a critic would be nearly as obvious as his characteristics as a man. The first of these was a tendency to eccentric enthusiasms. Landor's judgments were arbitrary. He had, as has been indicated, no set of critical principles, and his criticism was at the mercy of high but eccentric ideals. His opinions were not based wholly on intellectual conviction, nor on emotion, but sometimes on the former, sometimes on the latter. Thus Landor praised Milton because of Milton's lofty intellectual ideals for poetry; he worshipped Southey chiefly because, I believe, he loved the man. His whimsical preferences amaze us most in accounts of his conversation. Henry Crabb Robinson relates (the exclamations are his own) how Landor maintained: "Blake is the greatest of poets; . . . Milnes the greatest poet living in England; Scott's *Marmion* is superior to all that Byron and Wordsworth have written, and the description of the battle better than anything in Homer! !!"⁹ Caroline Fox tells of a conversation with Archdeacon Hare in which Landor said: "The only well-drawn figure in existence, is a female by Overbeck in his picture of 'Children Brought to Christ.' Milton wrote one good line, but he forgot it; Dante perhaps

⁸ Among the writers on whom, at one time or another, Landor comments in verse are the following: Chaucer, Shakespeare, Cowley, Pope, Goldsmith, Gray, Gibbon, Defoe, Southey, Miss Mitford, Tennyson, Mathias, Gifford, Byron, Ebenezer Elliott, William Bailey, Shelley, Robert Landor, Aubrey de Vere, Macaulay, Dickens, Wordsworth, G. P. R. James, Barry Cornwall, Browning, Thackeray, Jeffrey, Dante, Hugo.

⁹ *Diary*, I, 484.

six, his description of Francesca; Carlyle's 'French Revolution' a wicked book, he had worn out one volume in tossing it on the floor at startling passages."¹⁰

Landor was inclined to place Boccaccio¹¹ above Dante. Spenser he declared repeatedly a bore: "Did anyone," he asks, "ever read the 'Faery Queen' a single hour at a sitting, without stretching his legs out and his arms up, and the *ore rotundo* of a gape, silent or sonorous?"¹² Landor and Macaulay, almost alone among poets, can speak so of Spenser. But Landor's regard for the poetry of his friend Southey is the best instance of his critical aberrations. Southey is entitled to some esteem even now. Perhaps Byron's famous query, "Who is Southey?" cannot be justly echoed to-day. He has his place in the Palace of Art as well—alas!—as in the House of Sleep. Southey is dignified, if dull; and has won a respectable place in the history of literature. But that he is the arch-priest of poetry, we can hardly admit, and this Landor will not have otherwise. "In his 'Kehama,' " he says, "he has sown more imagination and invention than any other poet in the present or last century."¹³ And again he says that *Thalaba*, *The Curse of Kehama*, and *Roderick* are greater than any three poems written by Wordsworth.¹⁴

As we look further into our imaginary edition of Landor's criticism we see how characteristic these sweeping judgments are. Their fault is that they are unsupported by critical analysis. Landor uses the critic's *faute de mieux*,—comparison and contrast. Like Macaulay he loves to classify writers. He compares Ovid to Virgil, and Spenser to Chaucer. The following is typical of this method: "Scott superseded Wordsworth, and Byron superseded Scott. . . . Scott had a wider range than either, and excelled in more

¹⁰ *Memoirs of Old Friends*, p. 267.

¹¹ See the opening pages of the *Pentameron*.

¹² *Letters and Other Unpublished Writings of Walter Savage Landor*, ed. Stephen Wheeler, p. 60.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

¹⁴ *Letters and Other Unpublished Writings of Walter Savage Landor*, p. 155.

qualities."¹⁵ Instances might be multiplied. Instead of critical analysis with reference to unifying principles, there are arbitrary judgments, and for confirmation other arbitrary judgments.

Exception must be made in respect to one or two writers in English towards whom Landor manifests a more precise critical attitude. These are the objects of his especial devotion, and receive the same scrutiny as the classical writers. Such notable examples of critical study are Dante and Milton. Landor cannot say enough of the Francesca episode, and he studies *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained* with meticulous care. It may be said that he concentrates in much the same way upon Wordsworth. The conversations of *Southey and Porson* and *Southey and Landor* exhibit particularly this sort of criticism, as well as certain passages in the *Pentameron*. But even here our exception itself must be qualified. Landor makes no study of Milton historically; and there is no testing of the epics by the theories and principles of poetry. What Landor does is to examine the text and comment learnedly upon it. A typical passage from the discussion of *Paradise Lost* in *Southey and Landor* follows: "Let us now take Milton more in detail," says Southey. "He soon begins to give the learned and less obvious signification to English words. In the sixth line,

That on the secret top,

Here *secret* is in the same sense as Virgil's

Secretosque pios, his dantem jura Catonem.

Would it not have been better to omit the fourth, and fifth verses, as incumbrances, and deadeners of the harmony?"¹⁶

Such observations are close to Landor's hobbies of orthography and spelling. Many pages of this sort of "criticism" weigh down the *Imaginary Conversations*. It is hardly critical analysis. It is rather the examination of a text. Whenever Landor abandons his broad, general preferences he is apt to fall into a bog of annotation. Here is obviously

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

¹⁶ *The Works of Walter Savage Landor*, II, 60-61. *Southey and Landor*.

a transference of the scholia of classical criticism to English literature. Landor's analysis resolves itself into learned notes. And even in such appraisal of literature, which has some scholarly value, Landor is likely to be transported to whimsical verdicts. After all, of what real worth is the following? "Milton is more correct than Addison, but less correct than Hooker."¹⁷ Or: "Such stupendous genius, so much fancy, so much eloquence, so much vigour of intellect, never were united as in *Paradise Lost*."¹⁸ The ultimate significance of such criticism is well summed up by Matthew Arnold in *A French Critic on Literature*.¹⁹ Moreover, Landor contrives to add a certain opaque quality to his generalizations which make them no happier. "Where," he queries, "excepting in Milton, where among all the moderns, is energy always to be found in the right place?"²⁰ And sometimes the epigrams are grotesque: "A rib of Shakespeare," he declares, "would have made a Milton: the same portion of Milton, all poets born ever since."²¹

In this Landorian *mot*, however, is the suggestion of the writer's greatest power as a critic of literature, his capacity for epigrammatic criticism. "He is very wrong-headed," says Percy Fitzgerald, thinking evidently of his exaggeration, "and yet there is a great deal behind that."²² Lord Houghton's monograph on Landor has a collection of these trenchant comments of Landor's. This power was joined to a broad vision of literature. Both Forster²³ and Colvin²⁴ note this. Landor wrote striking apothegms about *all* men of letters. "Roscoe's works are a feather-bed of words."²⁵

¹⁷ *The Works of Walter Savage Landor*, II, 58. *Southey and Landor*.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 60. *Southey and Landor*.

¹⁹ *Mixed Essays*, pp. 206ff.

²⁰ *The Works of Walter Savage Landor*, II, 459-60. *Opinions of Caesar, Cromwell, Milton and Buonaparte*.

²¹ *Ibid.*, II, 74. *Southey and Landor*.

²² *Memoirs of Charles Dickens*, p. 8.

²³ *Walter Savage Landor*, p. 335.

²⁴ *Selections from the Writings of Walter Savage Landor*, Preface xxviii.

²⁵ *Monographs Personal and Social, Walter Landor*, pp. 77ff.

We find in Addison "a sweet temperature of thought."²⁵ "Young is too often fantastical and frivolous; he pins butterflies to the pulpit cushion."²⁷ "Johnson had somewhat of the medlar in his nature; one side hard and austere, the other unsound."²⁸ Such sententious phrases Landor threw off by hundreds; they are remarkable not only in quality, but in scope. Each stands alone, as final as an oracle from Delphi, and often, unfortunately, not less cryptic. Perhaps they can never be regarded as real literary criticism; they are too fragmentary, too reticent. But the fact that Landor left an aphorism of this sort concerning almost every writer who has ever lived demands respect. He is a critic of literature, even if a somewhat eccentric one.

It is impossible within essay form to repeat and synthesize Landor's multitudinous comments on literature.²⁹ Nevertheless in merely a brief survey of his views on literature, certain traits as a critic become apparent. Much has been written of Landor's classicism. He lived in Greek far more than in English literature, and all his writings reflect this, his chief literary interest.³⁰ In describing the classical influences of Landor's boyhood Forster writes: "He is one of the dozen men in a generation who can be said to have read Plato through in his own tongue; and when he had passed his eighty-fifth year he read in the original Greek the whole of the *Odyssey*."³¹ No writer of the nineteenth century was so steeped in Greek literature. Just before his death he wrote: "Verses of the *Odyssea* and *Iliad* run perpetually into my mind, after the better part of a century, and there seems to be no longer room there for anything else."³²

²⁵ *The Works of Walter Savage Landor*, I, 197. Johnson and Tooke.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 80. Southey and Porson.

²⁸ *The Last Fruit Off an Old Tree*, p. 121. Archdeacon Hare and Walter Landor.

²⁹ A brief but interesting account of some of Landor's preferences may be found in Forster, *Walter Savage Landor*, p. 440.

³⁰ See *ibid.*, pp. 9ff, 22, 23, 114.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 651.

Homer³³ is first, but Landor worships also Pindar, Aeschylus, and Sophocles. In Pindar he found kinship of spirit. "When I began to write *Gebir*," he told Forster in 1850, "I had just read Pindar a second time and understood him. What I admired was what nobody else had ever noticed,—his proud complacency and scornful strength. If I could resemble him in nothing else, I was resolved to be as compendious and exclusive."³⁴ Landor pays tribute to Pindar under his own name in *The Abbé Delille and Walter Landor*: "There is a grandeur of soul which never leaves him, even in domestic scenes; and his genius does not rise on points or peaks of sublimity, but pervades the subject with a vigorous and easy motion, such as the poets attribute to the herald of the Gods. He is remarkable for the rich economy of his ideas and the temperate austerity of his judgment; and he never says more than what is proper, nor otherwise than what is best."³⁵

Of Aeschylus Landor writes: "There is enough of materials in Aeschylus to equip a troop of Sophocleses and a squadron of Euripideses."³⁶ And of *Prometheus* Cleone writes Aspasia: "The conception of such a drama is in itself a stupendous effort of genius; . . . the execution is equal to the conception; . . . the character of Prometheus is more heroic than any in heroic poetry; . . . no production of the same extent is so magnificent and so exalted."³⁷ Landor portrays Sophocles in one imaginary conversation, *Pericles and Sophocles*, and declares him to be, with Catullus and La Fontaine, one of the three "faultless" writers.³⁸

³³ See *The Works of Walter Savage Landor*, I, 13, 92, 304, 363, 387; II, 60. *Letters and Other Unpublished Writings of Walter Savage Landor*, pp. 62, 110, 131, 160, 162. Forster, *Walter Savage Landor*, pp. 152, 418, 547.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 46, 130-31.

³⁵ *The Works of Walter Savage Landor*, I, 93. See also *ibid.*, II, 370-371. Forster, *Walter Savage Landor*, pp. 176, 179, 276, 499, 581.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 511.

³⁷ *The Works of Walter Savage Landor*, II, 363. *Pericles and Aspasia*. See *ibid.*, II, 444 and Forster, *Walter Savage Landor*, pp. 418, 511.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 569.

It would be difficult to name a writer of antiquity uncommemored on by Landor. A list of books sent to Fiesole indicates how abstruse were his researches in Greek and Latin literatures.³⁹ In general his method in dealing with the classics was always the same: comparison and contrast, listing writers in order of genius, textual analysis, striking apothegms. A few preferences may be noted: His love for Catullus;⁴⁰ the authors that *console* him, Demosthenes, Polybius, Livy,⁴¹ Tacitus;⁴² Aristophanes, the greatest of all comic poets.⁴³ A typical caprice is Landor's dislike of Sappho because she uses the word "sweat."⁴⁴ A fair specimen of his manner may be had in his comparison of Sophocles⁴⁵ and Euripides: He says that Euripides "came down farther into common life than Sophocles, and he farther down than Aeschylus: one would have expected the reverse. But the marvellous had carried Aeschylus from the earth, and he filled with light the whole region in which he rested."⁴⁶ Here are the comparisons which Landor liked, and in the second sentence an instance of his adumbrative manner. Landor relies much on connotation.

In much the same way Landor tells us that Hesiod is admirable for the soundness of his precepts, but *there is hardly a trace of poetry in his ploughed field.*⁴⁷ Or study these rigid sentences on Plato: "The wit of Plato's dialogues is altogether

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 385-86.

⁴⁰ See also *The Works of Walter Savage Landor*, I, 227, Landor's essay, *The Poems of Catullus*, and Forster, *Walter Savage Landor*, pp. 98, 131, 545, 580.

⁴¹ See also *The Works of Walter Savage Landor*, II, 27, 58.

⁴² See Forster, *Walter Savage Landor*, pp. 210-11.

⁴³ *The Works of Walter Savage Landor*, I, 122; II, 364, 380.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 416, *Pericles and Aspasia*. See also *ibid.*, II, 373.

⁴⁵ See Forster, *Walter Savage Landor*, p. 42. Landor thought Sophocles the only ancient who portrayed worthily the characters of women.

⁴⁶ *The Works of Walter Savage Landor*, I, 102. *The Abbé Delille and Walter Landor*. See also *ibid.*, I, 122 and Forster, *Walter Savage Landor*, pp. 151, 179.

⁴⁷ *The Works of Walter Savage Landor*, II, 369. *Pericles and Aspasia*. See also Forster, *Walter Savage Landor*, p. 493.

of a single kind, and of that which in a continuance is the least welcome. For irony is akin to cavil; and cavil, as the best wit is either good-natured or wears the appearance of good nature, is nearly its antipode. Plato has neither the grace of Xenophon nor the gravity of Cicero, who tempers it admirably with urbanity and facetiousness."⁴⁸ Herodotus reminds Landor of "Homer by his facility and his variety, and by the suavity and fulness of his language."⁴⁹ Livy⁵⁰ recalls Milton, and Tacitus "would have been greater had he been more contented with the external and ordinary appearances of things. Instead of which, he looked at part of his pictures through a prism, and at another part through a *camera obscura*."⁵¹ Ovid⁵² is compared to Virgil, whose text is examined at length in the *Pentameron*. Wherever we turn the kind of criticism is substantially the same. The writers who have inspired Lady Jane Gray are not analysed; they are merely named and compared; Cicero, Epictetus, Polybius, and Plutarch.⁵³ All this is typical of a critic without great analytical powers.⁵⁴

⁴⁸ *The Works of Walter Savage Landor*, II, 220. *Lord Chesterfield and Lord Chatham*.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 229. *Aristoteles and Callisthenes*.

⁵⁰ See Forster, *Walter Savage Landor*, pp. 544, 599.

⁵¹ *The Works of Walter Savage Landor*, II, 58. *Southey and Landor*.

⁵² See *ibid.*, I, 103; II, 219, 313, 324. *Letters and Other Unpublished Writings of Walter Savage Landor*, pp. 58-60, 160. Forster, *Walter Savage Landor*, pp. 236, 543.

⁵³ *The Works of Walter Savage Landor*, I, 136. *Roger Ascham and Lady Jane Gray*.

⁵⁴ Among Landor's other opinions of the classics the following may be noted: Plautus, *The Works of Walter Savage Landor*, I, 123; Tibullus, *ibid.*, I, 219; *Letters and Other Unpublished Writings of Walter Savage Landor*, pp. 54, 131; Tacitus, *The Works of Walter Savage Landor*, II, 58; Virgil, *ibid.*, I, 14, 96, 102, 103; II, 219, 322-25; Cicero, *ibid.*, I, 114ff; II, 307, 310, Forster, *Walter Savage Landor*, p. 280; Horace, *The Works of Walter Savage Landor*, II, 340; Mimmercus, *ibid.*, II, 372-73; Phrynicus, *ibid.*, II, 390; Menander, *ibid.*, I, 121-22; Thucydides, *ibid.*, I, 366, II, 413; Xenophon, *ibid.*, I, 229, 366; Aristotle, *ibid.*, I, 220, 221, 451, 461, Forster, *Walter Savage Landor*, p. 151; Herodotus, *The Works of Walter Savage Landor*, I, 229; Propertius, Forster, *Walter Savage Landor*, p. 545; Lucretius, *ibid.*, p. 544; Theocritus, see Landor's essay, *The Idyls of Theocritus*.

In Landor's criticisms of literatures other than Greek, Latin, and English two or three names stand forth pre-eminently,—Dante, Boccaccio, Petrarch.⁵⁵ Landor had dipped into Eastern literatures, and apparently detested them.⁵⁶ As a young man he wrote verses in imitation of the Persian, but simultaneously declared his dislike of this language and literature. At another time he says he is reading all Oriental literature that is worthy,—namely thirty or forty lines. He hated Frenchmen, but no more than their literature. There are no better examples of arbitrary critical judgments than in what he says of French literature. He obviously shared Southey's opinion of French that "poetry of the highest order is as impossible in that curst language as it is in Chinese."⁵⁷ Aside from La Fontaine's kindred enthusiasm for animals, Landor finds no health in French literature.

To Racine in particular he renders "justice," "I sent," he writes in 1811, "for a volume of Racine (having no books) from the library. I turned over his messieurs and mesdames with a vacant stare, and sent the volume away in a passion without the least idea what had induced me to order an author I disliked so much. Let me, however, do justice to Racine. His great fault is, every tragedy represents the same state of society, of whatever country his characters may be, or in whatever age the event. . . The reasonings and moral sentiments of this poet, and above all the mode of expressing them may be fairly laid down between the Luxembourg and the Bois de Bologne."⁵⁸ Landor dislikes especially Racine's *Andromache*. Much of the *Athalie*, he thought, was stolen from Euripides. He finds the tragedies of Corneille and Voltaire intolerable.⁵⁹ This distaste

⁵⁵ See Landor's essay, *Francesca Petrarca*.

⁵⁶ Forster, *Walter Savage Landor*, p. 92.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 254.

⁵⁸ See *The Works of Walter Savage Landor*, I, 101 and Forster, *Walter Savage Landor*, p. 532.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 277.

for the French writers of tragedy sprang partly from his immersion in those of the Greeks, and partly from his merciless standards for all tragedies. Landor's denunciations of French were not limited to the drama. Voltaire is a bad playwright, but a worse critic. When Delille tells Landor that he approached Shakespeare and Milton through Voltaire, Landor exclaims: "He stuck to them as a woodpecker to an old forest-tree, only for the purpose of picking out what was rotten: he has made the holes deeper than he found them, and, after all his cries and chatter, has brought home but scanty sustenance to his starveling nest."⁶⁰

And so on, throughout French letters. Boileau turns his Muse into a mule or an ass.⁶¹ Moliere deserves pity: "Ah, poor Moliere!" La Fontaine is made to say, "the best man in the world; but flighty, negligent, thoughtless. He throws himself into other men, and does not remember where. The sight of an eagle . . . but the memory of a fly."⁶² Landor knew French literature, and we must accordingly attribute these remarks to prejudice or whim. It is only in German literature that prejudice is accompanied by ignorance.⁶³

For Landor knew comparatively little German. He once expressed the wish to know, but took no pains to fill this gap in his reading. His references to German literature are not many. Landor was scornful of that whole world of philosophical thought which was impressing his contemporaries so deeply. He abhorred metaphysics; and the new disease in poetry he did not understand. Without troubling himself to understand German literature he frankly abused it. His ridiculous attitude is illustrated by his remarks on

⁶⁰ *The Works of Walter Savage Landor*, I, 91ff. *The Abbé Delille and Walter Landor*.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, I, 93. *The Abbé Delille and Walter Landor*.

⁶² *Ibid.*, II, 208. *La Fontaine and Rochefoucauld*. See also Forster, *Walter Savage Landor*, p. 203.

⁶³ Among other opinions of Landor's on French literature the following are worthy of notice: French drama, *The Works of Walter Savage Landor*, II, 160; Montaigne, *ibid.*, I, 268; Rousseau, *ibid.*, I, 254ff, and Forster, *Walter Savage Landor*, p. 132; La Fontaine, *ibid.*, p. 273.

Goethe. This story, found in Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes of the Nineteenth Century* shows Landor at his worst: "In the Whitehaven Journal there was inserted a criticism in which . . . I am compared and preferred to Göthe [sic]. I am not too much elated. Neither in my youthful days nor in any other have I thrown upon the world such trash as 'Werter' and 'Wilhelm Meister,' nor flavoured my poetry with the corrugated spicery of metaphysics. Nor could he have written in a lifetime any twenty, in a hundred or thereabout, of my 'Imaginary Conversations.' My poetry," he snarls in his most ferocious manner, "I throw to the Scotch terriers growling at my feet. Fifty pages of Shelley contain more poetry than a hundred of Göthe, who spent the better part of his time in contriving a puzzle, and spinning out a yarn for a labyrinth."⁶⁴

In the Italian, Landor's second mother language, we might expect to find his prejudice turned in the opposite direction. Landor's enthusiasm for Boccaccio⁶⁵ and Petrarch⁶⁶ are indeed intense, but his reactions to Dante are singular. And Ariosto's *Orlando*, though it is better than everything in the French language, contains some very vile poetry.⁶⁷ On the whole, however, Landor ranks Ariosto just below Boccaccio. The famous animadversions on Dante are in the *Pentameron*. "At least sixteen parts in twenty of the *Inferno* and *Purgatorio* are detestable, both in poetry and principle."⁶⁸ The *Inferno* is a "vast desert" with "its greater and less oasis; Ugolino and Francesca di Rimini. The peopled region is peopled chiefly with monsters and moschitoes: the rest for the most part is sand and suffocation."⁶⁹ Landor causes

⁶⁴ P. 207.

⁶⁵ See *The Pentameron*, *passim*, and *Letters and Other Unpublished Writings of Walter Savage Landor*, pp. 33, 93, 99, 100.

⁶⁶ See *ibid.*, 33, 99, 253 and Forster, *Walter Savage Landor*, pp. 277, 510, 548.

⁶⁷ *The Works of Walter Savage Landor*, I, 100. *The Abbé Delille and Walter Landor*.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 306. *The Pentameron*.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 310. *The Pentameron*.

Petrarch to say that the *Inferno* is "the most immoral and impious book ever written."⁷⁰ This drubbing of Dante continues throughout the *Pentameron* and Landor's other prose. In 1820 he writes Southey that he hopes to complete at last his reading of Dante which he had begun eleven years earlier.⁷¹ It is difficult to understand this except in the light of Landor's imperious and arbitrary ideas on literature. His arraignment of Dante is unsatisfactory. Hardly a reason is given; only dogmatic statements of inferiority. For one thing he never forgave Dante his mediaevalism—strange fault!—and, for another, Dante violated his theories of the epic. Judged by Landor's standards the *Divine Comedy* lacks unity. "A good poem," Landor says in the *Pentameron*, "is not divided into little panes like a cathedral window; which little panes themselves are broken and blurred, with a saint's coat or a dragon's tail, a doctor's head on the bosom of a virgin martyr, and having about them more lead than glass, and more gloom than colouring . . . A good epic shows us more and more distinctly, at every book of it we open, the features and properties of heroic character, and terminates with accomplishing some heroic action."⁷²

All of Landor's virtues and defects as a critic of literature are intensified when he turns to English literature. Here are his extravagant admiration for Southey and his idolatry of Milton; his aversion to Spenser; and his epigrams on his contemporaries. It should be remembered that Landor thought modern poetry superior to that of antiquity. "Modern ages indeed have produced no great prose-writers, but in poets we far surpass the ancients."⁷³ He even thought that Homer and Virgil had been excelled in sublimity by

⁷⁰ *The Works of Walter Savage Landor*, II, 311. The *Pentameron*.

⁷¹ Forster, *Walter Savage Landor*, p. 280.

⁷² *The Works of Walter Savage Landor*, II, 312. See *ibid.*, I, 13, 14; II, 306, 308, 310, 311, 312, 313, 319, 320, 322-24, 329, 332, 336. Forster, *Walter Savage Landor*, pp. 516ff, 548, 637. *Letters and Other Unpublished Writings of Walter Savage Landor*, pp. 33, 34, 39, 44.

⁷³ Forster, *Walter Savage Landor*, p. 282.

Shakespeare and Milton.⁷⁴ The amount of criticism on English literature though scattered is immense. For once Lander is conventional: Shakespeare is first in English literature and Chaucer second.⁷⁵ "The continent of Shakespeare, with its prodigious range of inextinguishable fires, its rivers of golden sands, its very deserts paved with jewels, its forests of unknown plants to which the known were dwarfs, this unpromised and unexpected land, in all its freshness and variety and magnitude."⁷⁶ *Othello* is Shakespeare's greatest play. Of the *Sonnets* Lander says: "In the poems of Shakespeare, which are printed as Sonnets, there is sometimes a singular strength and intensity of thought, with little of that imagination which was afterwards to raise him highest in the universe of poetry."⁷⁷

Lander's attitude towards other Elizabethans, as well as his hyperbole, is illustrated by an anecdote related by Lady Bulwer in *Tinsley's Magazine* for June 1883: "Mr. Lander insisted that I should sit for my picture to his protégé. During one of these sittings the artist happened to speak enthusiastically about some lines of Ben Jonson; whereupon Mr. Lander who was seated at the time, bounded from his chair, began pacing the room and shaking his tightly clenched hands, as he thundered out: 'Ben Jonson! not another word about him! It makes my blood boil! I haven't the patience to hear the fellow's name! a pigmy! an upstart! a presumptuous varlet! WHO DARED to be thought more of than Shakespeare was in his day!' 'Well, but surely', ventured the artist, so soon as he could speak for suppressed laughter, 'that was not poor Ben Jonson's fault, but the fault of the indiscriminating generation in which they both lived.' 'Not at

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 345.

⁷⁵ See *The Works of Walter Savage Lander*, I, 81, 337; II, 165, and Forster. *Walter Savage Lander*, pp. 156, 569.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 511-12.

⁷⁷ *The Works of Walter Savage Lander*, I, 73. *Southey and Porson*. See also *ibid.*, I, 13, 91, 102, 104, 105, 123; II, 161; *Letters and Other Unpublished Writings of Walter Savage Lander*, pp. 60-61, 109, 110, 121, 157; Forster. *Walter Savage Lander*, pp. 511, 542-43, 569, 587, 637, 638.

all,' roared Landor, his eyeballs becoming bloodshot and his nostrils dilating—'not at all! The fellow should have walled himself up in his own brick and mortar before he had connived at and allowed such a sacrilege.' ⁷⁸

This seems like burlesque, yet it is really a conversational version of some of Landor's exaggerations. In the next breath, in the *Imaginary Conversations* he describes Bacon as one "to whom the earth had never seen an equal; Bacon, to whom Milton and Shakespeare might have risen and looked up reverentially."⁷⁹ Or again: Bacon's *Essays* contain "more wisdom and more genius than we can find in all the philosophers of antiquity; with one exception, Cicero."⁸⁰ Spenser, as noted, is a bore, but he calls forth from Landor one of his best passages, restrained, yet imaginative: "Spenser's is a spacious but somewhat low chamber, hung with rich tapestry, on which the figures are mostly disproportioned, but some of the faces are lively and beautiful; the furniture is part creaking and worm-eaten, part fragrant with cedar and sandal wood and aromatic gums and balsams; every table and mantelpiece and cabinet is covered with gorgeous vases, and birds, and dragons, and houses in the air."⁸¹

Landor's criticism never concerns itself with an age or period, except those of Greece, but rather with great single figures. Thus his greatest interest of the seventeenth century was Milton. In the *Imaginary Conversations* are extended textual studies of *Paradise Lost*, *Paradise Regained*, *Samson Agonistes*, and the *Minor Poems*. In addition there are innumerable references to Milton. In a letter Landor describes how even the hexameters of his Greeks sounded

⁷⁸ See also *ibid.*, p. 633.

⁷⁹ *The Works of Walter Savage Landor*, I, 49. *Peter Leopold and the President du Paty*. See also *ibid.*, I, 224, 471; II, 236.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 471, *Barrow and Newton*.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, I, 80. *Southey and Porson*. See also Forster, *Walter Savage Landor*, pp. 55-56, 283. Landor preferred Spenser's account of Irish affairs to his poetry. A different version of Landor's attitude towards Spenser may be found in R. H. Horne's *A New Spirit of the Age*, p. 175.

tinkling beside the music of *Paradise Lost*.⁸² This and the *Iliad*, he says, are the two greatest epics. Landon's interest is never in Milton's relation to his age, but rather in his style. in single passages or lines, and in the poems which satisfy his ideal for the epic. Furthermore, Milton is "our one great proseman."⁸³

No one writer in the eighteenth century engaged Landon's whole interest. On this period also there are detached observations. Some of these are remarkable in substance and form, and show the trend of his tastes: "Young moralized at a distance on some external appearances of the human heart; Crabbe entered it *on all fours*, and told the people what an ugly thing it is inside."⁸⁴ And in the same conversation he says of Crabbe: "He wrote with a twopenny nail and scratched rough truths and rogues' facts on mud walls."⁸⁵ This of Gray: "If I were asked what stanza or strophe I would rather have written than any other, I should doubt between Gray's 'The boast of heraldry, etc.' and George Herbert's 'Sweet day, so cool, so calm, so bright. . . .'"⁸⁶ He liked Johnson's⁸⁷ criticism of Milton. Among the novelists he praised Richardson⁸⁸ and Miss Edgeworth.⁸⁹ Burns sang "a song more animating than ever Tyrtæus sang to the fife before the Spartans";⁹⁰ he resembles Chaucer. Blair's

⁸² Forster, *Walter Savage Landon*, p. 47.

⁸³ *Letters and Other Unpublished Writings of Walter Savage Landon*, p. 101. For full criticisms of Milton see the *Imaginary Conversations: Southey and Porson*, (two conversations) *Southey and Landon*, *Archdeacon Hare and Landon*, *passim*. See also *The Works of Walter Savage Landon*, II, 459ff and Forster, *Walter Savage Landon*, pp. 47, 581, 640.

⁸⁴ *The Works of Walter Savage Landon*, I, 69. *Southey and Porson*.

⁸⁵ *The Works of Walter Savage Landon*, I, 69. *Southey and Porson*.

⁸⁶ *Letters and Other Unpublished Writings of Walter Savage Landon*, p. 53. See also Forster, *Walter Savage Landon*, pp. 130, 570.

⁸⁷ See *The Works of Walter Savage Landon*, II, 58, 73 and *The Last Fruit Off an Old Tree*, p. 121.

⁸⁸ *Letters and Other Unpublished Writings of Walter Savage Landon*, p. 61.

⁸⁹ *The Works of Walter Savage Landon*, I, 170. *Caradère Puntomichino and Mr. D. E. Tuleranagh*.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 73. *Southey and Porson*. See also *ibid.*, I, 337.

Grave is despicable.⁹¹ Addison has "the mien and features of a Cupid or a Zephyr."⁹² And Shenstone is like Petrarch!⁹³

Towards his coevals in the nineteenth century Landor, for all his roaring at them, was very well disposed. He praises generously. We find Mrs. Browning, and many others eager for a favourable criticism from Landor. His age, his distinction, and his own writings, had made him a kind of *arbiter elegantiarum*. Landor cared nothing for the intellectual philosophies of the nineteenth century, and judged Byron, Shelley, and Wordsworth, by his own personal standards. Byron had angered Landor in his quarrel with Southey, but his genius as a satirist and poet was readily conceded by Landor: "He possesses the soul of poetry, which is energy; but he wants that ideal beauty, which is the sublime emanation, I will not say of the real, for this is the more real of the two, but of that which is ordinarily subject to the senses. With much that is admirable he has nearly all that is vicious; a large grasp of small things, without selection and without cohesion."⁹⁴ Landor's criticism of Byron varied as his personal feelings towards the poet altered. At one time we hear of "the absolute want of variety and invention"⁹⁵ that characterizes Byron. In one of Landor's chronic poems on his fellow-poets he calls him "a smart ring'd robber."⁹⁶ The *Corsair* he compares to a horse that has good action,

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, I, 80. *Southey and Porson*.

⁹² *Ibid.*, I, 190. *Johnson and Tooke*, p. 10.

⁹³ II, 341, note. *The Pentameron*. See Landor's opinions of: Cowley, I, *ibid.*, 45-46; Warton, *ibid.*, I, 161; Swift, *ibid.*, 198-99 and Forster, *Walter Savage Landor*, p. 640; Cowper, *The Works of Walter Savage Landor*, I, 79 and Forster, *Walter Savage Landor*, p. 632, 637. *Letters and Other Unpublished Writings of Walter Savage Landor*, p. 63; Gibbon, *The Works of Walter Savage Landor*, I, 92, and Forster, *Walter Savage Landor*, p. 345; Donne, *ibid.*, p. 423; Chesterfield, *ibid.*, p. 474; Blake, *ibid.*, p. 509; Dryden, *ibid.*, p. 580 and Henry Crabb Robinson, *Diary*, III, 195; Steele, Forster, *Walter Savage Landor*, p. 638; Goldsmith, *ibid.*, p. 641; Beattie, Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Nineteenth Century*, p. 205.

⁹⁴ *The Works of Walter Savage Landor*, I, 68. *Southey and Porson*.

⁹⁵ *Letters and Other Unpublished Writings of Walter Savage Landor*, p. 109.

⁹⁶ *Letters and Other Unpublished Writings of Walter Savage Landor*, p. 189.

but tires by fretting and tossing his head and rearing.⁹⁷ We are even warned concerning "Byron's trash."⁹⁸

Landor wrote also elaborate prose descriptions of Byron's poetry. "Not only in the dresses which he puts on expressly for the ladies, not only in the oriental train and puffy turban, but also in the tragic pall, his perfumery has somewhat too large a proportion of musk in it; which so hangs about those who are accustomed to spend many hours with him, that they seldom come forth again with satisfaction into what is fresher and purer."⁹⁹ But Byron is, Landor declares, "the sharpest of satirists"¹⁰⁰ and a "great poet."¹⁰¹

Towards all these poets so alien to himself in temperament Landor is charitable, if not acute, in his criticisms. Shelley "possesses less vigour than Byron, and less command of language than Keats; but I would rather have written his 'Music, when soft voices die,' than all that Beaumont and Fletcher ever wrote, together with all of their contemporaries, excepting Shakespeare."¹⁰² Shakespeare is also the exception, when Landor praises Keats; in no poet, save him, are there "so many phrases so happy in their boldness."¹⁰³ Everyone

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 169. Byron was not slow to respond to Landor's hostility:

"That deep-mouthed Boeotian Savage Landor
Has taken for a swan rogue Southey's gander."

(*Don Juan*, Canto XI.)

See also *The Conversations of Lord Byron with the Countess of Blessington*, p. 245.

⁹⁹ *The Works of Walter Savage Landor*, I, 340. *Landor, English Visiter, and Florentine Visiter*.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 338. *Landor, English Visiter, and Florentine Visiter*.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, I, 340. *Landor, English Visiter, and Florentine Visiter*. See also this conversation and *The Abbé Delille and Walter Landor*, *passim*, and *ibid.*, I, 69. See also the *Letters and Other Unpublished Writings of Walter Savage Landor*, pp. 165-70; Forster, *Walter Savage Landor*, pp. 51, 270, 522, 571; *The Last Fruit Off an Old Tree*, p. 113.

¹⁰² *The Works of Walter Savage Landor*, II, 157. *Southey and Landor*. See also *Letters and Other Unpublished Writings of Walter Savage Landor*, p. 173; Forster, *Walter Savage Landor*, pp. 419, 541, 613, 641.

¹⁰³ *The Works of Walter Savage Landor*, I, 339. *Landor, English Visiter, and Florentine Visiter*. See also *Letters and Other Unpublished Writings of Walter Savage Landor*, pp. 170-72, 419, 634-35, 691.

knows of Landor's obsession for Southey.¹⁰⁴ He preferred Southey to Wordsworth, and to every other nineteenth century poet. Wordsworth he alternately extolled and belittled. "Among all the bran," says Porson, "in the little bins of Mr. Wordsworth's beer-cellar there is not a legal quart of that stout old English beverage with which the good old Bishop of Dromore regaled us."¹⁰⁵ And the same character adds: "Wordsworth goes out of his way to be attacked: he picks up a piece of dirt, throws it on the carpet in the midst of the company, and cries *This is a beller man than any of you.*"¹⁰⁶ The two conversations between Southey and Porson dissect word by word the poetry of Wordsworth. We must believe, however, that Landor divined Wordsworth's rightful place among the poets. "I am reading over and over again," he writes Southey, "the stupendous poetry of Wordsworth. In thought, feelings, and images not one amongst the ancients equals him."¹⁰⁷

Every other writer of the age is criticized, if briefly. Scott is "the brother in law of Froissart." "Give me," Landor cries, "his massy claymore and keep in the cabinet or boudoir the jewelled hilt of the oriental dirk."¹⁰⁸ Thackeray,¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁴ See *Southey and Porson* (both conversations) and Forster, *Walter Savage Landor*, pp. 116, 125, 130, 149, 286, 290, 570.

¹⁰⁶ *The Works of Walter Savage Landor*, I, 70. *Southey and Porson*. (Second Conversation).

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 16. (First Conversation).

¹⁰⁷ There are the usual superlatives: "The first poet that ever wrote was not a more original poet than he, and the last is hardly a greater." See Forster, *Walter Savage Landor*, p. 287. See *Southey and Porson* (both conversations), *passim*. *Letters and Other Unpublished Writings of Walter Savage Landor*, pp. 63, 157, 158, 159. Forster, *Walter Savage Landor*, pp. 268, 273, 277, 283, 287, 291, 509, 569, 570-71, 617. Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Nineteenth Century*, p. 204.

¹⁰⁸ *The Works of Walter Savage Landor*, I, 72. *Southey and Porson*. See also *Letters and Other Unpublished Writings of Walter Savage Landor*, pp. 61, 160. Forster, *Walter Savage Landor*, pp. 522, 634-35. Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Nineteenth Century*, p. 204. *The Last Fruit Off an Old Tree*, pp. 110, 116.

¹⁰⁹ See *Letters and Other Unpublished Writings of Walter Savage Landor*, 181. Forster, *Walter Savage Landor*, p. 636.

Dickens,¹¹⁰ Tennyson,¹¹¹ Browning,¹¹² Hood,¹¹³ and many others are capped with similar passages.¹¹⁴

Such an outline may suggest Landor's position as a critic of literature. To what Matthew Arnold liked to call "the main current" of criticism Landor contributed nothing. He was no less isolated as a critic than as a poet. His method, if he can be said to own a method, is archaic and peculiar to himself. He lacked, in the highest sense, the analytical faculty. But he had great resources of knowledge, and his lapidary criticism is enriched by many striking apothegms. His literary criticism is a series of fragmentary paragraphs on literature as brilliant, as terse, and as finished as his poetical *inscriptions* and epigrams.

STANLEY T. WILLIAMS.

¹¹⁰ See also *ibid.*, pp. 592-93, 637.

¹¹¹ See *Letters and Other Unpublished Writings of Walter Savage Landor*, pp. 126, 180, 181. Forster, *Walter Savage Landor*, pp. 509, 634.

¹¹² *Letters and Other Unpublished Writings of Walter Savage Landor*, pp. 179-80. Forster, *Walter Savage Landor*, p. 570.

¹¹³ *Letters and Other Unpublished Writings of Walter Savage Landor*, p. 124.

¹¹⁴ Some of Landor's other opinions of his contemporaries are noteworthy. For his opinion of Coleridge see *The Works of Walter Savage Landor*, I, 16. Coleridge has "bright colours without form, sublimely void." See also Forster, *Walter Savage Landor*, pp. 489, 567, 568. Lamb, *Letters and Other Unpublished Writings of Walter Savage Landor*, p. 177. Forster, *Walter Savage Landor*, p. 489; Bulwer Lytton, *ibid.*, p. 636; Macaulay, *ibid.*, pp. 63, 509; Mathias, *ibid.*, p. 56; Moore, *ibid.*, p. 63; Robert Smith, *The Works of Walter Savage Landor*, II, 155; Bobus Smith, *ibid.*, II, 125; Hazlitt, Forster, *Walter Savage Landor*, p. 568; E. B. Browning, *ibid.*, pp. 569, 641; Barry Cornwall, *ibid.*, p. 570; Rogers, *ibid.*, p. 600; Beddoes, *ibid.*, p. 674; Gifford, *ibid.*, p. 634; Aubrey de Vere, *ibid.*, p. 634; Sydney Smith, *ibid.*, p. 635; De Quincey, *ibid.*, p. 636; Austen, *ibid.*, p. 650; Carlyle, Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Nineteenth Century*, p. 203.

XLII. THE ARNOLDIAN LYRIC MELANCHOLY

Matthew Arnold is in general so confidently clear as to the nature of his own poetry that the reader is apt to credit him when he insists upon the contemporary sources of its melancholy. But those contemporary sources will appear much dimmer when the second or third centenary of his birth (December 24, 1822) shall come round. The "two worlds" that the poet wandered between will doubtless be rather nebular on the rear horizon, and the carefully wrought stanzas concerning them may seem the "stretched metre of an antique song." The cursory commemorating reader, when he reaches the poem on *Growing Old*, may toss the volume aside with the remark that "this old fellow carefully architected his gloom, but added here too obvious a gable." The discerning reader, however, will be in a better position than now to find, flowing beneath Arnold's verse, a profounder melancholy than the clear Arnoldian eye itself could fathom.

Not so long ago Darwin's coadjutor, Dr. Wallace, at full tide of scientific enthusiasm, produced a book which was dedicated, in title and text, to the proposition that the nineteenth century was *The Wonderful Century*. Later on, from a different standpoint, he wrote a book showing the same era in very gloomy colors. His shift is symbolic of the change that is taking place in the fame of the past century. Perhaps in time it will appear the very Jaques of centuries, with a melancholy all its own, "compounded of many simples, extracted from many objects": opium, Alps, whiskey, apes, seas, hospitals,—death, life, sex, democracy. Some future investigator may make a better list of the things from which Coleridge, Byron, Thomson, Tennyson, Henley, and their successors, sucked melancholy. He will observe that the same simples yielded intermittent delight. For in nineteenth century poetry there appears, more and more, a continually overstrained joy followed by an overstrained sorrow: Shelley

ecstatic, leading on Shelley miserable; Browning twisting hope, and then Hardy spinning gloom. Arnold's position in this company will seem, to the future eye, quite natural,—but also very distinctive. For his melancholy will appear more essential than that of the others: not so fully resolvable into temperamental and temporary conditions.

Unlike the other poets, notably unlike Browning, Arnold had a firm and open-eyed serenity, which he cultivated more and more. In his prose, it wins a larger and steadier swing than in his verse, with often an attractive cheerfulness, though at the same time it develops a guarded elaboration that prevents the finest quality of prosaic art. In his poetry, it is intimate and native. And the main charm of his verse lies precisely in the quiet, upward push of this serenity upon his melancholy: like a spring of water in autumn rising again beneath a settled pool, moving, lifting, and clarifying it. Such is the fine flow of poetry which went on in this man's spirit. But rarely has it a complete and natural circulation in his verse: continually we are aware of pipes and pressure. For, in addition to the comparative tenuity of his poetic gift, Arnold was so intent upon clarifying Hippocrene that clearness became in him a process too distinct and conscious for full poetic reality,—except in the didactic mode. In this kind of verse he could be superbly satisfying, and the meditative stanzas in Act I, scene 2, of Empedocles on Etna make one wish he had done more of it. But under the influence of that Romantic reaction from eighteenth century forms which is still too current to-day, he deprecated the poetry of ethical wit. His fondness for lyric magniloquence was larger than his aptitude. In his odes and elegies, the inimitable movement and life of the true chanting are less present than excellently imitated. Often we can feel his music in the very process of freezing into architecture, under pressure of his insistent effort at motivational clarity.

Beneath those two fine pieces, *A Summer Night* and *The Buried Life*, is a poetic experience "most musical, most melancholy": a profounder spring of sadness than Shelley

and most of the others could draw upon. For in the Shelleyan mode of poetry, which is with us yet, life is felt as a single wide stream, comprising infinite varieties of emotion, but always tending, sweepingly, in one general direction. Therefore emotional currents are not deeply differentiated in it, and the sense of deep oppositions, so vital in great poetry, is obscured or lost. But in Arnold's poetry, the more constant and hidden currents pull continually against the more obvious and momentary:

"A bolt is shot back somewhere in our breast
And a lost pulse of feeling stirs again;
The eye sinks inward, and the heart lies plain,
And what we mean, we say, and what we would, we know.
A man becomes aware of his life's flow,
And hears its winding murmur, and he sees
The meadows where it glides, the sun, the breeze."

Yet here the true flow is finely indicated, rather than rendered. The same theme is treated with humbler and more adequate art in *Palladium*, where Arnold surpasses Clough in the latter's special field. At the other end of the scale are poems like the *Stanzas from the Grande Chartreuse* and *Obermann Once More*, in which scenic and temporal motifs are elaborated. Here Arnold's art tends to be centrally factitious. For here he is most intent upon clarifying his melancholy. He spreads it out too obviously upon the surroundings, and attributes it too largely to passing conditions, losing touch with its deepest source.

That source, after all, did not lie between two conflicting times, but rather between a time and an eternity. More than any other Englishman of his century, Arnold succeeded, like Goethe, in mentally envisaging the full nature of Poetry, as a living norma, ever going on before mankind. He remarkably shaped his daily life in its light, while his century was doing alternate homage to 'madman and slave'—as every century, in some degree, has done and will do. In the chasm between the life of the centuries and the life of Poetry lie the deepest waters of Arnoldian melancholy. They derive,

indeed, from the same source as the serenity which rises through them. Arnold's verse is at its best when this autumnal spring flows out spontaneously, and notably where it mixes with his love of seas and streams. One hears its music mingling in the strange yearning of the tides in *The Forsaken Merman*, and in the larger melancholy of *Sohrab and Rustum*, which at the close sets so majestically toward a tranquil sea.

But its fullest and loveliest tone comes only in *The Scholar Gipsy*. Significantly enough, Arnold is here under guidance of Keats, instead of his more frequent masters, Wordsworth and Byron. The shade of the fullest poetic temperament of the century broods here upon him who saw so fully what Poetry means for human life. Hence, though scenic and temporal motifs are elaborate, they have not in this poem their usual danger for Arnold. The loved serenity of the Oxford landscape, and then the sad withdrawal of seventeenth-century faith, are felicitously merged in the flowing theme of the mystic scholar, which Arnold follows with a "devout energy" of art unparalleled in his other elegies and odes. If, in the last third of the poem, the theme tends to wind too long among contemporary conditions, it saves itself superbly in the two closing stanzas: flowing back through the old clear Mediterranean, "Betwixt the Syrtes and soft Sicily," and recapturing its reflection of eternity. Arnold's verse at its best has the melancholy "which there is in life itself": the melancholy of life yearning toward the full life of Poetry, and still "waiting for the spark from heaven to fall."

G. R. ELLIOTT.

XLIII. LOWELL'S UNCOLLECTED POEMS

In the preface of the collective edition of his poems published the year before his death,¹ Lowell laments the fact that there is no escaping responsibility for the printed page. "Ilka mon maun dree his weird," he reminds his reader; and he goes on to say that, but for the "avenging *litera scripta manet*,"² he "would gladly suppress or put into the Coventry of smaller print in an appendix" a good many things that he had with much reluctance admitted into this edition. There can be no doubt that Lowell was sincere in this avowal; but it would be a mistake to infer from what he says that he made no attempt to escape the avenging fate which he declares to be inevitable. For from this final edition he took pains to exclude not only all his juvenilia, but likewise a goodly number of his verses published after he had attained to manhood, and some, even, that he had written in his mature old age. By my count, he omitted from this final collective edition a total of 181 poems that had hitherto been published.³ He retained in this edition a total of 260 poems (I

¹ *The Writings of James Russell Lowell*, Riverside edition, VII, p. v, Boston, 1890.

² Lowell was fond of this formula; see his *Poems*, Cambridge Edition, pp. 205, 341; his *Letters*, ed. C. E. Norton, I, p. 379, II, p. 251; a letter to J. P. Kennedy, *Sewanee Review*, XXV, p. 207; and Scudder's *Life of Lowell*, II, p. 395.

³ I include in these figures the lines entitled "The Poet and Apollo" attributed to Lowell by H. E. Joyce in *Modern Language Notes*, XXXV, p. 250; the sonnet on "Charles Dickens" published in *Appleton's Journal*, IV, p. 591 (see *Modern Language Notes*, XXXVIII, p. 221); several poems first mentioned by Chamberlain and Livingston, *First Editions of the Writings of James Russell Lowell*, but not elsewhere recorded; and eight poems conjecturally assigned to Lowell by Scudder in the list of the poet's writings appended to his *Life of Lowell*, II, pp. 421ff. I leave out of account several fragments of poems embodied by Lowell in one or another of his collected essays; and I naturally omit from the reckoning all poems that first appeared after the publication of the latest collection made by the poet.

count the "Biglow Papers" as a single poem and each of the sonnets or sonnet groups as single items); so that out of a grand total of 441 poems published up to the time of the preparation of his final edition he sacrificed a little more than forty percent.

Fourteen of these discarded poems are Lowell's youthful effusions published in *Harvardiana*. Forty-five first appeared in his first volume of poems, *A Year's Life* (1841). Twelve first appeared in his second volume of poems (1844). Fourteen made their initial appearance in the *Southern Literary Messenger* (all in 1840). Twelve appeared first in *Graham's Magazine*, eleven in the *Anti-Slavery Standard*, eight in the *Boston Miscellany*, six in *Arcturus*, six in the *Atlantic Monthly*, and ten in the *Nation*. The total number of the rejected poems that had been first published in some periodical was 115, or nearly two-thirds of the grand total of 181.

By decades the uncollected poems appeared as follows: 17 were first published in the thirties; 131 in the forties (117 in the first half, 14 in the second half); 14 in the fifties; 5 in the sixties; 10 in the seventies; and 4 in the eighties. It thus appears that 147 of the grand total of 181, or about five-sixths of the rejected poems, were first published before 1850.

Fifty-nine of the discarded poems are sonnets (including three groups of two sonnets each); and fully half of the rest are less than twenty-five lines in length. Accordingly, it is safe to say that, in mere bulk, the discarded poems constitute not more than a fifth of the entire body of Lowell's published verse.

If we inquire as to the motives that led the poet to sacrifice so large a number of his poems, we conclude, first of all, that a good many of the early pieces went by the board because of their sheer immaturity. This will explain the omission of his juvenilia in *Harvardiana* and his "Class Poem" (a long-

I owe it to Mr. George Willis Cooke to say, that without the aid of his *Bibliography of James Russell Lowell* (Boston, 1906), it would have been well nigh impossible for me to collect the information on which this paper is based.

winded and scattering and declamatory performance). Immaturity, likewise, displaying itself either in crudeness of art or in feebleness of thought, or in both, serves to explain the omission of most of the poems in the volume of 1841,—in particular, the majority of the thirty-three sonnets that lie buried in that volume and of the ten sonnets that last saw the light in the volume of 1844. And diffuseness and an imperfect focus will sufficiently account for the discarding of most of the rejected longer poems of the early forties. Some of the pieces of this period were doubtless omitted because of their imitativeness,—though Lowell, I think, overstated the case against himself when he declared in 1843 that the volume of 1841 “contained more of everybody else than of [himself].”⁴ Keats and Wordsworth and Tennyson appear to me to have been his chief early models, but there were also verses, as the “Sphinx” and “Out of Doors,” that are pretty clearly modeled after Emerson; “A Reverie” plainly affects the manner and the diction of Tennyson; and several of the early poems—including “Rosaline” (which was retained only after being shorn of most of its Gothic elements) and the discarded “Ballad” (“Gloomily the river floweth”)—seem to me to have been patterned after Poe. Other poems omitted either because of their extravagance or because of their sentimentality are the “Supper Song” (August, 1838), “Serenade” (April, 1840), “A Dirge” (July, 1842), and “Farewell” (June, 1842)—perhaps a reminiscence of the poet’s unhappy love-affair of the late thirties.⁵ Here also belongs the discarded, but altogether interesting “Mystical Ballad,” Lowell’s most conspicuous study in mysticism. Still other poems must have been omitted because of their excessively polemical nature. This will account for the rejection of “Merry England” (*Graham’s*, November, 1841), in which the poet makes an attack upon England and the English people, alluding to Queen Victoria in the course of his

⁴ See his letter to Poe of May 8, 1843, published by Woodberry in his *Life of Poe*, II, pp. 26, 27.

⁵ See Scudder, I, p. 71.

distrust as a "weak Guelphic girl" and roundly abusing the British for their conduct toward Ireland and India. And his pugnacity, coupled with his sermonizing, will explain the discarding of much of his reform verse published in the *Anti-Slavery Standard*. Some of his early poems, too—as his sonnet "On my Twenty-fourth Birthday" and his "Song" beginning "O! I must look on that sweet face"—were probably dropped because of their intimately personal nature; and others—as "The Bobolink" 1840, "The Poet" 1841, "Agatha" 1842, and "Fancies about a Rosebud" 1842—because in theme they either anticipate or repeat poems that were deemed more worthy to be retained.

Among the later poems, the sonnet "Charles Dickens" must have been omitted because of the imperfection of its art, its incoherent beginning. The longest of the discarded poems, the fragment "Our Own" (*Pittsford's*, 1853), was omitted, we know, because the poet finally permitted himself to be persuaded that its discursiveness and its pedantic foolery were not to the public taste.⁴ Other poems of the later period—including four "Campaign Epigrams" published in the *Narrow* in 1876, "An Epitaph" published in the *Narrow* in 1874, and "A Worthy Ditty" published in the same journal in 1866—may have been dropped because of their slightness, their lack of substance and weight; though their waspish nature may also explain their omission. And surely it was the strain of bitterness in "Mr. Worsley's Nightmare" (directed in part against Gen. Robert E. Lee, and "The World's Fair, 1876" (directed in part against the Tweed Ring) that accounts for the omission of these two poems. "The Restaurant" (*Pittsford's*, 1854) was omitted, I suspect, because it repeats the theme underlying "Without and Within"; and "Indoors and Out" (*Pittsford's*, 1855) because it repeats the basic idea of the early poem "The Forlorn."

⁴ See Scudder, I, pp. 35M.

Just why Lowell omitted "Turner's Old Téméraire" and "The Oracle of the Gold Fishes," published in the *Atlantic* in 1888 and 1889, respectively,—poems which his literary executor, Charles Eliot Norton, put in the forefront of the volume of "Last Poems" published in 1895—⁷ I am unable to say. I am likewise unable to say what led the poet to reject the graceful little lyrics, "Happiness" (*Atlantic*, April, 1858) and "Shipwreck" (*Atlantic*, June, 1858); and it seems to me that his sonnet on "Reading," first published in 1841, and the sonnets beginning "If some small savor creep into my rhyme" and "Slow opening flower of the summer morn," first published in 1842 and 1844, respectively, are quite up to the average of the early sonnets that were retained. His juvenile "Hob Gobbling's Song" (*Our Young Folks*, January, 1867) also seems to me to be entitled to a place in the poet's collected works.

But one comes away from such an inquiry as I have here undertaken with the conviction that Lowell acted wisely in rejecting so large a number of his published verses. For while to the student, each one of his poems, collected or uncollected, from the feeblest of his sonnets in *A Year's Life* to the harshest of his political squibs, will possess something of interest, the verdict of the general reader will be that Lowell published too much. Assuredly it would have been better for his ultimate reputation had he disavowed an even larger number of his literary progeny.

KILLIS CAMPBELL.

⁷ Scudder suggests (II, p. 407) that the poet hoped to be able to bring out another collection of his poems before his death.

APPENDIX

PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRTY-NINTH MEETING OF THE
MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA
HELD ON THE INVITATION OF
THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA AT PHILADELPHIA,
PENNSYLVANIA,
DECEMBER 28, 29, 30, 1922

MINUTES OF THE TWENTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
CENTRAL DIVISION OF THE ASSOCIATION
HELD AT
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
DECEMBER 28, 29, 30, 1922

MINUTES OF THE TWENTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC COAST
HELD AT
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA,
DECEMBER 1 AND 2, 1922

ADDRESS BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE CENTRAL DIVISION,
WILLIAM A. NITZE,
"MODERN LANGUAGE SCHOLARSHIP: AN ENQUIRY."

"THE MARKET FOR THE SCHOLARLY BOOK,"
BY DR. ALEXANDER GREEN

"AUTHOR VS. PUBLISHER,"
BY PROFESSOR JAMES GEDDES, JR.

THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

The thirty-ninth meeting of the MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA was held under the auspices of the University of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia, December 28, 29, 30, 1922. All the sessions were held in the buildings of the University of Pennsylvania.

FIRST SESSION, THURSDAY MORNING, DECEMBER 28

The first session of the Association was devoted to Group Meetings, which were held in two Divisions, those of the First Division from 9:30 until 11 o'clock, and of the Second from 11:30 until 1 o'clock.

FIRST DIVISION 9:30 A. M.

(*General Topics III*) General Problems in Æsthetics, *Chairman*, Professor Fred N. Scott.

Mr. F. W. Peterson (University of Michigan) was elected Secretary of the Group.

The following papers were read and discussed:

1. "Art for Art's Sake," by Professor Rose F. Egan.
2. "The Laws of Sentence and Paragraph Length," by Professor Theodore T. Stenberg.
3. "The Concept of Utility in Art," by Dr. Charles E. Whitmore.

[See "Two Notes on Esthetics" in *Journal of Philosophy* for December 21, 1922.]

On account of his intention of being abroad next year, Professor Scott declined re-election as chairman. Sixteen persons were present.

FRED N. SCOTT, *Chairman*.

(*Comparative Literature II*) Popular Literature. *Chairman*, Professor Arthur Beatty.

The following papers were read and discussed informally:

1. "The Ballad Collection of Anthony Wood," by Professor Hyder E. Rollins.
2. "The Conditions of Ballad Making," by Professor G. H. Gerould.
3. "The Term 'Communal' and Folk-Song," by Professor Louise Pound.

It was decided to continue the Group and to prepare a program for the meeting at Ann Arbor. Professor Pound was elected Chairman for the coming year with the power to appoint a Secretary.

ARTHUR BEATTY, *Chairman*.

(*English I*) Middle English Language. *Chairman*, Professor Howard R. Patch.

A paper entitled "An Essay on Middle English Projects" was presented by Professor O. F. Emerson. The paper was discussed by Professors Samuel Moore, Wm. E. Mead, and Dr. Henry B. Hinckley.

Particular interest was expressed in the project of a Middle English dictionary and on the motion of Professor Moore it was voted to appoint a committee to coöperate in the project and in particular to make suggestions concerning the plan of the proposed dictionary. The Chairman appointed as this committee, Professors O. F. Emerson (Chairman), Thomas A. Knott, R. J. Menner, Samuel Moore, James F. Royster, and J. S. P. Tatlock.

A paper on "Problems and Methods in the Investigation in Early English Morphology" was read by Professor Samuel Moore and discussed by Professors Emerson, Menner and the Chairman.

It was voted that the present officers of the Group be continued.

ROBERT J. MENNER, *Secretary*.

(*English VI*) Philosophy and Literature in the Classical Period. *Chairman*, Professor James W. Tupper. Professor Percy H. Houston having resigned the Secretaryship, Professor Henry M. Dargan was appointed Acting Secretary.

The following papers were read:

1. "The Uses of Philosophy in the Study of Neo-Classical Literature," by Professor F. B. Kaye.

2. "Dryden's Miscellany as a Barometer of the Tastes and Interests in the Classical Period," by Professor R. D. Havens.

3. "A Change in Prepossession towards a Study of the Eighteenth Century," by Professor R. H. Griffith.

The Chairman requested all those present at the meeting to hand their names to the Acting Secretary together with lists of topics in which they were specially interested, so that a bulletin might be prepared and sent to members of the Group showing the range of interests and the research in progress in this field.

In the discussion that followed, it was moved, by Professor Ronald Crane, and carried:

That philosophic ideas and aspects in literature between 1660 and 1750 be regarded as the dominant interest in the joint activities of the Group.

This resolution was interpreted as a means of crystallizing the general feeling of the membership in favor of a definite program for the work of the Group as a whole; it was pointed out, however, that the resolution was not so phrased as to limit the natural scope of research in the period or to restrict the topics for presentation at future meetings.

It was voted that the present officers of the Group be continued, with the duty of preparing bulletins and arranging the programme.

H. M. DARGAN, *Acting Secretary*.

(*English X*) The Study of Contemporary Literature.

No report of the meeting of this Group has been received.

(*French IV*) Nineteenth Century French Literature. *Chairman*, Professor Christian Gauss. Professor Geoffroy Atkinson was appointed Secretary.

The following papers were presented:

1. "What is Realism?" by Professor Olin H. Moore.

2. "The Balzac Collection at Chantilly," by Dr. Walter S. Hastings. Dr. Hastings placed a complete copy of the catalogue of the Lovenjoul Balzac Collection at the disposal of the members of the Group.

The attendance was in the neighborhood of sixty. Professor Gilbert Chinard was elected Chairman for the coming year.

CHRISTIAN GAUSS, *Chairman*.

(*German II*) New Work on Goethe. *Chairman*, Gustav Gruener.

The following papers were read:

1. "An Ovidian Prototype of a Character in *Wilhelm Meister*," by Dr. F. Stanton Cawley (Harvard University).

2. "Faustiana in the Yale University Library," by Dr. William A. Speck, Curator of the Yale University Library.

3. "Konrat Ziegler's *Gedanken über Faust II*," by Professor J. F. L. Raschen.

4. "Der Streit für und wider das Joseph-Gedicht," by Professor Carl F. Schreiber.

The Group was unusually well attended. Professor J. F. L. Raschen was appointed Chairman and Professor Schreiber was continued as Secretary for the coming year.

CARL F. SCHREIBER, *Secretary*.

SECOND DIVISION, 11:30 A. M.

(*General Topics I*) Poetic Form (Metrics). *Chairman*, Professor Morris W. Croll, *Princeton University*.

Professor Alden described a method of study by which he thinks that it is possible to arrive at some laws governing the relation of phrasal division and metrical division. Prof. Kenyon of Hiram College read a paper on the word-accent and how they affect the rhythm of verse. Prof. A. R. Morris of Michigan reported the results of his laboratory studies in the relation of time, pitch, and stress in verse-rhythm. Dr. Henry Savage of Princeton presented an abstract of Professor Leonard's views concerning the rhythmic

law of the long alliterative line in Anglo-Saxon and Middle-English.

The discussion of all these papers was unfortunately truncated by time-limitations. It was generally agreed that the program for next year should consist of the discussion of the discussion of a single topic of proper magnitude.

The Chairman reported the result of the study of metrical notation ordered last year. It was moved and unanimously ordered that the following resolution be presented to the Association:

That a committee of five be appointed by the Association to consider the present state of metrical notation, and to recommend, if possible, a single uniform method of notation, or, if necessary, two alternative methods, for use in books and schools.

This resolution was presented at the Thursday afternoon session of the Association and adopted without dissent.

The number in attendance was forty-five. The present chairman was re-elected and authorized to prepare the program for next year.

MORRIS W. CROLL, *Chairman*.

(*English IV*) New Work on Shakespeare. *Chairman*, Professor Lewis F. Mott.

A paper, "M. Abel Lefranc's Recent Work on Shakspeare," was presented by Professor Oscar J. Campbell. Professor Ashley H. Thorndike discussed informally "Recent Textual Theories," and Professor Tucker Brooke discussed "Shakspeare's Plots."

Professor Tucker Brooke was appointed Chairman for the coming year.

LEWIS F. MOTT, *Chairman*.

(*English VII*) Literary Tendencies in the Second Half of the XVIIIth Century. *Chairman*, Professor R. S. Crane; *Secretary*, Professor John W. Draper.

The following papers were read, all dealing with the sources, methods, and general results of investigations now in progress: E. A. Aldrich, "Scottish Literary Centers in the later XVIIIth Century"; Paul Kaufman, "The Rise and

Influence of the Conception of "Original Genius"; B. S. Allen, "Some Relations between Literature and the Theory of Design in the later xviiith Century."

Professor J. L. Lowes made a vigorous plea for a more active study of the periodicals of the later xviiith century especially from the point of view of their bearing on the preparation for Romanticism.

In the course of the discussion which followed Professor F. B. Kaye announced that he is engaged, in collaboration with the Chairman of the group, in the preparation of a bibliography of English and European periodicals to the end of the xviiith century.

It was voted that the present officers be continued for another year.

The Chairman announced that he proposed to issue two further numbers of the group *Bulletin* during the coming year, and that copies would be sent to any persons who would inform him of their desire to receive them.

R. S. CRANE, *Chairman*.

(*French II*) French Mediaeval Literature. *Chairman*, Professor George L. Hamilton.

A paper on "The Possibilities and Limitations in the Construction of Manuscripts Themes," by Professor Charles H. Livingston was presented. The paper was discussed by Professors Raymond Weeks, E. C. Armstrong, D. S. Blondheim and the Chairman.

Professor D. S. Blondheim was elected Chairman for the coming year.

GEORGE L. HAMILTON, *Chairman*.

(*German III*) German Literature from a Social Point of View. *Chairman*, Professor Albert B. Faust.

Four carefully prepared papers were read, as follows:

1. "German Literature from the Point of View of Sociology," by Professor Camillo von Klenze.
2. "Social Questions in German Literature of the xviiith Century, by Dr. Edwin H. Zeydel.

3. "Hebbel's Conception of the Drama as a Function of Social Self Consciousness," by Professor T. Moody Campbell.

4. "Heyse and Æsthetic Indifference toward the Social Question," by Professor McBurney Mitchell.

In the succeeding discussion, participated in to the limit of time by a large attendance, additional bibliography was presented and the following topics were introduced and debated: (1) "Social conditions as reflected in the works of Gerhart Hauptmann and modern authors," (2) "The antithesis between the social point of view and the purely artistic point of view of literature."

The business of providing for the next year's meeting of the Group was postponed.

ALBERT B. FAUST, *Chairman*.

(*Slavonic I*) Slavonic Languages and Literatures. *Chairman*, Dr. Clarence A. Manning.

This Group met for the purposes of organization; it is the first attempt to organize Slavonic scholars of this country as a component part of one of the American Learned Societies. There was, unfortunately, a small attendance, but the Chairman announced that he had received assurances of support from Professors George R. Noyes (University of California), Samuel N. Harper (University of Chicago), and other Slavonic scholars, who were unable to be present. It was voted to continue the Group in the expectation that sufficient membership would be secured to justify its permanent organization.

CLARENCE A. MANNING, *Chairman*.

(*Spanish II*) Spanish Literature since the Renaissance. *Chairman*, Professor J. P. W. Crawford.

A paper on "The 'Who's Who' in poetry of the xvth century" was read by Professor R. Hayward Keniston and was discussed by Professors Crawford, Solalinde, and Marden.

It was voted that the Group be continued and that the subject for the coming year be in the field of the Golden Age.

It was voted that Professor Keniston be the representative of the Group for next year and that he arrange the program in consultation with the Group representative of the Central Division. There were thirty-six persons in attendance.

LOUIS IMBERT, *Secretary*.

At one o'clock the members of the Association were the guests of the University of Pennsylvania at a luncheon given in Houston Hall.

SECOND SESSION, THURSDAY AFTERNOON, DECEMBER 23

AUDITORIUM, HOUSTON HALL

The Association was called to order by the President, Professor RAYMOND WEEKS, at 2:40 p. m. The Association was welcomed to Philadelphia by DR. JOSIAH H. PENNIMAN, Provost of the University of Pennsylvania.

The Secretary of the Association, Professor Carleton Brown, presented as his formal report Vol. XXXVII of the *Publications* of the Association. He called attention to the fact that during the year the number of pages in the *Publications* devoted to papers amounted to 739, an increase of 72 over the preceding year. The membership of the Association had also shown a gratifying increase: as compared with the 1649 members reported at Baltimore the number on the roll at the date of this report was 1906, and in addition twenty other persons had paid in membership fees to date from January 1, 1923. The Secretary also announced that Professor Alexander Hohlfeld, one of the Trustees of the Permanent Fund, had resigned his office, and that the Executive Council had elected as his successor Professor George H. Nettleton, Acting President of Vassar College.

It was voted to accept the Secretary's report.

The following report was submitted on behalf of the Trustees of the Permanent Fund by Mr. LeRoy E. Kimball, Managing Trustee:

REPORT OF THE TRUSTEES OF THE PERMANENT FUND FOR
THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER, 27, 1922

RECEIPTS

Balance with the Central Trust Company, Cambridge, Mass., as of December 27, 1921.....	\$ 763.62
Interest received from the Central Trust Company for the period ending December 31, 1921.....	14.37
Interest received from the Central Trust Company for the period ending June 30, 1922.....	19.08
Cash contra for capital account.....	16.00
Life Membership payments from seventeen members received from the Treasurer.....	560.00
November 15, 1922 interest on \$8,300. Liberty Bonds at 4¼%.....	176.36
Interest received from the Guaranty Trust Company for the period ending November 30, 1922.....	8.87
Total.....	\$1,558.30

DISBURSEMENTS AND BALANCES

To Carleton Brown, Treasurer, Central Trust Company interest payments.....	\$ 33.45
United States Trust Company of New York for the purchase of \$550.00 Fourth 4¼% Liberty Bonds due 1938.....	547.42
Guaranty Trust Company interest.....	8.87
Liberty Bond Interest.....	176.36
Uninvested funds in the hands of the United States Trust Company.....	28.58
Deposit with the Central Trust Company.....	763.62
Total.....	\$1,558.30

PERMANENT FUND

\$8,300. United States Second L. L. Bonds 4¼% Converted due 1942.....	\$7,171.38
\$550. United States Fourth L. L. Bonds 4¼% due 1938.....	547.42
Liberty Bond interest converted to capital account....	176.36
Uninvested funds with U. S. Trust Company.....	28.58
Deposit with the Central Trust Company which will be invested after the interest for the six months ending December 31, 1922 has been earned.....	763.62
Total of the endowment account	\$8,687.36

BRIGHT-VON JAGEMANN SPECIAL TRUST FUND

RECEIPTS

From Carleton Brown, Treasurer.....\$5,175.48

DISBURSEMENTS

To the United States Trust Company of New York for
the purchase of \$5,000. New York Central 5% Bonds
due 2013.....\$4,912.36

To the United States Trust Company of New York for
the purchase of \$250. Fourth L. L. 4¼% bonds due
1938.....248.82

Uninvested funds in the hands of the United States
Trust Company.....14.30

Total.....\$5,175.48

Respectfully submitted,

LEROY E. KIMBALL,

EDWARD C. ARMSTRONG,

GEORGE H. NETTLETON.

The Treasurer of the Association, Professor Carleton Brown, presented the following report:

A. RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand December 31, 1921.....\$ 1,971.15

From members, for 1908-1918.....\$ 40.50

" " " 1919.....12.00

" " " 1920.....65.50

" " " 1921.....322.67

" " " 1922.....6,301.63

" " " 1923.....171.00

" " " 1924.....4.00

" Life memberships.....560.00

\$7,477.30

From Libraries for XXXV.....\$ 2.70

" " " XXXVI.....23.75

" " " XXXVII.....370.00

" " " XXXVIII.....200.70

" " " XXXIX.....1.80

" Foreign Subscribers.....72.90

\$ 671.85

" Sales of Publications.....338.55

" Sales of Index Volume.....	10.90
" Sale of Committee Reports.....	.50
" C. Bertram Lewis for typing MS.....	11.00
" Sale of List of Members.....	1.00
" Sale of 2-drawer Card Cabinet.....	4.00
" Adjustment of overcharge.....	1.09
" Extra Reprints.....	3.78
" Postage for forwarding.....	1.00
" Membership fees, M. H. R. A.....	8.00
" Subscriptions to <i>Mod. Lang. Review</i>	33.75
" Advertisers.....	421.00
" Interest on Current Funds.....	59.87
" " " Permanent Fund.....	209.84
" Contributions to Rotograph Fund.....	75.00

\$11,299.58

EXPENDITURES

To Secretary for Salary.....	\$ 750.00
" " " Clerical Assistance.....	363.60
" " " Postage.....	130.21
" " " Telegrams.....	8.53
" " " Expressage.....	18.93
" " " Printing.....	45.75
" " " Mimeographing.....	2.75
" " " 4-drawer Card Cabinet....	16.00
" " " Supplies.....	14.25
" " " Notary fees.....	2.00

\$1,342.02

To Secretary Central Division for salary.....	\$ 100.00
" expenses attending annual meeting....	80.95
" travelling expenses, arranging program.	25.97
" stenography.....	20.00
" envelopes.....	7.50
" telegrams.....	1.70

\$ 236.12

To LeRoy E. Kimball, Managing Trustee Life Membership Fees.....	560.00
Transferred to Bright-von Jagemann Fund..	595.47
Transferred to Rotograph Fund.....	75.00

\$1,230.47

To Mary Rhys, for typing MS.....	11.10	
" " postage, expenses, supplies..	13.21	
" Rotograph Committee for expenses.....	63.40	
" Collection of foreign and Canadian checks	1.04	
" M. H. R. A. for membership fees.....	8.00	
" Camb. Univ. Press, subscriptions to		
<i>M. L. R.</i>	30.53	
" Am. Council of Learned Soc. for dues...	82.50	
" Am. Council on Education, dues.....	10.00	
" Banta Co., circulars for Coffman's Group	7.80	
" refund excess payment, membership fee...	.97	
" Carriage on <i>Publications</i> , Menasha to		
Bryn Mawr.....	18.38	
" Purchase of <i>Publications</i>	30.73	
" Bryn Mawr Trust Co., Safety deposit box.	1.50	
		\$ 279.16
To J. H. Furst Co., for printing XXXVI.4..	\$1,504.46	
To Banta Publishing Co.		
for printing XXXVII.1.....	802.84	
" " XXXVII.2.....	777.30	
" " XXXVII.3.....	821.70	
" paper for XXXVII and XXXVIII....	1871.32	
" reprints, XXXVII.1.....	50.12	
" " XXXVII.2.....	66.28	
" " XXXVII.3.....	52.05	
		\$5,946.07
" postage on returned copies.....	.88	
" stencilling addressograph list.....	47.28	
" programs etc. for Baltimore and Iowa		
City meetings.....	293.55	
To expressage on programs to Phila.....	2.00	
		\$ 343.71 \$9,377.55
Balance on hand December 27, 1922.....	1,922.03	
		\$11,299.58

B. BRIGHT-VON JAGEMANN FUND

At the beginning of the year this Fund was invested for the most part in 4¼% U. S. Liberty Bonds, as follows:

One \$100 bond, First issue, par value.....	\$ 100.00
Three \$1,000 bonds, Second Issue, par value.....	3,000.00
One \$500 bond, Second Issue, par value.....	500.00

Three \$100 bonds, Second Issue, par value..... 300.00
 One \$500 bond, Third Issue, par value..... 500.00

Total.....\$4,400.00

The operations for the year 1922 were as follows:

	Dr	Cr
Balance in Bryn Mawr Trust Co. Dec. 31, 1921.....	\$ 41.54	
Interest on Liberty Bonds.....	104.15	
Income from Permanent Fund.....	195.47	
Transferred from Current Funds.....	400.00	
Interest Bryn Mawr Trust Co.....	12.66	
Proceeds from Sale of Bonds (Oct. 17).....	4,421.66	
Tranferred to LeRoy E. Kimball, Managing Trustee...		\$5,175.48
	\$5,175.48	\$5,175.48

C. BALANCE SHEET

	Decrease*	Increase
Current Funds.....	\$49.12	
Bright-von Jagemann Fund.....		\$ 733.94
Added to Permanent Fund.....		560.00
	\$49.12	\$1,293.94
Net increase.....		\$1,244.82

*This decrease is apparent rather than actual. After deducting from the balance on hand as reported last year the unpaid bills for XXXVI.4 and the Programs, there remained a surplus of \$213.14. After deducting from this year's balance the bills for XXXVII.4 and the Programs there remains a surplus of \$839.26. Accordingly the Current Fund really made a gain of \$626.12.

In connection with this report the Secretary-Treasurer called attention to additional departments which should be included in the *Publications* in order to increase their usefulness to the members of the Association. Perhaps the most urgent need was for separate numbers, besides the quarterly instalments now printed, to be devoted to bibliography and reviews. The present resources of the Association were sufficient to cover the additional cost of printing this ma-

terial; the only fundamental obstacle consisted in the lack of an adequate administrative staff for handling the increasing burden of editorial and business detail. It was impossible to undertake new departments, however great their promised usefulness, until provision could be found for adequate administrative staff. The only permanent solution of the problem was by building up a considerable endowment fund, the income from which might be used for administrative expenses. It was time, in his opinion, for the Association to consider the advisability of a vigorous endowment campaign, thereby following the example which had recently been set by several other learned societies. The growth and prosperity which the Modern Language Association is now enjoying make the present time the more opportune for laying secure foundations, sufficiently ample to provide for present necessities and to make future expansion possible.

It was voted to refer the report of the Treasurer to the Auditing Committee.

President Frank Aydelotte, Chairman of the Committee on Rotographs of MSS. and Rare Books, presented the following report.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON REPRODUCTION OF MSS. AND EARLY PRINTED BOOKS

The Committee on Reproduction of Manuscripts and Early Printed Books has to report that, on April 15, 1922, a printed announcement of the plan was mailed to the members of the Association and to all the colleges and universities in the United States. This announcement contained a request that colleges which were interested should undertake to participate in the plan by contributing \$25 each per year for this purpose. The following colleges and individuals have contributed for 1922:

Brown University	Mount Holyoke College
Bryn Mawr College	New York University
Carleton College	Northwestern University
Catholic Univ. of America	Pomona College
Colorado College	Princeton University
Dartmouth College	Radcliffe College
De Pauw University	Reed College
Goucher College	Simmons College
Grinnell College	Smith College
Johns Hopkins University	State University of Iowa
Leland Stanford Jr. University	Swarthmore College

Tulane University (Newcomb College)	University of Wisconsin
University of California	Vassar College
University of Chicago	Washington and Lee University
University of Georgia	Washington University
University of Kansas	Wellesley College
University of North Carolina	Wells College
University of Notre Dame	Western Reserve University (Adelbert College)
University of Pennsylvania	Yale University
University of Pittsburgh	Newberry Library, Chicago
University of Southern California	President Frank Aydelotte
University of Texas	Ginn & Company (\$100)
University of Washington	

This gives the Association a fund of \$1,200 for the first year's work. The plan adopted by the Committee is to use for each year's budget the money collected during the preceding calendar year. We shall accordingly begin on January 1, 1923 to spend the money collected during 1922 and shall issue a second request for contributions in 1923 to be spent in 1924.

Subscribing institutions have been asked to indicate the material which would be most immediately useful to them for purposes of research. These requests have been referred to a sub-committee on selections, consisting of

Professor Frederic Ives Carpenter, Chairman, University of Chicago.

Professor W. A. Nitze, University of Chicago.

Professor Carleton Brown, Bryn Mawr College.

Professor J. S. P. Tatlock, Leland Stanford University.

Professor Robert K. Root, Princeton University.

Mr. H. H. B. Meyer, Library of Congress.

Professor Charles R. Baskervill, University of Chicago.

Professor C. F. Tucker Brooke, Yale University.

Professor George L. Hamilton, Cornell University.

J. A. Herbert, Esq., Assistant Keeper of Manuscripts, British Museum (Advisory member).

The work of the Sub-committee on Selections has been in active progress for about three months, and the first rotographs will be ordered early in January.

The first task of the Sub-committee on Selections is to study conditions and perfect arrangements for securing rotographs as economically as possible. Certain delays in securing material are to be expected in the first year of the operation of the scheme. It will be the general policy of the Sub-committee on Selections to restrict themselves to the reproduction of complete works so far as this is possible and so far as it is consistent with what seems to be the best interests of the subscribing institutions. In addition to the material which it is possible to reproduce this year, the Committee will undertake to make a list of desiderata. Suggestions for this list will be welcomed at any time. Any extra funds that may be left from year to year will be employed in procuring material from this list.

Definite regulations for the use of the rotograph material have been discussed by the Committee but have not yet been definitely formulated.

Probably it will be best to defer the issue of such rules until we have some experience on which to base them. In general, it will be the policy of the Committee to make the conditions for the use of such material as liberal and convenient as is consistent with the safety of the material and its widest utilization.

So far as selections are concerned, the Committee has adopted the policy of caring first for the expressed needs of subscribing institutions, at least up to the limit of their contribution. Any margin of funds after these needs are attended to will be used for carrying out a more comprehensive program. Suggestions for this program and for the general conduct of the work of the Committee will be welcome at any time.

Cordial interest expressed by institutions and individuals throughout the country in the plan seems to promise its success. Most of the subscribers are colleges or universities, but a few are individuals. Since material procured under this plan is first of all available to the individual selecting it, since the rotographs come into the Library of Congress free of duty, and since the charges for administration are all borne by the Modern Language Association or by the Library of Congress so that all funds contributed go into rotographs themselves, it is quite clear that an individual who wishes manuscripts reproduced can make his money go very much farther by contributing it to this scheme than he could by having the rotographs made on his own account. The only stipulation is that the rotographs must belong eventually to the Library of Congress, which stipulation in no wise interferes with the usefulness of the material to a given person since he can obtain it for work in his own study at any time.

The thanks of the Association are due to Ginn & Company of Boston for a generous contribution of \$100 toward the work of the Committee.

FRANK AYDELOTTE, *Chairman.*

December 28, 1922.

It was voted to adopt the report and to confirm the action of the Committee in nominating a special Committee on the selection of MSS. to be rotographed.

The Secretary of the Association read a communication, dated Dec. 22, from Professor Wm. G. Hale, Chairman of the Joint Committee on Grammatical Nomenclature. Professor Hale stated that the revised Report of the Committee had gone through two proofs but its actual appearance had been delayed by typographical errors which had developed in the handling of the type. It was essential that every precaution should be taken to secure complete accuracy. He asked, therefore, that the representation of the Modern

Language Association on the Joint Committee be continued. It was so voted.

The Secretary of the Association reported that the Executive Council had by its ballot nominated to the Association the following scholars for election as Honorary Members: Edmund K. Chambers, author of *The Mediæval Stage*, Sir. Israel Gollancz, Director of the Early English Text Society, and Professor W. A. Craigie of Oxford University.

It was voted to elect the persons named as Honorary Members of the Association.

President Raymond Weeks announced the appointment of the following committees:

On the Nomination of Officers: Professors George L. Hamilton of Cornell University (Chairman), Raymond M. Alden of Stanford University, Charles H. Handschin of Miami University, Charles C. Marden of Princeton University, and Ashley H. Thorndike of Columbia University.

On Resolutions: Professor C. H. C. Wright of Harvard University (Chairman), President W. W. Comfort of Haverford College, and Professor Allen W. Porterfield of Randolph-Macon Woman's College.

To Audit the Treasurer's Report: Professors Raymond D. Havens of the University of Rochester (Chairman), John P. Hoskins of Princeton University, and Albert Schinz of Smith College.

The Secretary of the Association read a telegram from Professor John M. Manly regretting that he had been prevented from attending the meeting and asking that he be relieved from the Chairmanship of the General Committee on Groups for the coming year.

On motion of Professor H. C. Lancaster it was voted that Professor Edwin Greenlaw be made Chairman of the Committee on Groups for 1923.

Professor Ashley Thorndike called the attention of the members of the Association to the Conference of British and American Professors of English, which is to be held at Columbia University in June, and expressed the hope that the

American colleges and universities would be widely represented.

Professor Morris W. Croll, of Princeton University, reported a minute adopted by the Group on Poetic Form setting forth the desirability of reaching some understanding as to the methods employed in metrical notation. He moved that the Association appoint a committee of five to investigate the subject of metrical notation and to recommend a method (or alternative methods) to be adopted in textbooks used in the schools. It was so voted.

[The President appointed as this committee, Professors Morris W. Croll (Chairman), R. M. Alden of Stanford University, Felix E. Schelling of the University of Pennsylvania, Fred N. Scott of the University of Michigan, and Paull F. Baum of Trinity College, North Carolina.]

Professor André Morize of Harvard University announced that he had brought with him a collection of several thousand reference cards relating to French Literature which he would place in one of the side rooms of Houston Hall where they could be consulted by those who were interested.

Professor Fred N. Scott of the University of Michigan explained to the Association the origin and purpose of the organization of a joint Committee of British and American scholars to consider the promotion of pure English, as recently announced in the *Literary Review*. [See the issue for Dec. 16.] He moved that the Association express its interest in the movement for pure English and its approval of the steps which had thus far been taken toward this end. It was so voted.

The remainder of the session was devoted to an

AUTHOR-PUBLISHER SYMPOSIUM

The following papers were presented:

1. "The Market for the Scholarly Book."¹ By Dr. Alexander Green, Modern Language Editor, D. C. Heath and Company.

¹ Printed in full at the end of the Proceedings, pp. xxxv, ff.

2. "The Scholar and the Introductory Text-Book." By Dr. Will D. Howe, of the Editorial Staff, Charles Scribner's Sons.

3. "Coöperation between Author and Publisher from the Point of View of the Author."² By Professor James Geddes, Jr., of *Boston University*.

4. "The Author and the Reviewer." By Dr. Henry Seidel Canby, Editor of the *Literary Review*.

5. "Cooperation between Author and Publisher from the Point of View of the Publisher." By J. Franklin Brown, of the Educational Editorial Department, The Macmillan Company.

During the reading of the last paper the Chair was occupied by Professor Fred N. Scott. On the conclusion of these papers there was brief discussion by Professors Howard J. Savage and T. Moody Campbell.

On Thursday evening of December 28, at 6:30 o'clock, in Bennett Hall, the ladies of the Association were entertained informally at dinner by Louise H. Snowden, Advisor of Women, of the *University of Pennsylvania*. About seventy-five ladies were present.

At eight o'clock in the evening of Thursday, December 28, the President of the Association, Professor Raymond Weeks, of *Columbia University*, delivered an address entitled: "The Poets and Nature"³ in the Auditorium, Houston Hall.

After this address there was an informal reception for the members and guests of the Association.

THIRD SESSION, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 29

For the third session the Association met in three sections devoted, respectively, to English, Romance, and Germanic Philology.

² Printed in somewhat abridged form at the end of the Proceedings, pp. xciv, ff.

³ This address, in somewhat abridged form, will shortly be published in *Scribner's Magazine*.

ENGLISH SECTION

AUDITORIUM, HOUSTON HALL

Chairman, Professor Lane Cooper, of *Cornell University*.

The following papers were read:

6. "The Organizing Ideas in *Piers the Plowman*." By Henry W. Wells, of *Columbia University*.

The paper was discussed by Professors O. F. Emerson, Samuel Moore, and the author.

7. "Theodore of Tarsus and Gislenus of Athens." By Professor Albert S. Cook, of *Yale University*. In the absence of Professor Cook, the paper was read by the Chairman. It was discussed by Dr. H. B. Hinckley.

8. "Keats, Rabelais, and Diodorus Siculus." By Professor John L. Lowes, of *Harvard University*.

The paper was discussed by Professors A. H. Gilbert, W. E. Peck, and the author.

9. "A Forgotten Johnsonian." By Professor Charles G. Osgood, of *Princeton University*.

10. "The Term 'Communal.'" By Professor Louise Pound, of the *University of Nebraska*.

The paper was read by Professor Arthur Beatty. It was discussed by Professors Raymond Alden, J. L. Lowes, and the Chairman.

11. "*Love's Labour's Lost*" and the "Earl of Southampton." By Professor Austin K. Grey, of *Haverford College*.

On the motion of Professor G. H. Gerould, the Section voted that the chairman appoint a committee of five to coöperate with the committee of the American Library Association in regard to the project of distributive buying by American libraries. [The Chairman later appointed the following committee: Professors R. K. Root (Chairman), A. C. Baugh, Edwin Greenlaw, C. S. Northup, and R. J. Menner.]

R. J. MENNER, Yale University, *Secretary*.

ROMANCE SECTION

ROOM 314, ENGINEERING BUILDING

Chairman, Professor C. H. C. Wright, of *Harvard University*.

The following papers were read:

12. "La Société du Directoire et La Comedie de Moeurs." By Professor Louis Allard, of *Harvard University*.

13. "Madame d'Houdetot et ses amities americaines." By Professor G. Chinard, of *Johns Hopkins University*.

14. "The Psychology of Napoleon Worship in French Literature." By Professor A. L. Guerard, of *The Rice Institute*.

15. "The Theory of 'Natural Goodness' in Rousseau's *Confessions*." By Professor George R. Havens, of the *Ohio State University*.

16. "Le Jongleur Gautier Le Leu." By Professor Charles H. Livingston, of *Bowdoin College*.

17. "Realistic 'objectivity' versus Classical 'objectivity'." By Professor F. A. Waterhouse, of *Hamilton College*.

Professor Havens' paper was discussed by Professor Schinz and Dr. Walter L. Bullock; Professor Livingston's by Professor Armstrong. The other papers met with no comment.

SHIRLEY GALE PATTERSON, of Dartmouth College,
Secretary.

GERMANIC SECTION

ROOM 313, ENGINEERING BUILDING

Chairman, Professor T. Moody Campbell, of *Wesleyan University*.

The following papers were read:

18. "A Problem in Modern German Verb-Rection." By Professor Albert Wilhelm Boesche, of *Cornell University*.

The paper was discussed by Professors Prokosch and Kellogg, Dr. Starck, and the author.

19. "The Mystic Brotherhood in German Literature of the Eighteenth Century, with special reference to Goethe's *Die Geheimnisse*." By Dr. Edwin H. Zeydel, of the Carnegie Endowment, Washington, D. C.

The paper was discussed by Professors Faust and Fife.

20. "Remnants of a Middle Low German Bible Translation," By Professor Adriaan J. Barnouw, of *Columbia University*.

The paper was discussed by Professors Shumway, Vos, Kurrelmeyer, and the author.

21. "Schiller's Attitude toward England." By Professor John Alexander Kelly, of *Haverford College*.

The paper was discussed by Professor Vos.

The Section then proceeded to consideration of the reports of committees.

Professor Schreiber reported progress of the Committee on the formulation of plans for the commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of Goethe's death. The committee was continued.

Professor von Klenze, as chairman, told of the activities of the Committee on the formulation of plans for the collecting and preserving of German literature written and published in the United States. On the motion of Professor Faust a committee with Professor von Klenze as chairman was authorized to take in hand the further organization and the collection of German books written in this country. The selection of the members of the committee was left to the Chairman.

Dr. Taylor Starck, of Harvard University, reported for the Committee on the collecting of funds to assist in publishing the remaining portions of Grimm's *Wörterbuch*. Investigations of the committee showed that of the \$120 necessary for publishing one fascicle of the Dictionary it would be necessary to rely upon outside help for \$30 and an additional \$10 for *Mitarbeiter*, or \$240 a year, if publication were to continue at the rate of six fascicles a year. Dr. Starck reported \$342 collected up to the date of the meeting. The report was

accepted and the committee continued with the power to enlarge if deemed necessary.

In the absence of Professor Heuser, Chairman of the Committee on the collection and the publication of a list of important German periodicals in American libraries, the report was read by Professor Thayer. The committee had found that before it could intelligently undertake the work in this country, it would be necessary to make a survey of the important libraries in Germany. The committee recommended that a volume be published listing the periodicals to be found in the more important German libraries; the work to be entrusted to a German, selected by an advisory committee of German scholars, and to be financed by soliciting advance subscriptions. The report was accepted and the committee was continued with power.

Professor Gustav Gruener, of Yale University, was elected Chairman of the Section for the next meeting.

PAUL H. CURTS, Wesleyan University, *Secretary*.

At one o'clock the members of the Association were the guests of the University of Pennsylvania at luncheon in Weightman Hall.

FOURTH SESSION, FRIDAY AFTERNOON, DECEMBER 29

The fourth session of the Association was devoted to Group Meetings, which were held in two Divisions, those of the First Division from 2 o'clock until 3:30 and those of the Second from 4 o'clock until 5:30.

FIRST DIVISION, 2 P. M.

(*General Topics II*) The Critical Study of Romanticism.
Chairman, Professor Stanley P. Chase.

The following papers were presented:

"Early Conceptions of Romantic Scenery," by Professor Edward E. Hale, (read by the Chairman in Professor Hale's absence).

"Romanticism in Seventeenth Century Literature," by Professor Morris W. Croll.

"The Romantic Essay," by Professor Robert Withington.

All of these papers were highly suggestive and stimulated discussion.

The following papers were read by title:

"Romantic Psychology," by Professor Percy H. Houston.

"English Interpretations of the Romantic in the Early 19th Century," by Professor Paul Kaufman.

Letters were read from various members reporting investigations in progress. The following list of topics for investigation was presented and was adopted as a working program. According to this plan the Group will select each year the special topic for the ensuing year.

1. Definition of the term "romanticism."
2. Connection of romanticism with philosophy.
3. Connection of romanticism with religion.
4. Connection of romanticism with politics and the writing of history.
5. Connection of romanticism with the types of literature.
6. Romanticism in Greek literature.
7. Romanticism in Latin literature.
8. Romanticism in mediæval literature.
9. Romanticism in Renaissance Literature.
10. Romanticism in the so-called romantic period, with special study of the comparative chronology of its flourishing in the various literatures.

It was voted that the Group should undertake the publication, annually or from time to time, of a small book of some six or seven essays on related aspects of a central topic, such as one of the above. For carrying out this plan, it was voted further that a small editorial committee should be appointed, and the Chairman was empowered to choose such a committee. It was voted to select "The Interpretation of the Term Romanticism" as the subject of investigation for the ensuing year.

Dr. C. E. Whitmore of Northampton, Mass., was elected Chairman and Professor Paul Kaufman, of American University, Secretary.

About fifty persons were present.

PAUL KAUFMAN, *Secretary*.

(*English III*) Present Status of Work on Chaucer. *Chairman*, Professor Edgar F. Shannon.

The following papers were presented:

"Realism in the Description of the Canterbury Pilgrims."

By Professor Howard R. Patch. Discussed by Professors R. K. Root and Samuel Moore and Dr. Henry B. Hinckley.

"Further Suggestion on Dating the *House of Fame* and the *Tale of Constance*." By Professor O. F. Emerson. Discussed by Professors John L. Lowes, William E. Mead, G. H. Gerould, and R. K. Root.

"England's Discovery of the *Decameron*." By Professor W. E. Farnham. Discussed by Professor Samuel Moore and Dr. Henry B. Hinckley.

"French Influences on Chaucer's Knowledge of the Classics." By Professor John L. Lowes. The speaker invited the cooperation of the members of the Group in this investigation. It was voted that those interested in studying various aspects of this problem should communicate with Professor Lowes so that he may introduce some organization into the general work.

Professor Shannon declined reelection as Chairman, and Professor Root was elected as his successor. Professor Patch was reelected Secretary.

HOWARD R. PATCH, *Secretary*.

(*English VIII*) The Bibliography of English Fiction, 1660-1800. *Chairman*, Professor Helen Sard Hughes.

The main business of the meeting was the discussion of the report of the chairman of the Editorial Committee, Professor R. S. Crane, with a view to defining the scope of the work, the methods of distribution of individual tasks, and technical specifications for the guidance of workers.

As most of the members present were especially interested in research in the period 1740-1800, that section of the work was chiefly discussed. Members were asked to indicate in writing the type of task they might most readily undertake: the collection of the bibliography of minor fiction in one decade or more, the bibliography of some major novelist, or the collection of items in certain periodicals or other sources. It was agreed that the Editorial Committee should prepare for immediate distribution to workers a list of technical specifications in accordance with the standards agreed upon at this meeting.

HELEN SARD HUGHES, *Chairman.*

(*English XI*) American Literature. *Chairman*, Professor Arthur H. Quinn.

The Chairman in his opening remarks outlined the program for the meeting. Professor Percy H. Boynton read a paper on *A Proper Critical Attitude to American Literature*, in which he discussed the growth of national consciousness and the decline of literary self-consciousness.

Professor Henry S. Canby spoke on *Some Standards of Criticism*. He advocated a criticism by planes, with no relaxation of standards. Pointing out the fact that criticism of American writers has been too good-natured as well as too unsympathetic, he urged that it be made more rigorous and scholarly.

A lively discussion of several statements made by Professors Quinn, Boynton, and Canby followed, involving Miss Amy Reed, Dr. Walter L. Bullock, Mr. Harry T. Baker, the Secretary, and other unidentified members.

Mr. John Valente announced that he was making a *Concordance to Walt Whitman*, and that if the proper coöperation of the libraries of the country could be secured, Mr. Wilson, the publisher of *The Reader's Guide*, would publish it and assume a risk to the amount of three thousand dollars.

Professor Boynton was elected to succeed Professor Quinn.

FRANCIS A. LITZ, *Secretary.*

(*French III*) French Literature of the xvii and xviii Centuries. *Chairman*, Professor Albert Schinz.

The meeting was devoted to a belated celebration of Molière's Tercentenary. The Chairman sketched the history of Molière's fame, especially at the times of the first and second centenaries. He also mentioned some of the most significant contributions to our knowledge of Molière that were offered at the occasion of the celebration of the tercentenary.

Professor H. Carrington Lancaster called attention to a Don Juan play in France which had remained unknown to scholars.

Professor André Morize summarized the episode of the Molière-Corneille Controversy, started in 1920 by Pierre Louys, and took occasion to lay down some rules that ought to be observed in approaching problems of literary history.

Professor Colbert Searles was elected Chairman of the Group for the coming year.

ALBERT SCHINZ, *Chairman*.

(*German I*) Historical Grammar and Linguistics. *Chairman*, Professor Eduard Prokosch.

The following papers were read and discussed:

"A Century of Grimm's Law," by Professor Hermann Collitz.

"Sound Change and Meaning," by Professor H. Kurath.

The discussion of the nature of sound laws and phonetic tendencies promised in the program had to be abandoned for lack of time.

The following officers were elected for the coming year: Professor A. F. J. Remy, of *Columbia University*, Chairman; Professor A. Busse, of *Hunter College*, Secretary.

HANS KURATH, *Secretary*.

(*Scandinavian I*) Scandinavian Literature. *Chairman*, Professor Adolph B. Benson. Professor Josef Wiehr was elected Secretary.

The following papers were read:

"The Personal Elements in the Works of Strindberg," by Dr. Axel J. Uppvall. Discussion and comment by Professor Porterfield, Weigand, and Fife.

"Is the *Gibbonssaga* a Reflection of *Partonopeus*," by Dr. Henry G. Leach, who answered the question in the negative. Discussion by Professor Fife and Dr. Uppvall.

"The Poetry of Viktor Rydberg," by Dr. Charles Wharton Stork.

Lack of time prevented any discussion of this paper. The attendance at this meeting was surprisingly large.

Professor George T. Flom, of the University of Illinois, was elected Chairman of the Group for 1923 and the choice of a Secretary was left to him.

JOSEF WIEHR, *Secretary*.

(*Spanish I*) Spanish Language. *Chairman*, Professor C. Carroll Marden.

Professor Frederick Courtney Tarr read a paper on "Some Characteristics Uses of the Noun Clause in Modern Spanish" which provoked interesting and fruitful discussion. The Group voted unanimously to hold a similar meeting next year, and Professor Marden was reelected Chairman. The Chairman then brought up the question of coöperation towards obtaining in this country organized files of Spanish periodicals—scientific and semi-scientific journals, literary reviews, newspapers, etc.—with the hope of avoiding duplication and at the same time widening the range of material available, as well as making such files really accessible when needed. Some fifteen persons, representing as many colleges and universities, agreed to report to the Chairman what periodicals, reviews, etc. were available in their respective institutions. From these persons the following committee was appointed to put the periodical plan into effect: Professors R. H. Keniston (Chairman), F. B. Luquiens, and C. C. Marden. It is hoped that other eastern institutions which desire to coöperate and are willing to add to their lists of

Spanish journals, will communicate with Professor Keniston.
The attendance was about thirty-five.

H. G. DOYLE, *Secretary*.

SECOND DIVISION, 4 P. M.

(*General Topics IV*) Phonetics. *Acting Chairman*, Professor Robert J. Kellogg.

Owing to conflicts with other Group Meetings held at the same hour, only ten persons were present. However, lists were passed for signature by those desiring to be enrolled as members of the Group and some one hundred and fifty signatures were obtained. The organization of the Group was effected by electing Professor James L. Barker Chairman for the coming year and Dr. Elliott A. White (Dartmouth), Chairman of a sub-Group on Experimental Phonetics, each being empowered to appoint such assistants and committees as might be needed.

The following topics were presented and discussed:

1. Methods of Teaching Pronunciation with and without the International Phonetic Alphabet by Professors Kellogg, Cardon, Downer and others.
2. Differences between French and English Enunciation, by Professors Barker, Cardon, and others.
3. Possible Plans for Experimental Phonetics.
4. Plans for the Establishment for a Journal of Phonetics.

ROBERT J. KELLOGG, *Acting Chairman*.

(*Comparative Literature I*) Influence of Latin Culture on Mediæval literature. *Chairman*, Professor G. H. Gerould. In the absence of Secretary Coffman, Professor G. H. McKnight was elected Secretary *pro tempore*.

The simplification of the title of the Group to "Mediæval Latin" was proposed and adopted.

The Chairman announced that a survey of the state of studies in Mediæval Latin throughout the United States was in progress, and that Professor Tatlock would issue a report on the findings of the committee.

The Chairman read letters from Professors E. K. Rand (Harvard) and G. B. Adams (Yale) favoring the affiliation of the Group with the committee of the Council of Learned Societies in charge of projects of interest to the Group. On motion of Professor O. F. Emerson it was voted that "through our committee we coöperate with the Council of Learned Societies in projects they have undertaken."

The proposed new edition of *Ducange* was discussed, and it was the sense of the Group that to undertake a single thorough-going revision of *Ducange*, or a new and comprehensive dictionary, would be much more worth while than to compile a set of special vocabularies. To that end the members present promised hearty coöperation.

The Chairman introduced for discussion the plan of the American Library Association for the distributive buying of books. It was agreed that a committee be appointed by the officers of the Group to confer with librarians and to assist in blocking out divisions for which particular libraries might undertake to hold themselves responsible in the field of mediæval Latin. Those desiring to assist the committee in its work were invited to send contributions of one dollar each to the Chairman or to Professor Coffman to be used in defraying expenses.

The Chairman presented for consideration the tentative table of contents for a mediæval Latin primer by Professor C. H. Beeson of Chicago. The discussion which followed led to agreement in regard to the following points:

- (1) It was thought that very short selections were undesirable—that they should be longer, even though they covered a less wide range.
- (2) Any arrangement except a chronological one seemed impossible.
- (3) The present contents appear too largely anecdotal in character.
- (4) A grammatical introduction would be desirable, but only a short one. Perhaps five pages would be the maximum length necessary. Brief notes would also be useful.

Professor Gerould was elected Chairman of the Group for the coming year.

G. H. MCKNIGHT, *Secretary pro tempore*.

(*English II*) Present-Day English. *Chairman*, Professor James F. Royster.

The proposal to take means to establish a Central Bureau for recording and distributing specimens of American speech was discussed and enthusiastically approved. The discussion was led by Professor J. L. Barker and was continued by the following persons (among others): Professors Fred N. Scott, H. M. Ayres, and Samuel Moore.

It was voted that the Chairman be empowered to appoint a committee to formulate a plan and to seek means for collecting and distributing specimens of the American Language. The Chairman of the Group has named Professor J. L. Barker as Chairman of the Committee and will later name the other members of the Committee. It was further voted to leave the appointment of a Group Chairman to the General Group Committee.

There were twenty members in attendance.

JAMES F. ROYSTER, *Chairman*.

(*English V.*) Spenser and Milton. *Chairman*, Professor Edwin Greenlaw.

The Chairman announced plans for a complete Variorum edition of Spenser, under collaborative authorship; approval of the undertaking was voted. He announced that the Spenser bibliography compiled by Dr. F. I. Carpenter is ready for the printer.

Plans for a Milton bibliography were discussed. It was voted that a bibliography be undertaken, in coöperation with Professor Stevens, who should be one member of a committee appointed to carry out the plan. The Chair appointed Professors R. D. Havens, D. H. Stevens, and J. H. Hanford (chairman).

Extension of the scope of the group, possibly to include non-dramatic literature of the 16th and 17th centuries, was discussed. The question was referred to a committee to be appointed.

The Chairman announced that his resignation was necessitated by his new work as chairman of the Committee on

Groups. Professor J. H. Hanford was elected chairman for the ensuing period. Professor H. E. Sandison was elected Secretary-Treasurer.

Professor Havens suggested the publishing of a mimeographed bulletin, at intervals during the year, recording research in progress, bibliography, questions, etc. After discussion of the value and expense of such publication it was voted that 50c dues be established for active membership in the group, to be spent by the Secretary-Treasurer on mimeographing and postage. All present so desiring signed a list of active members. All members of the Association wishing to join in the work of the group are asked to send their names to the Secretary, Professor Helen E. Sandison, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

Reports of work in progress were made to the Secretary: edition, with translation, of Milton's Latin poems, Mr. Walter MacKellar; Browne and Nineteenth Century prose, Professor Stuart Robertson. Any other such reports may be sent to the Secretary.

Papers were then read as follows:

1. Problems in the Moral Allegory of the *Faerie Queene*, Charles G. Osgood.
2. A Note on Spenser's Theory of Narrative Technique, John W. Draper.
3. Milton Problems: (a) Milton's Library, J. Holly Hanford; (b) Seventeenth Century Biographies of Milton, Allen R. Benham; (c) A Detail of Milton's Cosmology, Allan H. Gilbert.

HELEN E. SANDISON, *Secretary-Treasurer*.

(*English IX*) Wordsworth and his Contemporaries. *Chairman*, Professor George MacLean Harper.

The following papers were read:

"The Wordsworth-Coleridge Complex," by Professor Harper.

"A Review of Professor Arthur Beatty's book, *William Wordsworth: his Doctrine and Art in their Historical Relations*," by Professor S. F. Gingerich.

Professor Beatty replied to his critic and a spirited discussion developed in which many persons participated.

Professor J. E. Wells read a list of principal publications in this field during the year. Professor O. J. Campbell presented the report of the committee on Publications and called attention to the following as works most needed by students and teachers: (1) a reissue of *The Letters of the Wordsworth Family*, (2) A new and better edition of Dorothy Wordsworth's *Journals*, (3) A new edition of Wordsworth's *Prose Works*, (4) an annotated edition of the *Complete Poems*, adapted particularly for American colleges, (5) a complete and definitive Wordsworth bibliography.

The organization of the Group was continued without change for another year. Sixty-seven members were present.

OSCAR J. CAMPBELL, *Secretary*.

(*French I*) Romance Linguistics. *Chairman*, Professor Henry A. Todd.

The following papers were presented:

1. "Some Etymologies." (dealing with OF *adenz*, Fr *chassie*, Sard. *nuraghe*, Sp. *pedazo* and Sp. *cenceno*), by Professor D. S. Blondheim. Discussed by the Chairman.

2. "The Passive Voice in Vulgar Latin," by Professor Henri F. Muller.

The discussion of questions relating to the organization of the Group led to the adoption of the following resolutions:

I. That a vote of thanks be given to the Chairman for the valuable services he had rendered the Group.

II. That a committee of three be chosen to nominate a Chairman for the next meeting, the committee to consist of Professors D. S. Blondheim, C. Gilli and O. Müller.

III. That the Secretary should continue in office during the following year.

OTTO MÜLLER, *Secretary*.

(*German IV*) Romanticism in Contemporary German Literature. *Chairman*, Professor Allen W. Porterfield.

The Chairman in his opening remarks called attention to literary currents and interests prevailing in Germany today.

There is a marked tendency on the part of German scholars toward research on Goethe, as shown by the numerous books now appearing on various aspects of Goethe's life and works. Schiller, on the other hand, is being neglected.

Professor Otto Manthey-Zorn read a paper on "Romanticism in the Contemporary German Drama," giving his impressions of the German drama of today gained on a trip to Germany two years ago. He emphasized the unpropitiousness of the times to great dramatic work and discussed the *Volksbühne* and its campaign against commercialism and for higher art.

Professor Camillo von Klenze spoke on "Romanticism, the World-War and the Philosophy of Tomorrow." He compared the present age with that of Plato immediately after the Peloponnesian War. Writers are now attempting to represent all life and to transcend it. Disregarding the past, they are, like Nietzsche, looking to the future. A groping and a blending of experience (reality) and aspiration (mysticism) characterize the present period. A new dawn in literature seems to be breaking at this very time.

The following resolution, moved by Professor Hauch and seconded by Professor Busse, who had been its original sponsor, was adopted:

That the Chairman name a committee to draw up an appropriate congratulatory message to be transmitted to Gerhart Hauptmann as an expression of the sentiment of the Group on the occasion of his recent sixtieth birthday.

The Chairman appointed as members of this committee Professors Gruener, Fife and von Klenze.

EDWIN H. ZEYDEL, *Acting Secretary*.

(*Italian I*) Italian Literature. *Chairman*, Professor James E. Shaw. Professor Mary Vance Young was elected Secretary.

Professor E. Goggio reported for the Committee on means for advancing the study of Italian. Letters received from instructors in various institutions indicated a preference for

dealing with modern literature in the first year, reserving the older literature for the more advanced year; recommended the extension of Italian studies over several years and that public lectures be given, prizes offered, clubs founded, the support of the Italian government invoked, and that university instructors be organized.

Discussion by Professors Pugh, Riddell, Bullock, Camera, Cavicchia, Geddes, Goggio and others led to the conclusion that matters mentioned in the report should be studied by an association to be formed of university instructors. It was voted that a committee be appointed by the Chairman to consider the formation of such an association, in harmony with the members of the Central Division of the M. L. A., and bearing in mind the existence of the *Association of Italian Teachers*, of New York, and of other societies especially that of the *Figli d'Italia*.

Dr. Charles E. Whitmore read a paper on "The Present Status of Work on Early Italian Poetry."

Professor G. Cavicchia made a report on "Short Stories in Contemporary Italian Literature," with regard to their use in instruction.

Professor D. Vittorini made an address on "The Contemporary Novel," classifying and criticising the production of the last half century.

Professor A. Riddell was unfortunately unable to make her report on "Contemporary Periodicals," since she was obliged to leave early.

It was voted to defer the permanent organization of the Group.

MARY VANCE YOUNG, *Secretary*.

At seven o'clock Friday evening, a subscription dinner was served to members of the Association in Weightman Hall.

All members of the Association were entertained at a smoker in Weightman Hall, at half-past eight o'clock. The Smoke-talk was given by Mr. A. EDWARD NEWTON.

FIFTH SESSION, SATURDAY MORNING, DECEMBER 30

AUDITORIUM, HOUSTON HALL

The session was called to order by the President of the Association at 9:40 a.m.

Professor R. D. Havens, Chairman of the Committee to audit the report of the Treasurer, being obliged to return home the previous evening, left a statement signed by the members of the Committee certifying that the report had been examined and found correct, whereupon it was voted to accept the Treasurer's report.

Professor C. H. C. Wright, Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, after calling attention to the recent action of the A. L. A. Council protesting against certain provisions in the Bill now pending in Congress to amend the Copyright Law, offered the following resolution:

Resolved, that the Modern Language Association of America endorse the resolutions of the Council of the American Library Association with regard to the proposed copyright measures sponsored by the Authors' League.

The resolution was adopted.

Professor Wright also presented the following resolution:

Whereas, The *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* is perhaps the most important scholarly undertaking of our day, at least after the Oxford English Dictionary; and whereas the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* is at present in extreme pecuniary distress; and whereas a movement is on foot in America to find ways and means of saving the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* for the world of scholarship and for civilization:

Resolved, that the Modern Language Association of America heartily endorse any wise effort that may be made to obtain funds for the said *Thesaurus* as a matter of deep concern to all scholars of this and future generations.

The resolution was adopted.

Professor Wright also presented the following resolution:

Resolved, that the Modern Language Association of America in convention assembled hereby express its sincere thanks for the hospitality extended to it by the Provost and authorities of the University of Pennsylvania, and its most grateful appreciation of the courtesy and kindness of all concerned in the entertainment of its members.

The resolution was adopted by a rising vote.

In the absence of Professor George L. Hamilton, Chairman, the report of the Committee on the Nomination of Officers was presented by Professor Charles C. Marden, as follows:

For President of the Association: Professor Oliver F. Emerson, of Western Reserve University.

For Vice-Presidents: Professors T. Moody Campbell, of Wesleyan University, Arthur H. Quinn, of the University of Pennsylvania, and James E. Shaw, of the University of Toronto.

For member of the Executive Council to fill Professor Emerson's unexpired term: Professor Karl Young, of the University of Wisconsin.

It was voted that the Secretary be instructed to cast one ballot for the nominees and they were declared elected.

Professor John L. Lowes, of Harvard University, presented the following motion which had been drawn up and unanimously endorsed at a meeting of the Trustees, and members of the Executive Council in attendance at the present session:

That the Executive Council be authorized to appoint an Assistant Secretary for the year 1923 at a salary which shall not exceed \$800. It is understood that this does not affect the appropriation of a sum not to exceed \$600 for clerical assistance, already voted by the Association.

It was so voted.

Professor Robert J. Kellogg, of the University of Pennsylvania, presented the following motion:

That a Committee of the Modern Language Association be appointed to confer with representatives of (1) other linguistic Associations in the United States and Canada, (2) graduate and research institutions, libraries, commercial or industrial organizations concerned with linguistic investigations, (3) leading publishing houses issuing linguistic and philological works, in order to consider with them and report to this Association plans and means for dealing with the following matters:

I. The discovery, encouragement and co-ordination of competent scholarly research and preparation of text-books along literary, linguistic, philological, and directly related lines.

II. The guidance of investigators in preparing studies, monographs, larger works, or journals, embodying worthwhile results of such investigations.

III. The development of a permanent demand and sustaining constituency for such works.

IV. Plans of publication, advertising, and distribution.

V. The securing of sustaining patrons, endowed funds, or other necessary facilities for such research, publication, advertising and distribution.

VI. Provision for permanent coöperation of publishers, institutions, associations and patrons to the above ends.

After some general discussion the motion was put and it was so voted.

Professor Raymond M. Alden, speaking as the representative of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, presented a message of greeting from that Association to the Modern Language Association of America.

Professor Fred N. Scott moved that the General Group Committee be asked to make a report of progress at the next annual meeting. It was so voted.

Professor James F. Royster of the University of North Carolina offered the following resolution:

Resolved, that the Executive Council be requested to consider a proposal to arrange the program of the next meeting of the Association so that one session shall be devoted entirely to the presentation of two or three papers of general interest by scholars of distinction, chosen either from within or without the Association, and to appoint a committee of three, of which the Secretary of the Association shall be a member, to invite such persons of distinguished scholarly position as it may choose to prepare papers for this part of next year's program.

The resolution was adopted.

The reading of papers was then resumed.

22. "Position and Movement in Phonetics." By Professor James L. Barker, of the *University of Utah*.

The paper was discussed with much interest by Professors Robert J. Kellogg, H. Carrington Lancaster, and J. S. Kenyon.

23. "The Earl of Essex on the Stage." By Professor Winifred Smith, of *Vassar College*.

The paper was discussed by Professor H. Carrington Lancaster.

24. "The Contribution of Longinus' *De Sublimitate*." By Professor Charles Sears Baldwin, of *Barnard College*.

25. "Satanism in French Romanticism." By Professor Maximilian Rudwin, of *Swarthmore College*.

The paper was discussed by Professor André Morize.

26. "Pater, Heine, and the Old Gods of Greece." By Professor John S. Harrison, of *Butler College*.

27. "Some Russian Versions of *Don Juan*." By Dr. Clarence A. Manning, of *Columbia University*.

At 12:40 p. m. the Association adjourned.

PAPERS READ BY TITLE

28. "Jane Austen, the Critic." By Professor Annette B. Hopkins, of *Goucher College*.

29. "Moralist and Novel-Reader in Eighteenth Century England." By Professor Alan D. McKillop, of *Rice Institute*.

30. "Shakspeare's 'lead apes in hell.'" By Professor Ernest P. Kuhl, of *Goucher College*.

31. "Aminadab and the World." By Professor E. K. Maxfield, of *Washington and Jefferson College*.

32. "The Subterranean Grail-Paradise in *Don Quixote*." By Professor Philip S. Barto, of the *Carnegie Institute of Technology*.

33. "Keats' Use of Sound." By Professor Elizabeth Nitchie, of *Goucher College*.

34. "The Technique of Charles Sealsfield." By Dr. Bernard Stroer, of the *College of the City of New York*.

35. "A Criticism of the German Language and Literature by a German of the Eighteenth Century." By Dr. Edwin H. Zeydel, of the *Carnegie Endowment*, Washington, D. C.

36. "Erasmus Learns Greek." By Professor Howard J. Savage, of *Bryn Mawr College*.

37. "Doctor Johnson and 'Mur.'" By Professor Joseph M. Beatty, Jr., of *Goucher College*.

38. "Notes on Gilbert Imlay, Early American writer." By Professor O. F. Emerson, of *Western Reserve University*.

39. "La condition sociale des écrivains du seizième siècle." By Dr. Hélène Harvitt.

40. "Critical Essays Falsely Attributed to Goldsmith. A study of the *Belles Lettres* series of essays first published in the *British Magazine*

(1761-1763) and included in the 1802 edition of *Goldsmith's Works*." By Dr. Caroline F. Tupper, of the *University of Illinois*.

41. "Is Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound* an Allegory?" By Newman L. White, of *Trinity College* (N. C.)
42. "English Opinions of French Poetry, 1660-1750." By Miss Rose Heylbut Wollstein, of *Columbia University*.
43. "Notes on the Metre of the Old Spanish Epic Verses." By Professor E. C. Hills, of the *University of California*.
44. "Walter Savage Landor and William Wordsworth." By Professor Finley, M. K. Foster, of the *University of Delaware*.
45. "The Validity of Literary Definitions." By Dr. Charles E. Whitmore, of Northampton, Massachusetts.
46. "A New Biography of Sir George Etherege." By Professor Dorothy Foster, of *Mount Holyoke College*.
47. "The Choice of Reading Texts for Modern Language Classes." By Professor C. H. Handschin, of *Miami University*.
48. "Hazlitt as Critic of Art." By Professor Stanley P. Chase, of *Union College*.

MEETING OF THE CENTRAL DIVISION, 1922

The twenty-seventh meeting of the *Central Division* was held at Chicago upon the invitation of the University of Chicago and Northwestern University, December 28, 29, 30, 1922. The register showed the unusual attendance of 208, with ten or more from universities of Chicago 26; Iowa 16; Indiana 13; Wisconsin 12; Illinois 10; Northwestern 10.

The meeting was carried out on the plan suggested in 1920, making Chicago the regular meeting place every second year with a minimum expense to the hosts. It was nevertheless an occasion of unusual cheer owing to the brilliant dinner arranged by the local committee and other admirable arrangements. Reduced rates on the railroads, conceded at the last moment, were secured by a majority of the delegates from a distance, an encouragement for attendance in the future.

FIRST SESSION, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 28

The meeting of the first day, held at the Auditorium Hotel at 2:30 p.m., was divided into four sessions, as below. Opinion was general, however, that the first session should be a general meeting for inauguration of the work as a whole and for general organization.

THE FRENCH NOVEL

Chairman: Professor D. H. Carnahan, University of Illinois.

Secretary: Professor George I. Dale, Washington University.

"Discrepancies in the Work of Balzac." Professor A. Odebrecht, Denison University.

This paper was discussed by the Chairman.

"Balzac's Method of Revision." Professor E. Preston Dargan.

This paper, embodying the results of examination of Balzac's original manuscripts, attracted much attention.

"Maupassant and the Supernatural." Professor Ernest G. Atkin.

ENGLISH, EARLIER

Chairman: Professor Charles Read Baskervill, University of Chicago.

"Astrologising the Gods," Professor Walter Clyde Curry.

"The Passionate Shepherd," a Further Study. Professor Robert S. Forsythe.

"Shakespeare's Use in the Merchant of Venice of the Conventional Friendship—Love Theme." Dr. Laurens Joseph Mills, Indiana University.

"Bunyan's Mr. Badman and the Picaresque Novel." Professor J. B. Wharey, University of Texas.

ENGLISH, LATER

Chairman: Professor Robert L. Ramsay, University of Missouri.

"The Significance of Shaftesbury in English Speculation." Professor William E. Alderman.

"Wordsworth's Unacknowledged Debt to Macpherson's *Ossian*." Professor John Robert Moore, Indiana University.

"Early Critics of Shelley." Professor Walter Graham.

GERMAN

Chairman: Professor Hermann Almstedt, University of Missouri.

"Elizabethan Ghosts and Herzog Heinrich Julius of Braunschweig." Professor M. Blakemore Evans.

This paper proved to be one of general interest, appealing to scholars in other fields than the Germanic.

"Goethe's Conception of the Poet's Calling." Professor William A. Cooper, Stanford University.

"Some Definitions of German Naturalism." Professor Mayfield.

8:00 P.M.: The Chairman of the Division, Professor William A. Nitze of the University of Chicago, gave the Annual Address, entitled: "Modern Language Scholarship: An Enquiry."*

This Address, which was voted one of the most brilliant and thoughtful in the annals of the Division, was followed by an informal reception.

The following committees were named at this session: On New Officers: Kenneth MacKenzie, A. C. L. Brown, Algernon Coleman and A. R. Hohlfeld. On Time and Place of Next Meeting: Hardin Craig, Tom Peete Cross, George I. Dale and Robert Lee Ramsay. On Resolutions: D. H. Carnahan and Oscar Burkhardt.

SECOND SESSION, DECEMBER 29, 9:30 A. M.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

RESEARCH GROUPS

These meetings were devoted to the discussion of research topics, with free participation. In some, the discussion was based upon formal papers; in some, the discussion was conducted along certain designated lines, without formal papers. The leading papers dealt with problems of present interest in a particular field in various literatures, or discussed special fields of work that might be undertaken by groups of scholars. The research groups are in process of evolution and experiment. Members who desire to branch out in new lines in 1923 are urged to canvass the subject and report to the Secretary the result of their efforts.

HISTORICAL GRAMMAR AND LINGUISTICS

Chairman: Professor Guido Stempel, Indiana University.

Secretary: Professor W. F. Bryan, Northwestern University.

"The Trend of English Sound-Changes." Professor C. M. Lotspeich, University of Cincinnati.

This paper was discussed by Messrs. Curme, Belden, Jenkins, Purin, Baker, and Knott.

* For the full text of this Address see page lxxi.

"The Evolution of *patois* as a Device in French Literature from the Classic to the Romantic Periods—A Survey." Professor A. H. Schutz, Iowa State Teachers College.

This paper was discussed by Messrs. Jenkins and Stempel.

Report on the Development of Linguistic Consciousness in the American Student. Professor Thomas A. Knott, State University of Iowa.

Thomas A. Knott was elected chairman for 1923, and W. F. Bryan, secretary. The attendance was twenty-five.

RENAISSANCE

Chairman: Professor Hardin Craig, State University of Iowa.

"Manuscripts and Early Printed Books of Interest to Renaissance Scholars." A list with a brief consideration of the principles of choice in the selection of material for photographic reproduction.

This subject was discussed, with the presentation of additional suggestions, by Dr. Frederic Ives Carpenter, of Chicago, and others.

"Luis Vives and Rabelais' Pedagogy." Mr. G. L. Michaud, University of Michigan.

"Outlines of the 16th Century Latin Drama." Professor Craig.

"Report on the Cataloguing of Rotographs." Professor H. S. V. Jones.

Members interested in the field of renaissance literature and having problems of general interest were invited to make brief statements of their investigations. Subject with ramifications through the whole field and those on which cooperation would be practicable were particularly followed. Announcements of theses in progress on Renaissance subjects were also made. The attendance was forty-five.

MOLIÈRE COLLABORATORS

Chairman: Professor Casimir Zdanowicz, University of Wisconsin.

Secretary: Professor Stephen H. Bush, State University of Iowa.

This was a meeting of great interest in honor of the Tercentenary of Molière. It was attended by fifty persons or more.

"Molière's Means of Producing Comic Effect Studied in Connection with Bergson's Theory of Laughter." Professor Zdanowicz.

"The Enemies of Molière." Professor Edward M. Greene, University of South Dakota.

Review: "The Tercentenary Literary Offering to Molière," Professor B. E. Young.

This paper was discussed by Professors H. A. Smith, Moraud and Searles, and Mrs. Charlotte Condé Hughes, of Grand Rapids, Michigan.

Owing to the illness of Professor Gustave van Roosbroeck, his keenly anticipated paper on "François Hugues Molière d'Essertines," was not presented.

Professor Colbert Searles read a brief satirical paper on "What we read into Molière" that was itself hailed as real literature.

The same officers were elected for 1923, and a permanent committee consisting of Messrs. Nitze, Searles and Young, was appointed. It is hoped that this group of workers, brought together at the three-hundredth anniversary of the author, will result in a continuing collaboration, with contributions of permanent value in the literature of the subject.

CHAUCER

Chairman: Professor H. S. V. Jones, University of Illinois.

Secretary: Professor Walter Clyde Curry, Vanderbilt University.

"Yesterday and Tomorrow." Professor J. R. Hulbert, University of Chicago.

"Some notes on Chaucer and Some Conjectures." Professor O. F. Emerson, Western Reserve University. (Read in his absence.)

"Chaucer's Science and Art." Professor Curry.

"Observations on Recent Chaucer Literature." Professor Jones.

Professor Hulbert was elected Chairman for 1923 and Professor Robert A. Law, Secretary. (See below for plan of work proposed). The attendance was thirty-five.

MEDIAEVAL LATIN

Chairman: Professor George R. Coffman, Grinnell College.

Secretary: Mr. Clark Harris Slover of the University of Chicago.

The chairman reported as part of the activity of the Group for the past year:

1. Effecting a national organization with E. K. Rand as advisory chairman, G. H. Gerould as chairman for the eastern section, J. S. P. Tatlock as chairman for the western section, and G. R. Coffman as chairman for the central section and as executive secretary of the Group.

2. Completing a nation-wide survey relative to conditions in mediaeval Latin in the graduate colleges and universities. (Professor Tatlock will study the situation as revealed in data and present recommendations later.)

3. Establishing unofficial relations with representatives of history, classics, and the American Council of Learned Societies, and with the Modern Humanities Research Association.

4. Encouraging as the concrete project of the year Professor Beeson's *Mediaeval Latin Primer*.

Summary of action at the meeting:

1. Professor T. P. Cross was appointed to receive contributions of \$1.00 from any wishing to assist in the work.

2. Resolution passed to change the name of the Group to "The Group on Mediaeval Latin Culture."

3. Resolution passed favoring new mediaeval Latin dictionary; formal recommendation deferred pending further information about revision of *Du Cange*.

4. Resolution passed favoring Professor Gerould's recommendation for co-operation among libraries relative to mediaeval Latin books.

5. Discussion of Mediaeval Latin Primer. Professor Beeson explained that the first part of his text was intended to give the student an opportunity to recover familiarity with Latin, that the selections were arranged in order of increasing difficulty in the first part, and chronological sequence in the second, and that a brief grammatical introduction would be included with the text.

6. Professor Beeson was elected by the group as its official representative to the Commission for the Revision of *Du Cange*.

ROMANTICISM

Chairman: Professor B. V. Crawford, State University of Iowa.

Leader of discussion on the romantic movement in modern literatures: Professor Richard Foster Jones, Washington University.

Discussion of the French side, Professor Lander MacClintock; of the English, Professor B. V. Crawford; of the German, Mr. Peter Hazboldt, of the Francis Parker High School, Chicago.

Owing to the lateness of the hour, the timely paper of Professor Angelo Lipari, on Francesco de Sanctis and romantic criticism in Italy, was not presented.

The attendance was sixty-five. Regret was expressed for the illness and absence of Professor Charles Young, who prepared the program. Professor Crawford was elected Chairman for 1923.

ITALIAN LITERATURE

Chairman: Professor Ernest H. Wilkins, University of Chicago.

"D'Annunzio as Poet." Professor Rudolph Altrocchi, University of Chicago.

"Giovanni Papini." Professor Ruth Shepard Phelps.

"Pirandello and I Groteschi." Professor Lander MacClintock.

Professor Kenneth MacKenzie was elected chairman for 1923. The attendance was fifteen.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE

Chairman: Professor H. M. Jones, University of Texas.

Subject: "The Rhythm of Free Verse."

Discussion: Miss Edith Rickert, leader; Mr. Raymond D. Jameson, Mr. H. F. Fore and others.

"Shaksperean Influence in Strindberg's Historical Plays." Professor Harry V. E. Palmblad, Phillips University.

The same officers were elected for 1923.

The members were entertained at lunch by the modern language faculties of the University of Chicago at the Quadrangle Club.

THIRD SESSION, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 29, 2 P. M.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

RESEARCH GROUPS (*Continued*)

SPANISH LITERATURE

Chairman: Professor E. W. Olmsted, University of Minnesota.

1. Informal discussion of suggested research topics by Professor Joseph E. Gillet, University of Minnesota and others.

2. Paper: "Lisardo Pseudonym of Mira de Amescua." Professor C. E. Anibal, Indiana University.

3. Paper: "Lope de Vega's *Ver y no creer*." Professor George I. Dale.

4. Paper: "Cervantes' Attitude Toward Honor." Professor George Tyler Northup.

5. Paper: "The Reputation and Influence of Torres Naharro in the Sixteenth Century." Professor Gillet.

6. Paper: "Moreto's *El desdén con el desdén* compared with suggested sources." Miss Mabel M. Harlan, Indiana University.

Professor Northup was elected chairman for 1923, and Professor John Van Horne, University of Illinois, secretary. The attendance was fifty.

AMERICAN DIALECT SOCIETY

Chairman: Professor T. P. Cross, University of Chicago.

Remarks were made by the Chairman on the history and purpose of the Society.

"Dialect and Vocabulary." Professor F. A. Wood.

"Consonant Addition in American Dialect Speech." Miss Amy Armstrong, University of Minnesota.

"*Shall and Will* in American English." Professor C. C. Fries, University of Michigan.

"New Devices in Dialect Writing." Professor Robert L. Ramsay.

The attendance was twenty-five.

METRICS

Chairman: Professor H. M. Belden, University of Missouri.

"Monosyllables and Algebraic Diction in English Poetry." Professor Belden.

"The Syllabic Basis of Rhythm." Professor J. Hubert Scott.

"Quantity and Stress in English Verse." Professor A. R. Morris.

"The Elizabethan Hexametrists." Professor B. M. Hollowell, Nebraska Wesleyan University.

Professor J. Hubert Scott offered a resolution requesting the Central Division to "express its approval of an attempt to effect through a committee of the whole Association the standardizing of metrical nomenclature." This resolution was adopted. The same officers were elected for 1923. The attendance was thirty.

ARTHURIAN ROMANCES

Chairman: Professor Arthur C. L. Brown.

Secretary: Professor T. Atkinson Jenkins.

Professor J. D. Bruce read his paper: "Desiderata in the Investigation of the Old French Prose Romances." In discussion, it was urged that this paper be published, and that more cooperation among Arthurian scholars is needed. H. O. Sommer's labors would have been more fruitful had he had the active support of a committee or council. A new edition of Wace's *Roman de Brut* would be very welcome.

The Chairman read Foster E. Guyer's paper on Chrestien's *Yvain*. Guyer finds in Ovid and in Vergil (the Dido story precedents for the treatment of the tale of Laudine by Chrestien de Troyes. The discussion was carried on by Professors Brown, Nitze, Bruce, Cross, Pietsch and Parry.

T. P. Cross was elected chairman for next year and L. E. Winfrey secretary. Attendance 26.

FRENCH LITERATURE, GENERAL

A meeting devoted to regular papers in several fields, not to research groups.

Chairman: Professor Hugh A. Smith, University of Wisconsin.

"The Legend of Amicus and Amelius." Professor Alexander H. Krappe.

"La Chanson de Roland et la Chançon de Willame." Professor Lucy M. Gay.

"The French Renaissance Conception of Poetic Genius." Professor Martin W. Storn.

"Newly Discovered Plays by Louis de Boissy." Professor Anthony Constans.

"Le Prétendu Mariage de Chateaubriand." Professor Robert Fouré.

"Le Suicide dans le drame français contemporain." Professor Maurice Baudin.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 29, 3:30 P. M.

DEPARTMENTAL CONFERENCES ON
INSTRUCTION

These sessions were devoted to three departmental meetings, English, German and Romance, for the discussion of problems of instruction.

ENGLISH

Chairman: Professor Franklyn B. Snyder, Northwestern University.

Secretary: Professor H. W. Robbins, University of Minnesota.

"The Teachers' Course in English." Professor George B. Woods.

"English and the Business Man." Professor Walter K. Smart.

"The Able Student in English Composition Courses." Professor George C. Clancy.

"A Neglected Feature in English Composition." Professor Rollo LuVerne Lyman.

Discussion: "The Sophomore Course in English Literature." Representatives of various institutions.

GERMAN

Chairman: Professor Oscar Burkhard, University of Minnesota.

Secretary: Dr. Richard Jente, Washington University.

"Some Questions in German Instruction." Professor M. D. Baumgartner.

(Interest in German in the colleges is reviving slowly but encouragingly. Students can be attracted by good teachers, therefore teachers should be trained well and perform their work conscientiously. More attention could be paid to choice of reading material and "unglad" stories should be avoided. Student German clubs should be developed.)

"Our Present Problems in German Instruction." Professor B. Q. Morgan.

(No change in method necessary. Teaching should be of the highest grade. Students must find pleasure in the work. The class and curriculum

problems are the same as ever, but courses in translation should be offered for a cultural acquaintance with the literature. Classes now have to be formed in some of the universities to provide for the graduate students in other departments who need German. The falling off of interest in languages in the high schools has had an effect in the colleges not only on German. Language is dropping out of the school consciousness. All language instruction will suffer eventually unless there is coöperation among the language teachers for an improvement of the situation.)

"Curriculum Changes to meet our Present Problems."
Professor E. H. Lauer.

(With the revival of German in the high school courses and methods here must be better correlated to the college work than heretofore. Such a course of four years presented in detail.)

"Economy in the Teaching of Elementary German."
Professor Charles Goettsch.

(Numerous practical suggestions were offered in clear outline for the teaching of elementary and second year courses.)

General discussion led by Professor B. J. Vos.

(No attempt has been made in first year German grammars to use a monogeneous fundamental stock of words. Students using different primers have therefore acquired a surprisingly dissimilar preparation in vocabulary. At present 23 different grammars are used in over 100 of our better colleges. The sum of words used by these 23 grammars together amounts to more than 3500 words; the common stock of words found in each one of these grammars amounts to only 227 words. Attempts have been made by different people to set down a list of the most common German words. Wheelock and Méras have put up some very impractical compilations of words; Bierwirth's list, the best of all, is antiquated. The author of this paper presented his own standardized vocabulary as a remedy to the present situation in vocabulary. His list is composed of 900 passive and 666 active words, based on the 23 grammars and elementary texts at present used in over 100 colleges and universities. A text-book using these 900 words will appear this fall.)

Professor B. Q. Morgan was elected chairman for 1923, and empowered to appoint a secretary. The attendance was twenty-five.

ROMANCE LANGUAGES

This section was divided into two groups, one for French and the other for Spanish. It was voted to continue the

same arrangement in future, and to schedule the two meetings at different hours. The attendance on both groups was seventy-five.

(1) FRENCH GROUP

Chairman: Professor Harry Kurz, Knox College.

"The Purpose and Organization of a Survey Course in French Literature." Professor Charles E. Young.

Owing to the illness of Professor Young his paper was read by Professor Bush.

Outstanding points: The survey course is unavoidable for a wide view. Some careful translation at the beginning of the text. The rest more rapidly. Survey class not a place for oratory or lectures, nor fine points. Not a place for grammar review, nor a basis for conversation. Better skip Pascal and Bossuet. Corneille and Racine and Molière should not be read by selections. Better to read a few plays. Three outstanding aims are linguistic, aesthetic and historic.

There was discussion by Messrs. MacClintock, Brush and Bovée. In the absence of Miss Helen Bidal of Carleton College her paper discussing the same subject was read by the Chairman.

"The Four-Foot Shelf of the High School Teacher of French." Professor Russell P. Jameson.

This paper presented an interesting and useful bibliography for students preparing to teach French and for young teachers. His bibliography includes dictionaries, grammars, histories of literature, art, music, general histories, linguistics, and pronunciation.

This last paper exhausted the remaining time, and it was a matter of regret that Professor F E Bedford, Ball Teachers College, who was to discuss this paper, and Professor George D. Morris, who offered a paper on "Lesson Planning for First-Year French Classes," could not be heard from. Professor Jameson will be chairman for French for the next year, and Professor Bovée secretary.

(2) SPANISH GROUP

Chairman: Professor Ralph E. House, State University of Iowa.

"The Survey Course in Spanish Literature." The whole program was given to an interesting general discussion of this subject led by Professor G. T. Northup.

The following officers were appointed to prepare the program for 1923 for the Spanish group: Chairman, Professor Dale; Secretary, Professor Arthur L. Owen.

At 6:30 P.M., there was a subscription dinner in the quarters of the Traffic Club, Hotel La Salle. Professor Nitze acted as Toastmaster. The chief speakers of the evening were Professor J. F. A. Pyre, University of Wisconsin, and Provost Gordon Lang, University of Toronto. Professors Henri David, University of Chicago, and Alfonso de Salvio, Northwestern University, gave an admirable presentation of a scene from Molière's "Avare." Professor Arthur Bovée gave some excellent music.

FOURTH SESSION, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 30, 9 A. M.

ROOM 401 NORTHWESTERN LAW BUILDING

BUSINESS MEETING

The business meeting was called to order by Chairman W. A. Nitze. The Secretary reviewed the minutes of 1921 and called attention to several items of unfinished business.

The Secretary read a letter of greeting to the people of the Central Division from the Secretary of the Modern Language Association of America, Professor Carleton Brown.

The Secretary called the roll of the research groups, asking for the names of officers appointed, the attendance, etc.

The Division proceeded to the discussion of the research groups. In this participated Messrs. Knott, Arthur Brown, Craig, Faurot, Kurz, B. E. Young, Nitze, H. S. V. Jones, Coffman, Brush, Hohlfeld, J. H. Scott, H. A. Smith, McKenzie, Morgan, Baskervill and others.

Professor Knott's plan for the Chaucer Research Group of 1923 was much favored. It is as follows:

"The Chairman, with coöperation of other members, will survey the research output of the past three years, and will determine the most promi-

ing two or three fields or subjects for research. Two of these will be assigned early in the year to two or three persons each, in order that they may prepare five or ten minute talks on proposals for the most advantageous research. The object is to organize in advance an effective type of round table—one that will have an objective or two and that will progress towards that objective. The objective is to open up more research work."

Professors Arthur Brown and H. S. V. Jones suggested having very few papers and bringing in critical literature for discussion. Professor Nitze spoke of the value of a syllabus with a definite program to follow, as preferred by Professor Coffman. The latter was called upon to describe the successful plan used by him in mediaeval Latin.

Miss Fredericks Blankner proposed a group in French Metrics.

Professor H. A. Smith offered the following resolution which was adopted:

"Resolved, That it be the sense of this meeting that we lengthen the present time for program by a half day, probably by using the morning of the first day, but giving the Secretary power to decide this matter."

Professor Knott asked for an expression of opinion on the usefulness of the sections on instruction. In the discussion that followed, by Messrs. Faurot, Kurz, Craig, Young and Nitze, the feeling seemed to be that these sections were exceedingly useful for French and German where elementary courses must be taught, but less necessary in English.

The report of the Committee on Grammatical Nomenclature, to the effect that the work of the committee was practically completed, was made by Professor E. H. Wilkins. The report was accepted and it was voted to cooperate in the continuation of the committee.

Secretary Young read an appeal from the League of Nations on behalf of the Austrian universities. Professor Smith moved indorsement of it and it was so voted.

Professor Hugh A. Smith called up again his resolution of the 1920 meeting, as follows:

Whereas, The salary paid at present to the Secretary of the Central Division affords him little margin over the expense of attending the annual meetings, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we recommend to the Executive Council that the Secretary's vouchers for annual necessary expenses in attending the meetings and for clerical assistant in carrying on the work of the Division be allowed, to an amount not exceeding \$100 additional to his present salary."

As it appeared that the Executive Council, for fear of a possible deficit, postponed this allowance until 1922, and as it appeared that the said deficit failed to occur, Professor Smith moved that his resolution be readopted, with its provisions to apply from the original date. With an amendment by Professor Thomas A. Knott, making the action still more definite, "retroactive and to include back payment for 1921," the resolution was readopted and the Secretary was instructed to communicate this action to the proper authorities.

Professor McKenzie offered the following resolution:

Whereas, the Central Division of the Modern Language Association, originally formed for the benefit of members who could not conveniently attend the annual meetings in the East, has at present no voice in the transaction of the business of the Association as a whole or in the election of the general officers, except at union meetings,

Resolved, That it is the sentiment of the Central Division that henceforth the Modern Language Association ought to be organized as two or more coördinate and autonomous Divisions, each with its own program and territory, and each electing its own President, Secretary and other officers for the conduct of its affairs; and that officers whose duties concern the Association as a whole should be elected only at union meetings,

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Central Division be instructed to bring this matter to the attention of the Executive Council of the Association with a view to the possibility of presenting amendments to the Constitution at the Union Meeting of 1923, or for such other action as the Council may deem suitable."

This resolution was discussed by Messrs. Knott, Morgan, Baskervill, Smith, Hohlfeld, Young and Faurot. Upon the motion of the latter the resolution was adopted, the Executive Committee being instructed to improve the phraseology if necessary.

The Committee on Nomination of New Officers, Professor McKenzie, Chairman, brought in the following nominations: George O. Curme, Northwestern University, for Chairman; Hugh Thieme, University of Michigan, and Walter C. Curry, Vanderbilt University, for Vice Chairmen; Bert E. Young, Indiana University, for Secretary; Executive Committee: T. P. Cross, University of Chicago (term expiring in 1923); B. J. Vos, Indiana University (1924); A. C. L. Brown, Northwestern University (1925); C. D. Zdanowicz, University of Wisconsin, (1926); W. A. Nitze, University of Chicago (1927), and the Chairman and the Secretary, *ex officio*. The Secretary cast the ballot of the Division for these nominees.

The Committee on Resolutions, Professor Carnahan, Chairman, offered the following resolution of thanks:

"Resolved, That we express our sincere appreciation of the hospitality extended to us, as members of the Central Division of the Modern Language Association, by the University of Chicago and Northwestern University; that we thank the presidents and faculties of these universities for their kindly welcome, and that we express our appreciation to the members of the local committee for the fine entertainment which they have furnished us, under the able leadership of Professors A. Coleman and W. F. Bryan.

This resolution was adopted by a rising vote.

SPECIAL SESSION

The business meeting was followed by a session at eleven devoted to talks on the educational opportunities under present conditions in foreign countries.

FOREIGN STUDY

Chairman: Professor Hardin Craig, State University of Iowa.

"The Present Opportunities for University Work in Germany." Professor A. R. Hohlfeld.

"Opportunities for Advanced Study and Research in the Italian Universities." Professor Kenneth McKenzie. Exchange Professor, Italian Universities, 1921-22.

"The Possibilities for American Students in the Summer School in Mexico City, the National Archives and Their National Library." Professor William Oliver Farnsworth, Delegate, 1922, to the National University of Mexico.

Adjournment.

PAPERS PRESENTED

[To be read by Title only]

"Gay's 'Polly' in Relation to Dramatic Censorship and Literary Satire." Professor George R. Coffman.

"Chauntecleer and Pertelote on Dreams," by Professor W. C. Curry.

"A Practical Modern Bibliography of French Literature of the Sixteenth Century." Professor Harry Kurz, *Knox College*.

"The Adventures of Gilbert Imlay." Professor R. L. Rusk, *Indiana University*.

"Voltaire and Spain." Professor A. de Salvio, *Northwestern University*.

"Voltaire and Gacon." Mr. George B. Watts, *University of Minnesota*.

MEETING OF THE PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC COAST

The Twenty-fourth Annual Meeting of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast was held at the Hotel Bellevue, San Francisco, December 1 and 2, 1922, President Monroe E. Deutsch presiding at all sessions. The following business was transacted:

The minutes of the last annual meeting were approved as printed in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association* and to be printed in the *Transactions* of the American Philological Association.

The Treasurer made the following report for the year 1921-1922:

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand Dec. 7, 1921.....	\$218.30
Interest.....	3.88
Dues.....	540.80
	<hr/>
	\$762.98

EXPENDITURES

Hotel St. Francis (room for 1921 meeting).....	\$10.00
University Club (waiters' gratuity).....	5.00
Printing.....	72.50
Postage, carfare and expressage.....	10.74
Typing and mimeographing.....	6.50
Dues to Modern Language Association.....	255.71
Dues to American Philological Association.....	155.00
Balance on hand Dec. 1, 1922.....	247.53
	<hr/>
	\$762.98

On motion the report was accepted and referred to the Auditing Committee.

The appointment of the following committees was announced by the President:

Nominating: Professors Schilling, Nutting, Johnston.

Auditing: Professors Elmore, Bruce.

Social: Professors Hart, Richardson, Tatlock.

The Secretary's report consisted chiefly of statistics of membership for the past year, and notice of the election of 36 new members.

It was moved and seconded that the nominating committee be made permanent, one member to be elected each year. By vote of the members present further consideration of the motion was deferred until Saturday morning.

The report of the nominating committee was read and accepted, and by vote the following officers were elected for the ensuing year:

President: C. G. Allen.

Vice-Presidents: A. P. McKinlay, B. O. Foster.

Secretary: A. G. Kennedy.

Treasurer: W. L. Schwartz.

Executive Committee: The above-named officers and R. M. Alden, R. Schevill, E. A. Wicher, C. Paschall.

The Auditing Committee reported that the accounts and vouchers of the Treasurer were correct and in order. On motion the report was accepted and approved.

The Association then voted that the nominating committee shall consist henceforth of three members, shall be appointed by the President, and each member shall hold office for three years, the respective terms of office to expire in successive years. In case of the absence of any member of the committee from the annual meeting, the President shall fill the vacancy with a temporary appointment. To initiate this system, the incoming President shall select two members from the nominating committee of the present session and add a third, indicating the terms of office of these members as of 1, 2 and 3 years.

On motion a vote of thanks was extended to the University Club for hospitality and the Treasurer was authorized to pay \$10.00 to the "Christmas Box" for the waiters of the Club.

It was also voted that the President be authorized to appoint each year certain members whose duty it should be to carry to the American Philological Association and the

Modern Language Association of America the greetings of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, the choice to be made from those members likely to be in attendance at the annual meetings of the Eastern associations.

By motion the President was authorized to appoint a committee of three to represent the Association and assist it in keeping in touch with the movement started at the last annual meeting of the Modern Language Association of America for the promotion of the study of medieval Latin literature. It was further voted that the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast recommend the appointment of Professor E. K. Rand as the American representative on the committee having in charge the publication of a new medieval Latin dictionary.

Professor R. M. Alden called the attention of the members to the desirability of coöperating with and supporting the Modern Humanities Research Association.

The attendance at the four sessions numbered 50, 50, 40 and 38 respectively.

ARTHUR G. KENNEDY, *Secretary*.

PROGRAM

FIRST SESSION

Friday, December 1, at 10 a.m.

1. The Ballad of *Ebbe Skammelsön* and the English *King Horn*, by Professor Arthur G. Brodeur, of the University of California.

2. The Poems of the Appendix Vergiliana, by Professor H. R. Fairclough, of the Leland Stanford Junior University.

3. William Blake and Gilchrist's Remarkable Coterie of Advanced Thinkers by Professor Harold Bruce, of the University of California.

4. Some Recent Criticisms of the Communal Theory of Ballad Origins, by Professor Robert W. Gordon, of the University of California.

SECOND SESSION

Friday, December 1, at 2 p.m.

5. Annual Address of the President of the Association, Professor Monroe E. Deutsch, of the University of California: Caesar's Triumphs.

6. Conference in Mediaeval Latin Literature and Its Relation:

a. To Mediaeval Culture in General, by Professor L. J. Paetow, of the University of California.

b. To Classical Latin Literature, by Professor Max Radin, of the University of California.

c. To Mediaeval Vernacular Literature, by Professor E. C. Hills, of the University of California.

d. To Modern Literature, by Professor W. D. Briggs, of the Leland Stanford Junior University.

e. The Work and Plans of the Section on Mediaeval Latin, of the Modern Language Association of America, by Professor J. S. P. Tatlock.

THIRD SESSION

Saturday, December 2, at 10 a.m.

7. An Early American Poet, by Professor Howard J. Hall, of the Leland Stanford Junior University.

8. A Possible Origin of Duodecimal Counting, by Professor Clarence Paschall, of the University of California.

9. Marionettes in the Time of Shakespeare, by Professor Mathurin Dondo, of the University of California.

10. Mediaeval Interest in the Origin of Idolatry and Classical Paganism, by Professor John D. Cooke, of the University of Southern California.

FOURTH SESSION

Saturday, December 2, at 2 p.m.

11. D'Avenant and Thomas Heywood: A New Source for the *Siege of Rhodes*, by Professor Alwin Thaler, of the University of California.

12. *Hamlet* and the Anti-Elizabethan Reaction, by Professor Thomas K. Whipple, of the University of California.

13. The Attic Libel Law and Freedom of Speech, by Professor Max Radin, of the University of California.

14. The Infant Alexander, by Professor Willard H. Durham, of the University of California.

15. Swift in the Twentieth Century, by Professor Guy Montgomery, of the University of California.

16. Two Brief Papers on the New Testament, by Professor Edward A. Wicher of the San Francisco Theological Seminary.

a. The use of δ & ς in Mark 12:20. A discussion of the primacy of Judas Iscariot in the company of the twelve disciples.

b. *Ἐπιδοξίαν* in the Lord's Prayer.

17. Classical Traditions in Mediaeval Irish Literature, by Professor Edward G. Cox, of the University of Washington.

MODERN LANGUAGE SCHOLARSHIP:
AN ENQUIRY*

By WILLIAM ALBERT NITZE

Por la costume maintenir

De vostre fontainne deflandre.—*Yvain*, 1848 ff.

In choosing this text from my favorite Old French poet, I have no designs on my audience. Be undisturbed; the Red Knight of Arthurian romance shall not obtrude his countenance here and it is indifferent to me—on this occasion—whether there are fairy-mistresses or not. Nor am I, as some of you might think, making the ambitious attempt of defending anew the Pierian Spring. Poetry today needs no defence, unless it be the *défense d'imprimer*, which applies to us all, poets and philologs alike, when our knowledge and inspiration lag, and the product is not worthy of the producer. My task is at once more prosaic and more definite. I propose merely to stand my ground, as a Modern Language teacher and scholar; to state, in my own way, what I think we are about, as one convinced of the value of our profession in itself and to others—despite the blight of misgivings and protests, from one quarter and another, which periodically threatens us with ruin. This, then, is the Spring which your Chairman—like so many Chairmen before him—would defend and, if possible, protect against contamination.

In many respects, the position of the Modern Language profession has never been more favorable than it is today. We have come through the period of the Great War, like the rest of mankind seared perhaps as to our hopes, but on the whole with our consciences clear and our opportunities for work and services greater than before. In making this statement, I do not overlook the fact that our growth has been accompanied by considerable disproportion. The

* The Chairman's Address, delivered on Thursday, December 28, 1922, at Chicago, Ill., at the Twenty-seventh Annual Meeting of the Central Division of the Modern Language Association of America.

German language (and literature) does not yet re-occupy the position to which it is entitled in our school and college curricula, nor is it receiving the attention it should in the field of research. Whatever the causes of this continued neglect may be, and they are not one but many, our German brethren should be encouraged to pursue their subject with some of their old-time ardor—mindful of Schiller's advice:

Immer strebe zum Ganzen, und, kannst Du selber kein Ganzes werden,
als dienendes Glied schliess' an ein Ganzes Dich an.

But it takes faith to move scholars as well as mountains, and until we believe that German is needed to accomplish our common task worthily, until it dawns on us that without German the Romance and the English scholar is bound in the long run to err, it may be futile to expect a readjustment. Meantime, let us rejoice in the fact that French, Spanish and even Italian flourish space and that English occupies a philological stronghold which not even Mr. Bryan can profitably assail despite the circumstance that its curve is evolutionary in the highest degree. Call to mind the history of the last hundred years, and you will realize how from the rallying cry of Schlegel—*Pour faire avancer la philologie du moyen âge, il faut y appliquer les principes de la philologie classique*, our "science" has come to occupy the foreground in humanistic studies, to the detriment alas! of that classical philology which we were urged humbly to follow but which no one imagined we should so soon outdistance. I remember hearing the great Gildersleeve say: "How sad it is that I should live to see Greek considered as an Oriental language." And a classical colleague of mine¹ recently stated in a public address: "There was a time when the classics and moderns were arrayed against one another. How childish that debate seems as we look back upon it! It should now be fully recognized that the cause of the one is the cause of the other; that if classical philology goes, all philology will go. They must stand together, as the main bulwark of humanistic

¹ Professor Gordon Laing, *University [Chicago] Record*, VIII.

culture." Coming from a classicist, who is also a distinguished administrator, this *vox clamantis* should not go unheeded.

Thus, admitting that the mantle of the classics has fallen on the shoulders of the moderns, the question is: Are we equal to the occasion? Can the literary and linguistic culture of the ages be safely entrusted to our keeping? Or shall we, as another speaker before this Association once trenchantly said, "Nero-like fiddle away our time while the flame of a misguided ambition consumes the city of our hopes?"

There should be no delay in making two observations: First, we cannot and should not, as the guardians of culture, set our minds primarily on being what is called "practical." Secondly, it is not "practical" to neglect scholarship, for it can be shown that every advance in linguistic and literary teaching has been preceded by an advance in linguistic and literary scholarship.

Let me not be misunderstood. As one of the founders of our *National Federation of Modern Language Teachers*, I should be the last person to minimize the importance of the "art" of teaching. In the language field especially, "the traditional or conventional value of a subject is not sufficient to make it acceptable if it is not well taught" (Ogden in *MLJ* V, 354). Every experienced person knows how difficult is the art of teaching a language in such a country as ours, in which definiteness and continuity of purpose are so rarely obtainable. Where, for example, should the high school leave off and the college begin—in subjects like French and Spanish? If training in the "recognition" of foreign sounds and sentences be the Open Sesame of the language methodists today, at what particular point of instruction does "reproduction" begin? If Phonetics is an essential aid in teaching modern foreign languages, who will design for us a graded course in Phonetics, suited to our national needs? These and a host of other questions the writers for our *Modern Language Journal* are endeavoring to answer, and far be it from me to disparage the worthiness of

their efforts. Let them have all the encouragement they deserve. At the same time, in this swing of the pendulum toward the "practical," there is danger, I believe, of putting the cart before the horse. If we need teachers, still more do we need scholars and the opportunities for scholarship. Or am I, in the terms of the French adage, knocking at an open door?

Let us stop a moment to consider. Those who drew up the Constitution of the Modern Language Association were wisely liberal as to its provisions. They did not exclude from our program, the pedagogy of our subjects, yet they indicated clearly where the chief emphasis of the Association was to be placed. Our object, they said, is "the advancement of the study of the Modern Languages and their Literatures through the promotion of friendly relations among scholars"—and having given this sop to Cerberus—they continued: "through the publication of results of investigation by members, and through the presentation and discussion of papers at an annual meeting." To this general program we have clung tenaciously for nearly forty years, making but two changes in it, each of a subsidiary character. The Central Division has devoted a fraction of its meetings to pedagogical discussions, and last year a program was worked out by Professor Manly to stimulate investigation according to methods which are at once sounder and more comprehensive than those of the past. Thus not only has the Modern Language Association been true to its tenets but it has been progressive in meeting new opportunities. Nevertheless, how do we stand today as measured by the demon, Success? How do we appear to the more intelligent members of the public, whose interests we may be supposed to serve? What recognition and encouragement are legitimately ours?

I need not go so far afield as to interrogate our iconoclastic Menckens for an answer. There are voices, nearer home, ready with a reply if we will but listen to them. Ask any of your respective Boards of Trustees, Overseers or Regents as

to their opinion of our purposes and attainments. "Professor," said a janitor to one of my colleagues the other day, "I did not see your name in the President's bibliography." Surely, where janitors are solicitous, trustees and presidents will know that we have contributed not only pebbles but brick and stone to the building of the *Oxford Dictionary*, the Cambridge *Histories of Literature*, the first complete edition of Cervantes' work, etc., not to dwell on the fact that several of our number have done their share in restoring Irish learning to the literary map of Europe. Undeceive yourselves. Few, if any, of our trustees and presidents, know anything of the kind; and did they, there are other more important matters to engage their attention. What they probably are sadly aware of is that some particular professor of Modern Languages did not enable them to chatter glibly in French or German, overlooking, as Professor Shorey has said, that none of these gentlemen would distinguish himself now "if examined on mediaeval history, conic sections, organic chemistry, or whatever else he happened to elect when in college."² Or to quote again the words of George Eliot, "the depth of middle-aged gentlemen's ignorance will never be known for want of public examinations in this branch." There are of course many reasons why so few of our college graduates learn to speak foreign languages. I need not bore you tonight with an enumeration of them. The fact is that more and more of our college students are learning *to speak* a foreign language and I for my part hope and expect to see their numbers grow. But the mere ability to *speak* a foreign language is here beside the point, and the really lamentable thing for America in general is that so small a number of college graduates have a knowledge of foreign civilizations as reflected in European science, literature and art. Wherever a university trustee or president is himself actively engaged in reading foreign literature of one type or another, you can count upon him to understand and further the

² *School Review*, XVIII, 589.

teaching—and even research—of that branch; but *absit omen*, I am not aware that any such is making himself vociferously heard in our behalf. While the Rockefellers give to Medicine, the Carnegies to History and Economics, and Colonel Thompson lavishes \$10,000,000 on fundamental research in Botany, we, the purveyors of Modern Culture, have practically been left to our own resources.

Professor Spingarn, surveying the scene from his ivory-tower of discontent, would join the ranks of the extremists by questioning whether America has any scholarship to encourage. As a contributor to an enquiry on American Civilization,³ the title of which might properly have been "My Country Right or Wrong, and Mostly Wrong," he glibly gives us the once over and concludes: "All is shell, mask, and a deep inner emptiness. We have scholars without scholarship, as there are churches without religion." "No great work of classical learning has ever been achieved by an American scholar," and "a very characteristic academic product is the professor who writes popular articles, sometimes clever, sometimes precious, sometimes genteel and refined, sometimes commonplace, but almost always devoid of real knowledge or stimulating thought."

To the solidier qualities of Professor Spingarn's essay I shall return presently. Nor is there now time to defend our cause, as it deserves, *pugnis et calcibus, unguibus et rostro*. Yet I must observe that America has no monopoly on the unscholarly scholar—he flourishes in other climes as well as ours. Shorey's phrase about "the triple sawdust of Stempfinger's Horaz"—whether justified or not—should put us on our guard against the assumption that European scholarship is prevailingly "stimulating." And I should only be heaping coals or fire on Professor Spingarn's head if I observed that *A History of Literary Criticism in the Renaissance* is a pioneer scholarly work of the first order, by an American. If—as our critic affirms—Gilbert Murray, Croiset, and Wilamowitz are

³ *Civilisation in the United States*, 1922, pp. 93-108.

European scholars with whom "it would be unfair to suggest comparison," what about Whitney, Child, Gummere, Kittredge and Shorey? Are not these names significant enough to challenge comparison? Or is there an inherent difference in scholarship, according to whether it has the European or American trade-mark? Frankly I believe the profession is far better off than Professor Spingarn will admit. Young as America is, it has an honorable scholarly tradition, based on adequate ideals and considerable genuine achievement. But as compared with Europe, our scholars are scattered over a vast territory and—except for occasions like the present—we are forced to toil alone without the zest that springs from companionship and a ready, personal exchange of ideas. Moreover let us not forget that in certain fields of research the larger problems of investigation had necessarily to await the solution of minor problems of editing. This is particularly true of Spanish, for instance, where serviceable school and college texts had for a long time to be the first consideration. Yet it may not be amiss to remind our critic that Bonilla y San Martin in the preface to a long forgotten Spanish novel has a *diablo cojuelo* lift the roofs from Spanish book-shops filled with enviable American editions of Spanish Classics. Professor Spingarn knows that Ticknor's *History of Spanish Literature* was a pioneer work in its field, but apparently he does not know that Fitzmaurice-Kelly acknowledges his debt to many an American monograph for the improvement he has made on Ticknor.

The fact is—and it needs a lot of reiteration in this age of journalistic slapdash—that scholarship is a meticulous undertaking. It cannot be conjured into being merely by good-will or what is called inspiration or brilliancy. Doubtless great scholars are born, just like poets. Still more are they made, like journeymen. "La psychologie historique," says Gaston Paris, thus designating the sum total of our humanistic endeavor, "ne se développe que grâce à une infinité de recherches extrêmement précises et souvent extrêmement ténues; elle est peut-être, à l'heure qu'il est, la plus arriérée

des sciences, et cela s'explique par son importance et sa complexité mêmes: l'anthropologie, l'éthnographie, la géographie, l'histoire des faits, celle des lois, des mœurs, des religions, des philosophies, des sciences, des arts, des lettres, doivent d'abord lui apporter leurs résultats . . . Grâce à la minutieuse exactitude, à la méthode sévère, à la critique à la fois large et rigoureuse qu'on exige maintenant de ceux qui font de l'histoire littéraire, celle-ci pourra bientôt présenter à la science dont elle dépend . . . un tribut vraiment utile et prêt à être utilisé."⁴ The great French scholar wrote these words in 1885. Since then much water, both clear and muddy, has flowed beneath the philological bridge. Yet the essential tenets of Gaston Paris are true today. Eloquence—*Beredsamkeit*—is not the same thing as scholarship. Time, which is our best ally because it is so merciless to the rhetorician, will inevitably draw the distinction. Or to carry out the eschatology of the metaphor: "In my opinion," said Gildersleeve to an audience at the University of Chicago, "the sawdust of learning will make a hotter fire than the shavings of rhetoric."⁵ And from the same powerful personality came long ago the exhortation: "It is better to be a plodding man of science than a mouthing and phrasing rhetorician; and we have every right to show impatience with literary *bric-a-brac* in our calling, and to insist on technical training for the critic of Plato and the eulogist of Demosthenes."⁶

But it is time for us to *restourner à nos moutons* whom we left straying outside of Professor Spingarn's stronghold. To take arms against the bogey of the "practical" in our scholarship—as so many others have done before me—would be idle repetition unless it amounted to something more than saying:

The sin I impute to each frustrate ghost
Is the lamp unlit and the ungirt loin.

⁴ *Poésie du moyen âge*, p. xii.

⁵ *University Record*, VI, 53.

⁶ *Johns Hopkins University Circular*, no. 150, p. 11.

For if our scholarship is good and our faith is sound—as I venture to affirm they are—then they must contain within themselves the means of stirring a public whose dormant inner life has not yet been roused. It remains, however, to state what these means are and how to make them effective.

First, and above all, let us practice patience. It is the teacher's virtue—it is also the scholar's. But, in so doing, let us be conscious of the rôle we have to play; the liberty of the scholar, like all other liberties, is born of the union of consciousness and strength. The well-known *Sitzfleiss* of the Germans has achieved victories which the Germans might well have taken to heart when other things than scholarship were at stake. America has yet to learn that valuable discoveries are not made overnight. The remedy, in my estimation, is not to cultivate erudition less but to apply it more assiduously to the problems we have in hand. A glance at tomorrow's program will show how numerous they are. Whether or not they will become "vital" to a larger circle than our own, will depend primarily upon our own attitude. Yet we know beforehand that no one of the topics under discussion will amount to much unless we have the patience to bring the whole weight of our scholarship to bear upon it and then to await the verdict of Time. The most significant work on the Old French epic—Bédier's *Légendes épiques*—was not the product of a single year or of a single mind; it was the result rather of a long period of exploration in which the true path had been blazed independently by an Austrian and an American investigator. Thus, as Professor Armstrong so aptly reminds us: *Tout vient à point à qui sait attendre* ("There's always a right moment comes to him who is canny in waiting"), and unless I read the present horoscope amiss we shall not, as a body, have to wait so very long. Such essays as Professor Spingarn's should fill us with new hope. Certainly, the materialism of the masses is getting some rude buffets. Our so-called young radicals are ruffling not only shallow waters but also

the deeper streams of our national complacency. In every direction, there is among our youth a current of protest against our spiritual shyness, our tendency to conform, our trust—born of fear—that our intellectual progress depends on “organization and administration as opposed to individual effort.” All of which receives a fitting climax in Mr. Piccoli’s quotation from a Chinese friend that “an American university is an athletic association in which certain opportunities for study are provided for the feeble-bodied.” It is hopeful, I say, when we thoughtfully swallow such a gibe from a foreigner, while, at the same time, we bend our efforts to mend our ways.

Thus, I optimistically see signs that we are preparing for better days. Is not one of America’s best-sellers, Van Wyck Brook’s *Gilded Age*, an indication, that, as a nation, we are not only able but also ready to measure the average American outlook on life by genuine humanistic standards? *Main Street* and Haldeman-Julius’ *Dust* may seem like freshets as compared with the sociological ocean of a Balzac or a Dickens, but again they are a promise of a brighter future in which our literature—and with it our art and our scholarship—shall be energized into a pulsating national culture.

Meantime, patience appears to me to be the scholar’s primal asset in this era of change and uncertainty; provided always patience is not made synonymous with indolence or with self-interest. But where everybody, the ignorant and hasty as well as the wise and learned, is ready to pronounce judgment, it is well to have a few solid souls who, unlike La Fontaine’s reed, do not bend to every wind that blows. The true scholar knows that certain things said by Plato and Aristotle, by Dante and Aquinas, by Goethe and Herder, by Gaston Paris, and Lanson, are eternally true. The point of view may change, the emphasis may shift, but the scholar’s aim is to see things *sub specie aeternitatis*—and, as an ideal, anything short of this is failure.

But are we, one may ask, always actively engaged in putting our patience to the tests? At present our colleges

and universities are experimenting with a course on Contemporary Civilization. Columbia, Amherst, Dartmouth, and a host of other institutions, alarmed at the undergraduate's lack of interest in study are seeking to stimulate it anew. Your distinguished chairman of last year expressed his well-grounded doubts as to the wisdom of resorting to such a palliative—for palliative it necessarily is when we relegate to a group of teachers what should have been the business of each one of them. "To see all in the one" is the concern of every teacher, of every scholar, carrying the enthusiasm for his calling with him; and who has—or should have—a closer contact with "life" than the teacher of Modern Languages? Yet no argument can dam a stream of tendency. If then the "general course" is a certainty, just as Wells' *Outline of History* and Van Loon's *The Story of Mankind* are certainties, let us not take a stand against this new benevolence. On the contrary, seeing what patience may achieve, let us contribute our moiety toward doing the thing well—as well as, under the circumstances, it can be done. The scholar will at least know what is feasible and what not, whether there is a sincere probing of the world's problems, whether such a course is a demonstration of real knowledge, or a grand and delightful gesture like Cyrano's in the play. This is a service that scholarship can render and, rendering it, fulfill its function.

My second specific, though no less hortatory, is a bit more critical. And it amounts to saying: Let the scholar stand up for his ideals.

Nothing of course is so blatant as advertising, and I very much doubt whether the *Selbstanzeige* of the *Germanisch-romanische Monatschrift*, if transplanted to this country, would raise us in the public esteem, let alone sell our books. But, if I may use a homely image, the American scholar is not unlike the canine in Rabelais' *Prologue* who, finding a bone filled with marrow, keeps its precious contents to himself:

Si veu l'avez—says Rabelais—vous avez peu noter de quelle devotion il le guette, de quel soin il le garde, de quel ferveur il le tient, de quel pru-

dence il l'entomme, de quel affection il le brise, et de quel diligence il le sugce.

American scholarship is still largely on the defensive. The scholar, as a rule, is too easily silenced with a pittance and a few hours of leisure for what is generously called his "research work" in order to make the collective headway he should either in his community or in his nation. By and large, we encourage our universities, through our own humility, to recruit their faculties with "harmless and guileless" teachers rather than with forceful and original personalities. Most American universities now recognize research in the humanities as a *desideratum*, an ornament so-to-speak of the scholar, a fringe on the lingerie of learning; but that it is a necessity, without which universities are such only in name, is not, I maintain, commonly held. To be sure, there are always notable exceptions; and other organizations besides our own are alive to the perils of the case. For if research in the humanities is necessary, then it is worth doing well and should be backed by all the resources the universities can command. This would require considerable division of labor, a clearer recognition than we now have of what is a graduate school, a definite apportionment of professors to it, etc. In short, the scholar would have to be rewarded for scholarship, and primarily for nothing else. The American Association of University Professors has recently published some interesting observations on the subject. Yet illuminating as these are, they will be as effective as a fly caught in amber, unless, somehow or other, our administrators will take them to heart. And here surely the laissez-faire attitude will get us nowhere.

What scholarship really needs, I think, is a judicious and well-directed offensive: in behalf of its ideals, its personnel, and its service to society. And the more concrete the instances, the more useful our offensive will prove. For example, when in the *New Republic* (XXXI, 336) P. L. points the finger of scorn at A List of American Doctoral Dissertations Printed in 1920 and then includes in his de-

rision Oliver Towles' *Prepositional Phrases of Asseveration and Adjuration in Old and Middle French*, we might as well join in the laughter. Certainly, a defense of Towles, at this late date, would be worse than useless. However, who is to blame for this quixotic thrust at the grist-mill of our Ph.D.'s? We cannot condemn P. L., for irony is part of his job. To my humble thinking, it is not the system that is here at fault, but the fact that we have never taken the trouble to explain intelligently to the American mind what that system is. To judge merely by titles, a dissertation on *Vergil's Influence on the Renaissance*, if it did not win P. L.'s approval might at least have escaped his scorn—for it is quite clear that P. L. knows and appreciates the Classics. Nevertheless, as a dissertation-subject such a choice would have courted dangers that any specialist who has any inkling of the field could at once have pointed out.

This is only one instance of the misconception that even the best of outsiders has of our function. Because of our silence, the layman does not know that a dissertation is primarily an exercise in scientific accuracy, a symbol that the dissertator is able to wield his tools, a demonstration of a merciless objective method—perhaps alas! the only such demonstration the candidate will have the stoicism to make—rather than a real enrichment of human knowledge, which in any case is reserved for the few to achieve and for which such training in accuracy is the only preparation humanly conceivable. I have no illusions about the value of dissertations as a class. I will grant you that the archetype has not yet been found and that meanwhile there is room, plenty of it, for improvement. We might even, like the Curate and the Barber in *Don Quijote*, make a *donoso y grande escrutinio* of all the dissertations in our libraries. Only I venture to predict solemnly that before we applied the torch to so much printing, we would take ample and careful notes on this point or that, on the Inchoative Function of the French Past Absolute, on just what parts of the Body survived in Later Germanic Dialects, on why Sir Percival resembles a

Great Fool, on which assonances in the *Roland* are *echt-nachweisbar* and which not, etc., etc.—lest these and a host of other detailed problems assail us at an inopportune moment and put us to shame.

For the Modern Language teacher knows, though he may not always admit the fact, that his teaching is a constant test of his scholarship. To the first-year graduate student a course in Old French may seem futile, especially when his heart longs for Modern English fiction, but place him in a high-school class in English and let a pupil ask him why “veal” is not called “calf” and “beef” is not called “ox,” and his longing may be reversed. The layman may think it a waste of time to investigate end-consonants in French, ask him to pronounce one and he may learn to appreciate Professor Barker’s discovery that they must be sounded as if “initial.” Such examples all of us here could multiply a hundredfold, each from the wealth of his own experience.

That being the case, has not the time come for less modesty and more asseveration and adjuration on our own part? Why leave this rôle to the French prepositions or to H. L. Mencken’s oscillations in American Philology? The abusive controversies of Renaissance scholars had at least the value that they let no one forget that scholarship was alive, whereas there is sober fact in Professor Spingarn’s statement that the American University of today is “timid and anaemic because it lacks that quixotic fire which inheres in every act of faith.” Biologically speaking, the scholar needs the refreshment of direct action. He also needs the encouragement that comes from legitimate recognition. If the public lack enlightenment, why not tell them our story, as the scientists are telling theirs, in a series of popular manuals which the average person can understand. Here is a task that some of our University Presses can legitimately undertake. In the long run it might prove far more useful—and certainly more remunerative—than the multiplication of existing types of journals and monographs, which in themselves may be excellent but because of their number and

diversity are already a serious problem to our libraries and bibliographers, not to mention subscribers. If the sciences have their "romance," what shall we say of philology? The progress that has been made in the various fields of syntax, etymology, semantics, literary history, etc. would make a fascinating account, if properly sifted and presented. As can be seen from the recent monumental work of Jespersen, *Language, its Nature, Development and Origin*, there are countless respects in which the history of language abounds in matters of general human interest. And owing to phonetics, the phonologies of the past can be made as vivid as the "thin Irish pronunciation" that survives in the old lines:

Poor Lucinda
Was burnt to a cinder,
And that was the end of "she";
For once she was tender,
But now she is tinder,—
How that poor girl suffered for me!

"I began," says Gildersleeve, "as a literary aspirant. I have wound up as a statistical syntactician." "Yet," continues this veteran of the philological guild, "I would reiterate the confession of my faith in the formulae of my youth, my belief in the wider conception of philological work, in the necessity of bringing all our special training into relation with the whole of philological truth, the life of the world, the life of humanity."

But my conscience tells me that I should exhort less and demonstrate more or my audience will be justified in imitating Panurge, who "sans autre chose dire, jette en pleine mer son mouton criant et bellant." Still I should not be true to my exordium if I did not insist, as my third and last point, that our teaching should be made to rest firmly on our scholarship.

As has been said over and over again, teaching is to scholarship as "art" is to "science." In the exercise of our profession we may pursue the one without the other, but if we do so I cannot help thinking that it is an imperfect thing that

we pursue. My colleagues in the University of Chicago assure me that Michelson is such a great scientist because he is also an excellent teacher: one who knows how to demonstrate simply the discoveries he has made. Such a man you will say is exceptional, but there is no exception to the rule that a good teacher must be scholarly. While teaching is a talent, yet it is one that does not utterly elude analysis; and one of the basic principles of good teaching is that it springs full-armed from the mind of the person who knows his subject thoroughly. Knowing a subject well, it is a comparatively simple matter to devise methods for its presentation, provided of course we really take the time and the pains to do so intelligently. I am by no means blind to the fact that—at least, in our over-stocked college-classes—we generally do neither; that if the teaching of language and literature were as serious a matter as, let us say, the teaching of engineering or dentistry, we should long ago have made our colleges remedy an intolerable situation; whereas here we are struggling on, year after year, with unwieldy classes of ill-assorted students, trusting more to fortune than to forethought that somehow our difficulties will iron themselves out.

However that may be, nothing can be gained by the assumption that in the Modern Language classes we need teachers and not scholars. Substitute "method" for "knowledge," and you will commit the fallacy that underlies most of the cheap educationalism of modern times. Professor Dewey, who chides us for "sending out men to meet the exigencies of contemporary life clothed in the chain-armor of antiquity,"¹ recently asked: "What will happen if teachers become sufficiently courageous and emancipated to insist that education means the creation of the discriminating mind, a mind that prefers not to dupe itself or to be the dupe of others?" His answer is: "They will have to cultivate the habit of suspended judgment, of scepticism, of desire

¹ *New Republic*, XXXII, 140.

for evidence, of appeal to observation rather than sentiment, discussion rather than bias, inquiry rather than conventional idealizations." Exactly, one may add, the teacher must return to his scholarship, and it may turn out after all that the "chain-armor of antiquity" is for some people a safer garment than the rolled stocking of modernity. All of which amounts to saying with Brunot: "*Il faut enseigner des choses vraies*"; even in French Grammar, that nightmare of the methodists, this is the case.

At the same time, there is a difficulty in this connection which inheres perhaps more in the Modern Languages than, for example, in Physics or History, and which, in all of our discussions, we are prone to overlook. The teacher of physics or history, assuming that he is something more than a makeshift or a propagandist, will capitalize the results of research in such a way that they will be directly reflected in his teaching. The physicist who knows nothing about "relativity" is simply not a physicist and be he ever so good an expositor of his subject. The historian who has not considered objectively the evidence he presents to his class, cannot hope nowadays to hold anybody's interest. In the case of Modern Philology, however, research and teaching are not related in the same *obvious* way. Who cares whether X is an authority on the Peasant Vocabulary of George Sand, if the works of George Sand are never the subject of his teaching? Of what value to others is my knowledge of the Arthurian Cycle, unless I am giving a course on Geoffrey of Monmouth, Chrétien de Troyes, or Tennyson? And my college or university may never be able to give me that opportunity. The argument is of course specious, as we all know, but that does not prevent it from bobbing up time and again, and at the most awkward moments.

I have not time to answer it here in detail; nor is that at all necessary before this audience. But I should like to point out that—in my estimation—there are at least two reasons why the teaching of Modern Languages so often fails to produce in our students those higher results which

we had so fondly expected, and why it does not obtain from the college-graduate and his associates the support and encouragement our efforts seem to merit. In the first place, it is simply because we do not stir the student's imagination through the fruits of our scholarship. And, secondly, culture, of which we are—for better or for worse—the chief purveyors cannot be directly taught; it must be felt or experienced. The two things are so closely related that they amount to the same thing. For we do not aim to make the undergraduate primarily a scholar; that is the work of our graduate schools. What we are aiming to do is to awaken and cultivate the undergraduate's taste, his judgment, his love of truth, his hate of sham—and, if we succeed in our attempt, we give him culture. It is our privilege to do this through the *medium* of language and literature; the lives that men have led, the thoughts they have had, the words they have spoken—all this and more is open to us for interpretation. Obviously we cannot interpret it all. But each of us can seek the truth at some point, infinitesimal as it may seem, and with the experience thus gained he can illuminate in an ever-widening circle more and more material; and, above all, he can lead others to follow his example—which is the recompense of all good teaching, graduate or undergraduate. In the final analysis, the teacher is only a leader. Some of you will express these things differently, many of you will express them better; but the fact remains, I believe—and I am now speaking “practically”—that it matters little in what channels our scholarship moves. The chief consideration is that it does move and thereby enables us to move others; for “men will work for the joy of comprehension, for the joy of beauty, for the joy of creative construction, as they will not work for less inspiring ends.”

The same British Report on *Modern Studies* (p. 46) from which I have just quoted sums up my main contention as follows:

All study has some moral values; Modern Studies are the study of man in all his higher activities, and thus may have a special moral value; but

we need say no more of that. We are, and must be, concerned with Modern Studies as an instrument of culture, and by culture we mean that training which tends to develop the higher faculties, the imagination, the sense of beauty, and the intellectual comprehension.

One object of scholarship, everyone admits, is to add to the world's knowledge. Its other object—just as real, but not so generally admitted—is to make the teacher a truer, and therefore a better, exponent of culture. As for the Modern Languages, scholarship may do something more, but it should do nothing less.

Thus, as I pull in my reins before coming to a full stop, I would re-affirm my faith in the ideals for which this Association has stood for nearly half a century. Scholarship, like art and science, takes time, whereas life is notoriously short. I know that I am repeating a platitude. Yet in a country like the United States, where railroads have been built in a fortnight and cities have arisen in a generation, one cannot expect thoroughness to be regarded as a virtue or haste as a vice. Therefore a profession like ours is still necessarily at a discount. But for this very reason we Modern Language scholars should gather strength from our past achievements, and hope from our present opportunities, confident that the truth is our goal and that only the truth can set men free. "An educated man," said Lord Morley in a moment of Aristotelian optimism, "is one who knows when a thing is proved and when it is not. An uneducated man does not know." This is at once a challenge and a promise to Modern Language scholarship of the future. It rests with us to make it a realization.

THE MARKET FOR THE SCHOLARLY BOOK*

The publication and distribution of books possessing a scholarly rather than a mercantile value present problems that are particularly adapted as subjects of consideration by the Modern Language Association and upon the solution of which the academic investigator and the educational publisher may quite properly take counsel with each other. The entire question is also of more than timely importance not only for the advancement of pure scholarship but by reason of the fact that the unprecedented increase in our College and University enrollment and the interest manifested by students in the pursuit of Modern Languages have brought the teacher face to face with the opportunity of expanding his advanced and graduate classes and, consequently, with the need of supplying his courses with adequate and attractive tools of instruction. What is the actual state of affairs? Where does the scholar at present obtain serious books of this character? Where can he arrange for the publication of such books? What are the difficulties that confront the publishers? What remedies may be applied to conditions now prevailing? These questions can best be answered by means of a frank interchange of ideas.

If, by the term "scholarly book" we understand, for our present purposes, the product of disciplined investigation in languages and literatures, ranging from editions of recognized linguistic and literary monuments, and from comprehensive grammatical manuals of older dialects to the results of scholarly research in the science of General Linguistics, it must be stated at the outset that there exists no classified survey of such works as they are published annually by the American, English, German, and French book trades. Prior to the year 1911 the statistics of books issued in the United States lack all mention of the word "Philology." Begin-

* A paper read at the Philadelphia meeting of the Modern Language Association of America, December 28, 1922; see *Proceedings*, p. xx.

ning with and subsequent to this year, "Philology" stands merely for a convenient class in which to place pell-mell all the educational publications that have even the remotest connection with languages and literatures. Thus, out of the average number of titles published in this country during the past decade, namely 10,000, the average for "Philology," namely 250 titles, includes not only every single textbook in the field of Classical and Modern Languages, but such nondescript items as Soldiers' Manuals for the Study of French and proposals for new universal languages. Only an inconsiderable percentage of titles can be ascribed to "Philology" in our sense, and even this number must be reduced to a minimum if we search for the works of American authors alone, and deduct those of foreign authors which are importations from England or translations from Continental countries.

This, in a few words, represents the supply of available scholarly books,—perhaps not even 100 titles in Modern Languages,—to which an unquestionable American origin can be ascribed. As to their actual circulation, all figures are mere guesswork. There might be more circulation given to one old textbook in a year than to a hundred new and old scholarly titles selling in small editions. The government keeps no census of the scholarly books issued, nor even of the total book production, and publishers have good reasons for maintaining discreet silence. But, if one may judge from the curious fact that, for several years in succession, an almost identical number of works is published in such fields as Philosophy, Pedagogy, and even Philology, it is perhaps safe to assume that the idea of most scholars with respect to the outlet for scholarly books is an exaggerated one. Preface after Preface continues to state that a given work, intended primarily for academic use, is also adapted to the general reading public. But the general public, as is proven by statistics, hankers after works of Fiction, which often comprise 30% of the annual output of titles; it has of late become astonishingly interested in History, Religion, and

the Social Sciences; but as for the Classics of Ancient and Modern Languages, it shows a decided preference for reading them, if at all, in translation; and, in the field of General Linguistics, it is very doubtful if one-tenth of one per cent of the public ever reads the fascinating pages of a book like Bréal's *Semantics*, or of other even more popularly written books dealing with the historical development of the language of daily life.

With regard to the sales of scholarly books in the more limited academic circles which are intended to be the real beneficiaries of such publications, the average is much lower than is ordinarily imagined. The facts may be condensed in a few sentences. Count the number of institutions in this country where advanced and graduate work not only appears in the catalogs, but is actually given in the classroom. Multiply the small number by the baker's dozen of serious students in each of the schools. Add to the result a tenuous sprinkling of College and University libraries which make a practice of purchasing scholarly books for their reference shelves,—and you have a total of perhaps 100 copies sold annually of each of the books to the production of which the publisher has brought his courage and resources and the scholar many weary years, sometimes a lifetime, of devoted labor.

Unless publishers in England and Continental Europe have, in some way, succeeded in outwitting the laws of supply and demand, we are bound to admit that conditions there are vastly different from those in this country. England offers, year after year, increasing facilities to the advanced student of languages and literatures. Anglo-Saxon, Old and Middle English manuals and texts; handbooks in all the old Germanic dialects; editions of old French, Spanish, and Italian works; and primers even of Basque may be found in the catalogs of English publishers. France offers a supply of solid fundamental treatises in Experimental Phonetics and in Pure and Applied Linguistics. No catalog from Germany reaches us without its

abundance of books in *Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft*, well nigh every one of them the result of valuable research, and all of them the index of some definite demand for books of scholarly character. Yet, in the United States, publications in Linguistic Science may almost be counted on the fingers of one's hands; grammars, handbooks and chrestomathies in the Germanic and Romance Languages,—with such sporadic exceptions as Grandgent's *Introduction to Vulgar Latin* and *Provençal Phonology and Morphology*,—have to be imported from abroad; no scholar has yet come forward with an American edition of the Eddic Poems or the *Poema de mio Cid*; and it is only this year of 1922 which saw the first edition of Dante's *Vita Nuova*, issued by the same publishing house that years ago had the enterprise to place Dante's *Divina Commedia* at the disposal of American scholars and is now undertaking a definitive edition of the old French *Chanson de Roland*. If we regard the still more important field of English Philology, how shall we explain the circumstance that an American edition of the Anglo-Saxon *Beowulf* has had to wait until the Spring of the present year?

If the foregoing remarks seem to imply either the advocacy of a nationalistic conception of scholarship or the insinuation that we have a paucity of scholars competent to produce scholarly works, let me be the first to disclaim any such implication. The former proposition would be not only undesirable but actually impossible; the latter would not correspond with facts as we observe them. If a personal note may be permitted, I like to think that Professor Spingarn's recent arraignment of our Universities as institutions that "seem to have been created for the special purpose of ignoring or destroying the spirit of scholarship," is an underestimation of the value of the results attained by American scholars. We have to-day no scarcity of scholarly authorities in whom we may take pride. What we lack, however, are better facilities for publishing and thus directly encouraging works of research. Not long ago Dean Woodbridge of

Columbia University called attention to the fact that the work of American scholars in the field of History is seriously hampered because of the difficulty of securing publication. Professor Cajori of the University of California is authority for the statement that in Mathematics no new books in advanced fields have been issued in this country in recent years, although several manuscripts are awaiting publication. Apparently, the field of Modern Languages is not the only one in which the present situation is to be deplored. The question naturally arises, "What attitude is taken by the publishing world in the crisis with which scholars are confronted?"

The academic public is prone to believe that the bookman's business is one of strict cash-registry. To a certain extent this is undeniable. As someone has aptly remarked, the publisher is in business to make profits; if he is a publisher for any other purpose, he is not in business. But with this much granted, the publishers of educational books must be set far apart from the generality of the trade. Dealing as they do continually with the means of education, the cause of academic education becomes one of their chief concerns. And in view of the fact that the number of books distributed thru the American schools exceeds all the volumes circulated thru the trade channels, it is proper and desirable that the leaders, at least, among the educational publishers should adopt a professional as well as a business attitude towards the progress of education.

A professionally-minded publisher takes satisfaction in being of definite service to the teaching craft and realizes, besides, that specialized books which, by their very nature, are doomed to be slow sellers, sometimes strengthen his list of more marketable publications. Such books will help to set standards, and in time may create the need for educational texts that will be highly remunerative and may in turn open the way to the issuance of additional scholarly books. But, a preëminent elementary textbook in any science appears but once in a generation, and the publishers'

reserve fund is bound to become depleted beyond the point of safety, unless the academic world, which actually stands in need of specialized tools of instruction, adopts ways and means of earnest coöperation with the publishers. What are some of these means of coöperation?

Walter Scott once said that publishers are the only tradesmen in the world who professedly, and by choice, deal with a pig in a poke. What was true in Scott's day is true in a wider sense to-day when with the enormous increase in the cost of book production, the publisher can secure his margin of profit only in quantity production and large sales,—two considerations that cannot be predicated of the scholarly book. The element of uncertainty might be considerably minimized if expert judgment in regard to the desirability, if not actual need, of certain scholarly publications could be freely collected and crystallized; for, without some buying capacity to rely upon, no publisher in the world, even the most professionally minded, can really be expected to undertake the publication of a book.

Dean Woodbridge's statement that professors find it difficult to secure the publication of important books without providing a large part of the expenses involved, is in all likelihood founded in experience and may hold true of the majority of publishers. It is open to doubt, however, whether this practice would be quite so general in its application if scholars brought with them the guarantee of the cost, not in actual currency but in a careful and unbiassed canvas of the field of demand that would encourage the publisher to believe that, from the standpoint of circulation, a given book would not be as dead as a doornail on the very day of its birth. The leaders of the Modern Language Association must have had some such idea in mind when they wisely provided a Committee of Award to select the most deserving manuscripts for the *Monograph Series*. When all is said, let us candidly face the fact that very few if any American publishers can compare in point of resources with the two famous English Presses which enjoy the monopoly of printing

the revised version of the Bible and the Church of England Prayer Book, and thus can generously publish works of most minute scholarship almost regardless of financial loss. Even our highly endowed University Presses, aside from their inevitable harvests of doctoral monographs, are exercising their prerogative of selection and trying to outlive the universal jibe that their function is to publish works which no one is expected to read.

Another matter of importance is the distribution of the books once they are published. Effective distribution is the preëminent problem of book-publishing. Unless the publisher's business is adapted to the selling of scholarly works, unless a given book is, as it were, "geared" to his selling organization, no amount of goodwill will suffice to bring the book before the man in a thousand who really wants it. But, let us assume that conditions are ideal: the right manuscript makes its appearance; the publisher accepts it; his organization is capable of distributing the output; teachers are interested in the book. At the very outset of his campaign the publisher meets with an embarrassing obstacle. This obstacle consists in the fact that American College and University professors expect all educational publishing houses to send them free copies of every book they bring out. A moment's reflection is sufficient to convince one that, on the one hand, a publishing house that handles primarily textbooks cannot afford to offend the teachers who are, after all, their only patrons; and, on the other hand, the bottom is knocked out from under a book, as a marketable proposition, if free copies are supplied to the teachers who are the only possible clients. When a publisher has prepared a series of scholarly books, like the well-known *Belles-Lettres Series* in English literature, at a cost of no less than \$60,000, he really must be pardoned for desiring to see his labors, at least in some measure, rewarded.

One is reminded at this point of the fact that half a century ago the highest type of College graduate often chose an academic career at the expense of severe sacrifices, whereas

the best men to-day are reluctant to turn toward a scholarly career. There is need evidently of raising the relatively low standing of scholarship in the eyes of the undergraduates. There is also need, perhaps on the part of all of us, of continuous self-improvement if we are to escape intellectual atrophy and are to inspire a love of learning and scholarship for its own sake. But, if the teacher is to rise above the crude notion that the teaching of his subject begins and ends with the Elementary French, Spanish or German grammar and a repeated reading of the same ten or twelve literary texts, he needs to create an atmosphere that is favorable to intellectual expansion. He needs to encourage acquaintance with books, he needs to encourage the purchase of books by his advanced students and the library of the institution with which he is connected. He should encourage the purchase of books as a professional obligation to himself and his craft in the same way that progressive men of other professions instinctively surround themselves with the best and latest publications in their respective fields.

Unless the practice of complimentary copies in the case of books of scholarly character is restricted and publishers are not left to feel that, in issuing such books, they are merely benefiting the printer, binder, and the paper manufacturer, little hope can be seen for the betterment of the present situation. Scholars will be obliged to continue awaiting the convenience of University Presses and of privately endowed societies, which lack effective means to distribute their works, whereas under favorable circumstances educational publishers would not be reluctant to publish from time to time a reasonable number of scholarly books. In England, we are told, four times the number of scholarly books are sold in proportion to the population as in the United States. In Continental Europe the ordinary publisher does not hesitate to bring out, usually in unbound form, a book of pure scholarship, if it is worth bringing out, because he never gives away copies and expects, from a knowledge of his available market, to be able to sell enough copies to meet

the expenses. But in the United States, under conditions prevailing to-day, one finds at most two or three educational publishers who bring out books of scholarly character, and of them it must be said that they show a high degree of courage and a sincere desire to be of service to scholars.

The situation then, in this country, with respect to the scholarly book is far from being satisfactory. It falls below the degree of progress made in England and in Continental Europe. It robs serious investigation of one of its greatest incentives, namely publication. It is a credit neither to scholars nor to publishers. Yet it is not without its possibilities of relief. The Modern Language Association has established its *Monograph Series*; other agencies, such as University Presses, contribute their quota of assistance. As regards publishing houses, most of which have thus far been more commercial than professional, an approach, at least, to the remedy might be made if scholars offered them manuscripts born of careful judgment and wise selection, and if the present attitude toward the purchase of scholarly works underwent a thorough-going change. Perhaps the Modern Language Association could go on record as favoring the publication of scholarly books, and officially recommend that all the teachers who are interested in such books should offer to pay for their purchase. It would help still more effectively if the Association could, in instances that are particularly worthy of such action, raise a subscription fund to defray a part of the manufacturing cost of such publications.

This entire problem is one that can, evidently, be solved only by schoolmen and bookmen acting in conjunction with each other toward a common goal. If, in the course of the present discussion, from the standpoint of a bookman whose sympathies lie unreservedly on the side of research, the tendency has been to place a greater responsibility on the academic world than is usually the case, let me be permitted to hark back to the wisdom of Francis Bacon:—"I hold every man a debtor to his profession, from the which, as men of

course do seek to receive countenance and profit, so ought they of duty to endeavor themselves, by way of amends, to be a help and ornament thereunto."

ALEXANDER GREEN

AUTHOR vs. PUBLISHER*

[After reviewing briefly the greatly changed conditions in the publication of college text-books which have been brought about in the last forty years the speaker proceeded:]

The point of these observations bearing on this subject is that conditions between authors or editors and publishers of literary texts have changed materially since the days when but a few pages of notes made up, together with the original text, or a portion of it, a textbook for school and college use. Yet, as regards the remuneration of the author or editor, despite these changed conditions, the conventional ten per cent royalty contract has remained in *statu quo*.

In the way of progressive development of these modern language text books, after the notes, came vocabularies. Since the advent of this auxiliary in language training, like every other pedagogical device, it has been highly specialized, modernized and improved. Each book firm it may be said, has its own ideas in regard to what should be included in a vocabulary, how it should be included, and its typographical make-up. An editor, for reasons good and sufficient to the publisher, must needs conform, in good measure, to this standard. In as much as notes and vocabulary supplement each other, there is a code to be observed by the editor in furnishing notes just as in supplying a vocabulary. In either case, the task often necessitates considerable practice before eliminating many erasures. Next come introductions to the texts. In many cases these introductions are exceedingly valuable and cost their writers untold research and labor. Many of these contributions may be compared to the best we find in the most recent encyclopedias on the author or the subject of the text. Yet there are, not wanting those, particularly native teachers, who wish them all where Cle-

* An abridgment of a paper read at the Philadelphia meeting of the Modern Language Association of America, December 28, 1922: see Proceedings, p. xxi.

menceau, upon his arrival here, wished the newspaper reporters. But, as with every other commodity, these auxiliaries have their reason for existence. When that reason ceases to exist, they will disappear. At present, however, a text with notes is more in demand by the school public than the same without notes; a text with a vocabulary is a favorite compared with one without a vocabulary.

Taking up on the personnel of the publishers who have more or less to do with the constituents of texts just described, it would appear that the improvement made in the personnel of the publishers has kept pace with that of the authors or editors. Authors or editors are generally well acquainted with the personnel of the firm publishing their texts, partly because of the annual visits of the latter to the colleges, and because of mutual interests in various ways. In many instances, the publishers and their representatives belong, by their education and training, in the same class with the authors and editors. Indeed, many of them have had the advantage of service as teachers in our best institutions of learning. The day of the expert drummer and canvasser equally good at selling a text-book or an incubator has gone by the board. In his place, often times, is a man who has had a college education, whose practical experience in teaching makes him thoroly familiar with the field that he is in charge of. It is a pleasure to take such a man out to lunch, for his knowledge of men and conditions in his special field often amounts to that found in "Who's Who in Modern Languages."

As regards the text-book output of any one firm, the connoisseur at once recognizes its producer not only by the external appearance, but by the material which it contains. The hand of the book firm, or publisher, is usually quite apparent, since the style and get-up of material, as put forth by one publishing house, varies sufficiently to differentiate it from that of any other.

Quite a few publishing firms on both sides of the water publish manuals entitled: "Notes for the Guidance of

Authors in the Submission of Manuscript to the Publishers." In general, these guides are intended to be helpful to authors, and to a certain extent, they facilitate the work of both author and publisher. Practically, then, an author or editor has simply to follow out the directions. Undoubtedly, there are good reasons on the part of the publishers for offering such guides to authors, inasmuch as each publisher desires a consistent uniformity in the style of the publications issued by his house. There seems to be no valid objection here from the authors, as the question of authorship is so little concerned. Where this matter may occasion friction is in the prefatory material, or introductions, to literary works. The publisher may find the introduction too long. Certain passages have to be cut out, or the entire article must be made over. Naturally an author or editor who feels that he has made a scholarly contribution objects. The publisher regards the matter from a business standpoint. Practically, then, there is nothing to do—each being right from his particular standpoint—but conform to the situation which the publisher controls, in order that the text may appear in due time.

In connection with the subject of coöperation between scholars and publishers, it should be made clear what we understand by the term "scholar." To those of us of the old school who received some years of education in Europe, the word "scholar" evokes such types as Tobler in Germany, Darmesteter in France, Rajna in Italy, Menendez y Pelayo in Spain. These are specialists who have consecrated their lives solely to scholarship. The members of our Association are primarily teachers, whose duty it is to combine with that of teaching the function of the administrator, and of scholarly or literary contributor. It must be at once apparent that, given our conditions, we have in mind in connection with this subject not such output as that of European scholars, but simply works that are of a scholarly character. Indeed, were it otherwise, it is questionable whether this subject could be brought up at all, for the more scholarly a work, the more

difficult it is to find a publisher willing to handle it. Some of the most scholarly contributions have, there, appeared elsewhere than from the well-known firms we here have in mind. In a series of text-books started by a publishing firm a dozen or more years ago, the general title of the Series read: *The So-and-So Series by American Scholars.*" Of late, the part of the title "by American Scholars" has been stricken out. Surely none of the authors or editors of the series would care to arrogate to themselves a title that might be misleading.

Using then, the word "scholar" in the American sense, it may be said that their literary, pedagogical or scholarly contributions have not been undertaken primarily for pecuniary reasons. Ordinarily, the American scholar does such a piece of work for any one of three reasons (1) Because he himself wants to do that kind of a piece of work. (2) Because a publishing firm asks him to do a piece of work—without which request he might never have done it. (3) Because the editor of a Series asks him to contribute to the Series, the destinies of which the editor controls. The publisher who will venture the publication of a work like the "*Divine Comedy*," a German, Spanish, or French epic poem, while taking pride in the character of his venture, knows well that it is but an accessory, helpful possibly indirectly, but not financially. He naturally, therefore, takes due precautionary measures to insure himself against pecuniary loss. A contract for such a work is apt to contain a clause which reads: "After a sufficient number of copies shall have been sold to cover the outlay, 'the publisher,' his successors, assigns, will pay the said author or editors 10% of the gross receipts." This is likely to mean that before any material returns are realized by the author several years must elapse; his satisfaction must be of a moral and intellectual character.

As regards the text itself, the book firms prefer to copyright in their own names an author's work. For instance, when submitting the manuscript of a text, an author may precede it on the reverse of the title page with "Copyright

1916, by "So-and-So" (name of the author). The book is then printed before the copyright formalities can be complied with. Then comes a letter from a publisher of which the following is a copy:

Dear Sir:

The contract executed between you and us on "such-and-such" a date contains the provision that the author is to deliver to the publisher such licenses, assignments and other documents as may be necessary or convenient to assure them, their representatives, successors or assigns, the exclusive right to print, publish, and sell said works and any revision of the same during the continuance of any such copyright or renewals. In accordance with this clause, we are now enclosing an assignment of copyright, which we ask you to be good enough to execute and return to us at your convenience. This assignment of copyright could not be executed, of course, until after the book had been published and the copyright duly secured.

Very truly yours,
(Signature)

Enclosure
X Sign here.....

To this the author replied, that, in his opinion, the assignment of the copyright was neither "necessary" nor "convenient" and, therefore, he chose to retain it. To this the publisher replied: "If we did not consider the assignment of copyright necessary and convenient, we should certainly not go to all the trouble of securing it. As a matter of fact, the publishing contract between you and us establishes your rights fully. We cannot see where there is the slightest advantage to you in retaining the copyright, or the slightest disadvantage to you in assigning it. I have every wish to avoid saying anything that may seem in the slightest degree unpleasant, but I am obliged to say that we have called upon you for a document which we have a right to ask for and which you are under obligation to give us." It was made clear to the publisher, in answer to this communication, that the advantage of owning a copyright is like that of owning any other piece of property, a source of pride and satisfaction, which also has a material value in that it may be willed to one's descendants, heirs or assignees. To

which the publisher replied in a long communication that it is a matter of no importance to you or to us who actually owns the copyright. To this statement, the reply was made: "Then let the author own it." It seems that two other authors raised the same point shortly after and, consequently, the publisher withdrew his claim with an apology. If you wish to be the owner of the copyright of your own work, so specify in the contract. The example cited is simply one of scores of cases that may arise, and contracts abound with fine points not at once apparent upon signing them. The publishing firms have the best legal talent procurable in drawing up the contracts as well as in construing them. It is all very well to say to an author: "Read your contract carefully before signing it,—above all do not sign an agreement without the advice of persons who are skilled." The material side is constantly changing so that the ordinary constituents: (1) Cost of production, (2) Composition, (3) Stereotyping, (4) Paper, (5) Binding (6) Corrections, (7) Advertising, (8) Illustrations, (9) Extras, (10) Trade price, etc. may not easily be controlled by either publisher or author. If it be possible, an agreement between an author and publisher should be short and so simple that it cannot be misunderstood.

One of the most fertile sources of trouble all along the line is "corrections." This source of dissatisfaction has increased enormously since the war period, owing to the seemingly exaggerated cost. As with a contract, while theoretically an author should be in a position to control it, practically he rarely is. Corrections may comprise those of the author, those of the editor of the series, those of the printer, of various proof readers; they become most complicated. Practically the author has to pay from his pocketbook or from his royalty account the major part of these corrections. In revising recently an edition of a text-book, a bill was presented to the author in which for two plate corrections of as slight a nature as possible a charge of a dollar apiece was rendered. One of these corrections consisted in putting

in a full stop; the other in changing the interjection "Ah" to "Ha." The author who received the bill from a former student in charge of the accounts of the firm, seized the opportunity to remonstrate. The reply is characteristic of explanatory epistles of publishers. "Thank you for your cheque in payment of the bill for printer's alterations in the "So-and-So" text. The charge does seem exorbitant for such trifling corrections; but, you see, we have to pay for the compositor's time in getting out the plates from the vaults, as well as for the actual work he does. It probably took him about fifteen minutes to get the plate for page 105, and shave out the comma. At the same time, presumably, he took a chew of tobacco, and it may have taken a few minutes to get it well lubricated. Then he had to get his stick, go to the type box, select the letters and lock them up for casting. We always allow half an hour for casting. It is fussy work and cannot be hurried." This letter from a former student seemed unsympathetic and, as such, was brought to the attention of the manager. He replied: "Thank you for allowing me to see my colleague's letter. Against the professional host I stand foursquare between him for there may come a crucial time when we may have to publish an *Apologia pro vita nostra*." To the author it seems as though this time had come.

In this discussion "scholarly text-books" do not mean critical editions of works such as are brought out frequently by European scholars and occasionally by American scholars. Selections from the works of Chaucer, Rabelais, Dante and Cervantes may well be scholarly text-books, and just what our students who are well out of the leading strings of the Direct Method ought to have. The time, labor, and cost to both author and publisher of producing these scholarly texts is usually so considerable as to reduce the material profits to a minimum, when an actual deficit by both is not incurred. Their every effort on the part of both author and publisher is needed to bring about its success. Undoubtedly both author and publisher are up against a hard

proposition. Some years ago a book firm started in publishing some of these works of a scholarly character. It engaged an editor of the series to pass on the work of the editors of the respective texts. But as time went on the enthusiasm of the firm apparently cooled. The text-books were little advertised and the venture was unprofitable. The author of one of these texts, a rather elaborate work of over 500 pages, believing that it was quite possible for the book to make its way, brought the matter pointedly to the attention of the firm. One of the members replied that the book would never pay for itself. In fact, the interest or lack of it on the part of the financial administration in this particular case is revealed in a striking manner, by the fact that during fourteen years, but four yearly statements were rendered. Regardless of whether copies were sold or not, due accounting is recognized as a business formality between two parties to a contract. It had happened that the author himself, as well as other teachers, had been unable to secure copies of the text for class use when wanted. The reply was: "Stock low," "Out of print." This, of course, presupposes the sale of what has been on hand. Finally the head of the firm acknowledged that owing to the immense business in English books, the foreign field had been unduly neglected. This acknowledgment came late. The book was only saved by the author's persistent effort from going into the discard as did unfortunately one of the series, a useful scholarly text. Finally the price of the book was raised two-thirds more than the original price which had been much too low, and it began to be advertised. Had the book been with any one of a half dozen firms with which the author had relations, and had it been accorded the same treatment as the other books, it would have long ago made its way into the colleges and have paid both publisher and author materially and pedagogically.

An attempt to find out how well satisfied with his publisher was a friend and distinguished colleague in the English Department of one of our colleges, a man whose works are

widely used throughout the United States, brought forth the following reply: "As an author I am not very happy in my relationship with the publishers. The contracts are all written in their favor. I chance to know (by reason of a book I took over from my first publishers) that there is no comparison between the return to the writer and that to the house on a ten per cent royalty plan. My own books, now numbering fourteen, with the 'Such and Such a city' publishers, are not advertised, only mentioned in lists, and for the first three weeks of their lives in the fullest of the announcements. Besides, you can't buy one of my books in the city where they are published except at 'So-and-So' bookstore, and not there very often, so near the edge of nothing do they keep the stock on hand. Recently a college in the West wrote for seventeen copies of my 'Such-and-Such-a-title-book.' The firm wrote back: 'We haven't those in stock. We will make them up and ship from the bindery. But are you sure you want seventeen copies of this book?' What do you think of that for business? They know my books will sell more than enough to pay costs without advertising, and so, waiting for the future, or until I do something to startle the world, they take the volumes as they come along and chuck them into the cold world saying: 'Survive if you can; if you can't, well, we didn't put much into you anyway.' That exactly describes the attitude of my publishers and it is far from joyful or inspiring."

An attempt to render an impartial decision results as follows. (1) It seems to us teachers, authors, or editors, that we have a right to expect the prompt publication of our works in the most suitable form. "Prompt may mean in these days a good deal of delay. It may be physically impossible for a publisher to bring a book out shortly after the acceptance of the manuscript. The press of business may be such that it will be delayed for months. It should be said in behalf of the publisher that he does not delay a book because he wants to, but because he cannot avoid it. If possible, the publisher is even more anxious to sell the book than the

author is, for the former's money is locked up in it. By "suitable form" is meant whatever form will sell best, with due regard to the taste of the author. For instance, it not infrequently happens that popular texts, after some years of service, need a thorough revision to meet modern aims. An Introduction, written originally for colleges, may be ill adapted to the high school needs, yet the text be equally popular in school and college. It becomes a question of compromising on the quality and quantity of the original contribution. Some editors in this respect are uncompromising, and consider—to use a publisher's own words that their original contribution "is final and definitive and on a par with the gospels with respect to sacrosanctitude. It must be apparent that such an attitude is impractical.

(2) The author has a right to expect his wishes in general to prevail with due regard to cost and selling qualities. These constituents the publishers may know much more about them than the author, because of the business experience of the former. The books he publishes must be the kind that will appeal to the maximum of teachers.

(3) He has a right to expect a fair percentage of the cost to cover author's charges. This is a modified assertion of the statement that he has a right to expect a fair deal in author's corrections.

(4) He has a right to expect such an amount of advertising as his book calls for in order to reach the largest body of prospective buyers.

(5) He has a right to expect that his book will not be shelved in favor of a rival. The publisher is sometimes charged, it may be unfairly, with accepting a manuscript not with the idea of selling it, but to remove it as a competitor of some other book already published by that house, or about to be published by them.

(6) As regards the publication of a scholarly work, it may be pertinent to suggest that before the making of the contract, the author find out from the educational publisher the attitude of the latter regarding scholarly works which might

not seem to assure speedy returns in large sales. Is not the the author justified in asking the publisher to assume some part of the risk in putting out such works? How far can a publisher be asked to consider something besides commercial returns?—This, in view of the fact that we hear that American publishers are generally unwilling to undertake the publication of any book which does not promise prompt return of double the money invested or with a full guarantee of the costs from the author.

It is obvious that the publisher is engaged in a business in which he invests his capital and takes all the risks. He cannot continue his business unless he receives a proper return from the investment. We cannot really find much fault with the view expressed by one of the publishers whom an author was urging "to get after" a certain territory in behalf of his grammar. The publisher replied: "Of course, our business is the selling of books. However we do not care which of our books we sell." Although the author would like to have the publisher concentrate on his book, we cannot fairly object if another book of the house sells more readily. An agent would be more or less than human if he made a losing fight for a book destined to fail when his house had another book that the client of the moment might very likely accept.

It is a common saying that it takes one good book—in the sense of a wide seller—to pay for ten indifferent sellers. Many books are never reprinted and the authors not infrequently blame the publishers. On the other hand, the publisher may have done everything possible to sell all his books and still remain out of pocket for a large part of the cost of manufacturing the books, printing them and trying to sell them. A book that sells only fairly well may be impossible because of a sudden rise in the price of paper, labor and so on. Moreover, changed conditions may effect materially the sale of a text-book. Recently when giving to one of the book firms an order for some thirty odd copies of a most admirable book on the Great War (a text-book of some 250 pages, con-

taining prefatory matter, more than thirty very fine engravings, notes and vocabulary, published in 1920), the reply from the publisher came back as follows: "Thank you for your letter and friendly comment on 'So-and-So' book on the War. I regret that what you say partakes of the nature of a postmortem eulogy; but the present conditions have made it necessary that we should trim our list of all books which were not meeting with a certain minimum sale. This book comes in that class, due largely to the fact, I imagine, that teachers seem to be inclined to forget the War and all connected with it, and books of stories about the War are not generally acceptable." The loss in this concrete case must have been very considerable to both publisher and author.

On the other hand, a publisher often carries books, not because they sell widely, but because they complete a certain list required or otherwise deemed desirable. For instance, every self-respecting text-firm must carry the "Vicar of Wakefield," "l'Abbé Constantin," Höher als die Kirche, "Marianela," largely mere repetition, but representing an immense amount of labor on the part of authors and of expense on the part of the publishers, that might be expended in a manner more worth while. The procedure in its way is analogous to that to which this Association has given some attention, the duplication of theses for the doctorate.

As a rule the publisher claims to pay the author a fair sum for his work. Be that work what it may, the ten per cent royalty has become stereotyped. Sometimes a publisher adds an extra amount when a book does exceedingly well, as John Murray did when Irving's "Sketch Book" met with so favorable a reception from the public. Nowadays, this is not frequent and usually, the publishers claim, impossible. Like the laws of the Medes and the Persians, whether men may come or men may go, the ten per cent royalty goes on forever.

JAMES GEDDES, JR.

ACTS OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

I. Under date of Feb. 21, 1923, the Secretary transmitted to the members of the Council a letter from Dr. S. L. Capen, dated Jan. 22, 1923, enclosing a proposed memorandum to the General Education Board, asking for an investigation of the teaching of English in secondary schools. Dr. Capen expressed the hope that the Executive Council of the Modern Language Association would be willing to endorse the proposal made to the General Education Board. The Council voted to approve the proposed action.

II. Under date of Feb. 21, 1923, the Secretary called attention to the following resolution adopted by the Association at its meeting in Philadelphia:

That the Executive Council be requested to consider a proposal to arrange the program of the next meeting of the Association so that one session shall be devoted entirely to the presentation of two or three papers of general interest by scholars of distinction, chosen either from within or without the Association, and to appoint a Committee of Three of which the Secretary of the Association shall be a member, to invite such persons of distinguished scholarly position as it may choose to prepare papers for this part of next year's program.

The Council approved this proposal, and elected Professors E. C. Armstrong and J. L. Lowes to act with the Secretary as such Committee.

III. Under date of Feb. 23, 1923, the Secretary called the attention of the Council to the resolutions adopted at the meeting of the Association in Poughkeepsie, December, 1920, and at the meeting of the Central Division in Chicago (see the Proceedings for 1920, pp. iv and xxxvii) favoring an increase in the rate for Life Membership. In order to give effect to these resolutions, the Secretary proposed that Article III, Section 4, of the Constitution be amended to read:

Any member, or any person eligible to membership, may become a Life Member by a single payment of fifty dollars or by the payment of seventeen dollars and fifty cents for three successive years. Persons who for fifteen

years or more have been active members in good and regular standing, may become Life Members upon the single payment of thirty-two dollars and fifty cents.

The Secretary further proposed to regularize the present practice of the Association by amending Article III, Section 1, by substituting the words "four dollars" for "three dollars." Both these amendments were approved by the Council. [The amendment relating to Life Members was afterwards modified in accordance with the Secretary's proposal under date of April 17.]

IV. Under date of Feb. 26, 1923, the Secretary urged upon the Council the importance of taking initial steps toward securing an adequate endowment for the Association, and asked the Council to authorize the creation of a special Committee to consider ways and means of securing such endowment. The Council approved this proposal, and chose the following persons to act as a Committee on Endowment: Professors J. M. Manly, R. H. Fife, Christian Gauss, A. H. Thorndike, William G. Howard, E. H. Wilkins, H. C. Lancaster, Hardin Craig, and Mr. Charles L. Chandler.

V. Under date of April 16, 1923, the Secretary called attention to the special difficulties presented by the calendar in determining the dates for this year's annual meeting, and asked the members of the Council to choose between Dec. 27-29 and Dec. 31-Jan. 2. The Council, with only one dissenting vote, favored the earlier dates.

VI. Under date of April 17, 1923, the Secretary called the attention of the Council to the fact that the Constitution, while reducing the Life Membership Fee for members of fifteen years' standing, made no provision for any further reduction to persons who had maintained their membership for a longer period. He cited an instance, which had recently come to his attention, of a member who had paid annual dues for forty years, but, as he was still in active service, was not entitled to emeritus membership under the provision of Article III, Section 3, and could not secure Life Membership without paying twenty-five dollars. Accord-

ingly, the Secretary proposed the following amendments to the Constitution in order to provide a more equitable scale of payments:

1. To amend Article III, Section 3, by substituting "twenty-five" for "twenty."

2. To amend Article III, Section 4, concluding sentence, to read as follows:

Persons who have been members in good and regular standing for fifteen years may become Life Members on the payment of thirty-two dollars and fifty cents; members of twenty years standing may become Life Members on the payment of twenty-five dollars; members of twenty-five years' standing may become Life Members on the payment of fifteen dollars.

These amendments were unanimously approved by the Council. [For the second Amendment a substitute was later adopted in accordance with the Secretary's circular letter under date of May 17.]

VII. Under date of April 17, 1923, The Secretary stated it as his opinion that the increasing administrative burden placed upon the Secretary-Treasurer's office, in consequence of the growth of the Association and the expansion of its activities, made it advisable, if not actually necessary, to return to the practice followed down to Jan. 1, 1916, of electing a Secretary and a Treasurer, instead of combining these offices. Accordingly, he proposed the following Amendment to the Constitution; with a view to separating the offices of Secretary and Treasurer:

1. To amend Article IV, Section 1, by changing the words "a Secretary-Treasurer" to "a Secretary, a Treasurer"; also by changing the statement as to the composition of the Editorial Committee by substituting the word "two" for "three" in the phrase "and three other members." [The purpose of this alteration is to keep the total membership of the Executive Council seventeen, as at present.]

2. To amend Article V, Section 2, to read as follows:

The President, Vice-Presidents, Secretary and Treasurer shall perform the usual duties of such officers. The Secretary shall also have general responsibility for preparing the program of the annual meeting, and shall

edit the *Publications* of the Association. The Treasurer shall also have charge of business arrangements relating to the *Publications* of the Association.

Both these amendments were approved.

VIII. Under date of April 26, 1923, the Secretary called attention to the resolution in regard to increased compensation for the Secretary of the Central Division, which was re-adopted at the meeting of the Central Division, December, 1922, with an amendment making the increase "retro-active and to include back payment for 1921." (See March *Publications*, p. lviii.) The Secretary briefly reviewed the circumstances which led the Executive Council in 1921 to vote to increase the compensation of the Secretary of the Central Division, beginning with January, 1922, and asked the members of the Council to decide whether this increase should be made "retro-active and to include back payment for 1921." The Council voted against making this increase retro-active.

IX. Under date of May 14, 1923, the Secretary transmitted to the Council preliminary estimates submitted by the George Banta Publishing Company for printing the new Monograph Series. He also placed before the Council a proposal from D. C. Heath and Company to act as Sales Agents for the Monograph Series for the United States and Canada, and also a proposal from the Oxford University Press to act as Sales Agents for the Monograph Series for Great Britain and its colonies, with the exception of Canada, and also for the continent of Europe. He recommended that the Council authorize the Secretary to conclude a contract with the Banta Company for printing the Monographs, and also to accept the proposals of D. C. Heath and Company and of the Oxford University Press.

X. Under date of May 17, 1923, the Secretary submitted a suggestion recently received from Professor Schilling offering a simpler and preferable statement of terms for Life Memberships, and recommended that this be substituted for the proposal placed before the Council on April 17.

The following is the text of the Amendment as suggested by Professor Schilling.

To amend Article III, Section 4, so as to read:

Any member, or any person eligible to membership, may become a Life Member by a single payment of fifty dollars or by the payment of seventeen dollars and fifty cents for three successive years. With each completed decade of membership in good and regular standing, the fee for Life Membership shall be diminished by one-fourth. Persons who have paid forty annual membership fees shall automatically become Life Members without further payment.

It was unanimously voted to substitute this amendment for the one previously approved.

XI. Under date of October 6, 1923, the Secretary called the attention of the Council to the resolution adopted by the Central Division at Chicago, December 1922 (see the Proceedings for 1922, p. lviii.) in which it was

Resolved, That it is the sentiment of the Central Division that henceforth the Modern Language Association ought to be organized as two or more co-ordinate and autonomous Divisions, each with its own program and territory, and each electing its own President, Secretary and other officers for the conduct of its affairs; and that officers whose duties concern the Association as a whole should be elected only at Union Meetings.

In order to relieve the dissatisfaction expressed in this resolution, and to secure complete equality in the share enjoyed by Eastern and Western members in directing the policies of the Association, the Secretary proposed the following amendments to the Constitution:

1. To amend Article II, Section 2, by substituting for the second sentence "These annual meetings shall be held alternately East and West of the boundary line between Pennsylvania and Ohio."

2. To amend Article IV, Section 4, so that it will read as follows: "The other officers shall be elected by the Association for the term of three years. Vacancies occurring between annual meetings shall be filled by the Executive Council."

3. To amend Article VII, Section 1, by striking out the words, "but no Division Meeting shall be held during the year in which the Association holds a Union Meeting."

4. To amend Article VIII so that it will read: "Amendments to

this Constitution must first be approved by two-thirds of the members of the Executive Council, and afterwards be ratified by a two-thirds vote at two successive annual meetings of the Association."

The effect of these amendments would be in brief:

(1) To emphasize the national character of the Modern Language Association by stipulating that its General Meetings shall be held alternately in the East and in the West.

(2) To change the length of the Executive Officers' terms from four years to three years, so that these officers would be elected alternately at Eastern and Western meetings.

(3) By providing for the ratification of Amendments to the Constitution at *two successive* meetings, to make it necessary for any proposed Amendments to receive the endorsement of both an Eastern and a Western meeting.

The amendments proposed by the Secretary were approved by the Council.

XII. Under date of October 6, 1923, the Secretary informed the Council that he had received from a Committee consisting of Robert Bridges, W. A. Craigie, A. S. Ferguson, C. T. Onions, Reginald L. Poole, Kenneth Sisam, and W. H. Stevenson, a preliminary statement of a project to issue a memorial volume in honor of the late Henry Bradley; and that this Committee invited the Association to appoint a representative to act on the Consultative Committee in charge of the preparation of this volume. The Secretary asked the Council to authorize the appointment of some person to represent the Association on this Committee, and suggested the name of Professor James Wilson Bright as a suitable person for this service. The Council voted to accept the invitation of this Committee, and approved the selection of Professor Bright for this service.

XIII. Under date of October 11, 1923, the Secretary called the attention of the Council to the fact that through the death of Dr. Henry Bradley the number of Honorary Members was reduced to thirty-eight. For the two vacancies he presented the names of Professor Vittorio Rossi, (sug-

gested by Professors Kenneth Mackenzie, E. H. Wilkins, and Rudolph Altrocchi), Professor Hjalmar Falk (suggested by Professor Robert H. Fife), and Mr. W. W. Greg. As a result of the Council's ballot, Professor Vittorio Rossi and Mr. W. W. Greg were nominated to the Association to fill the vacancies existing in the list of Honorary Members.

XIV. Under date of October 20, 1923, the Secretary reported to the Council certain unofficial overtures from persons interested in the work of the Folk-Lore Society looking toward the establishment of some form of co-operation with the Modern Language Association. It was pointed out that the organization of a research group in Popular Literature in the Modern Language Association will naturally result in a series of studies closely related to the field of the Folk-Lore Society, and the suggestion was made that the *American Journal of Folk-lore* would offer a useful medium for the publication of such papers.

The Secretary suggested as a practicable means of promoting such co-operation, the offering of a joint membership rate of \$6.00 in the Modern Language Association and the Folk-Lore Society, this sum to be divided equally between the two organizations. The Secretary pointed out the fact that the Constitution of the Modern Language Association, Article III, Section 2, seemed to grant authority to the Executive Council to grant such joint membership rate for those who wished to take advantage of it. He also reported that this plan met with the approval of Professor Franz Boas, Secretary of the Folk-Lore Society, who was submitting it to the Executive Committee of his organization for their consideration.

The Council voted to approve the proposal.

CARLETON BROWN, *Secretary*.

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